

Museum of Broadcast Communications

# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF TELEVISION



MUSEUM OF BROADCAST COMMUNICATIONS

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF

# TELEVISION

VOLUME 2  
G-P

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 Wallace, Mike  
 Walsh, Mary  
 Walt Disney Programs (Various Titles)  
 Walters, Barbara  
*Waltons, The*  
*War Game, The*  
 War on Television  
*Warner Brothers Presents*  
*Watch Mr. Wizard*  
*Watch with Mother*  
 Watergate  
 Waterman, Dennis  
 Waters, Ethel  
 Watkins, Peter  
 Watson, Patrick  
 Wayne and Shuster  
 Wearing, Michael  
 Weaver, Sylvester (Pat)  
 Webb, Jack  
*Wednesday Play, The*  
 Weinberger, Ed  
 Weldon, Fay  
 Welland, Colin  
 Wendt, Jana  
 Westerns  
*Westinghouse-Desilu Playhouse*  
 Weyman, Ron  
 Wheldon, Huw  
 Whicker, Alan  
 White, Betty  
 Whitfield, June  
*Widows*  
*Wild Kingdom (Mutual of Omaha's)*  
 Wildlife and Nature Programs  
 Wildmon, Donald  
 Williams, Raymond  
 Wilson, Flip  
 Windsor, Frank  
 Winfrey, Oprah  
 Winters, Jonathan  
 Wiseman, Frederick  
 Witt, Paul Junger

*Wojeck*

Wolper, David L.

*Women of Brewster Place, The*

*Wonder Years, The*

Wood, Robert D.

Wood, Victoria

Woodward, Edward

Woodward, Joanne

Workplace Programs

*World in Action*

Worrel, Trix

Wrather, Jack

Wright, Robert C.

Writer in Television

Wyman, Jane

*Yes, Minister*

Young, Loretta

Young, Robert

*Your Hit Parade*

Youth TV

*Z Cars*

Zapping

Ziv Television Programs, Inc.

Znaimer, Moses

*Zorro*

Zworykin, Vladimir



# G

## GAME SHOWS See QUIZ SHOWS

### GARNER, JAMES

U.S. Actor

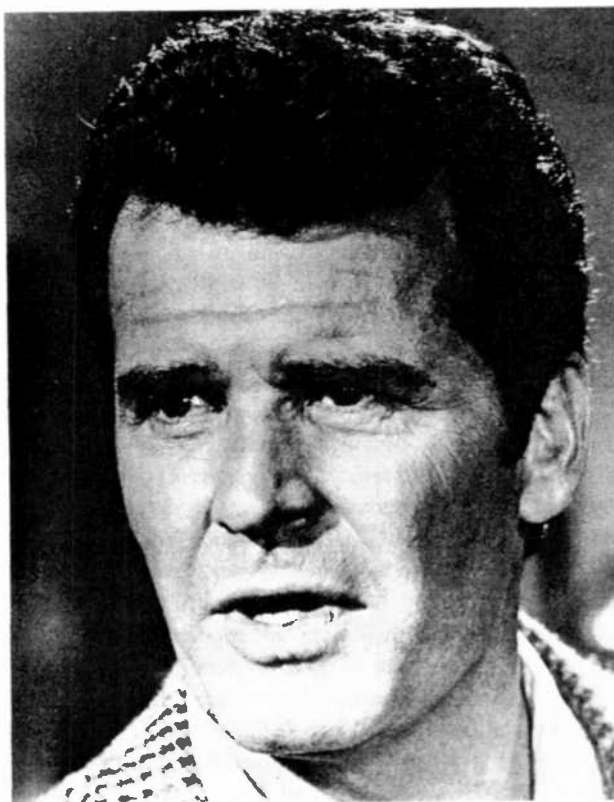
James Garner has been called our finest television actor; he has been compared more than once to Cary Grant, but also deemed dependably folksy. Possessed of a natural gift for humor, a charm that works equally well for romantic comedy and tongue-in-cheek adventure, Garner patented the persona of the reluctant hero as his own early in his career, but also exhibited an understated flair for drama that has deepened with age. Garner began his television career in the 1950s, becoming a movie star in short order, and maintains an active presence in both media nearly forty years later.

Transplanted to Hollywood after a knockabout adolescence and stints in the Merchant Marine and Korea, the strapping Oklahoman came to acting almost by chance, at the urging of an old friend-turned-talent agent. Although his first job, in a touring company of *The Caine Mutiny Court Martial*, was a non-speaking role, it enabled the 25-year-old actor to work with—and learn from—Henry Fonda, and led to a bigger part in a second national tour of the play. Spotted by Warner Brothers producers, he was hired for small parts on two episodes of the western series *Cheyenne*, after which the studio signed him to a contract. After a turn as a con man in an installment of the anthology *Conflict* and small parts in two Warners features, Garner landed a major role as Marlon Brando's pal in *Sayonara*. On the heels of this breakthrough, Garner was signed as the lead in *Maverick*, a new western series created by Roy Huggins. As wandering gambler Bret Maverick, Garner perfected a persona that would remain with him throughout his career: the lovable con-man with a soul of honor and a streak of larceny. *Maverick* put more emphasis on humor than gun-play, but while Bret and brother Bart (Jack Kelly) were a bit more pragmatic—not to say cowardly—than most TV heroes, the series was not a wholesale satire on westerns, although it did parody the genre—and TV favorites like *Bonanza*—on occasion.

Immediately upon signing as *Maverick*, Garner found himself cast in leading roles in Warner Brothers features. He made three routine films for the studio during breaks from the series—but he was still being paid as a television contract player. When Warner's suspended the young star in 1960

during a writers' strike, Garner walked off the series and out of his contract. The studio sued, and lost, and Garner would not return to television—apart from guest shots in comedy-variety shows, or golf tournaments—for a decade.

Garner made a comfortable transition to features, becoming a bankable box-office name in the early 1960s. He made eighteen features during the decade, a mix of adventures (*The Great Escape*), westerns (*Duel at Diablo*), and romantic comedies (*The Thrill of It All*). Garner tested his dramatic muscles in downbeat psychological thrillers like *Mister Buddwing*, and made a calculated turn against type as



James Garner

a grim, vengeful Wyatt Earp in *Hour of the Gun*, but his most successful films emphasized his innate charm and flair for irony. Save for a boost from the tongue-in-cheek western *Support Your Local Sheriff*, by the late 1960s Garner's drawing power as a movie star was in decline.

Garner returned to form, and to television, in 1971 with the turn-of-the-century western *Nichols*. The series also marked Garner's return to Warner Brothers, this time as a partner and co-producer (through his Cherokee Productions) rather than an employee. Set in Arizona circa 1914, *Nichols* was an affectionate depiction of the death of the old west, with Garner cast as the motorcycle-bound sheriff of an Arizona town. Nichols was amiably shady à la Maverick, but with a harder edge, more greed, and less honor. An innovative concept peopled with offbeat characters, *Nichols* premiered with mediocre ratings that were not aided by schedule-juggling. The network, theorizing that Garner's character was too avaricious and unlikable, decreed a change: Sheriff Nichols was murdered in the last episode aired, and replaced by his more stalwart twin brother Jim Nichols. Before the strategy could be tested in additional episodes, or an additional season, the program was canceled. It remains the actor's favorite among his own series.

After returning to the big screen for a few fairly undistinguished features (e.g., *They Only Kill Their Masters*), in 1974 Garner was cast in what might be called the second defining role of his television career, as laid-back private detective Jim Rockford in *The Rockford Files*. A product of writer-producers Roy Huggins and Stephen J. Cannell, *Rockford* was in some ways an updated version of *Maverick*, infusing its mysteries with a solid dose of humor, and flirting with genre parody. At the same time, however, thanks to fine writing and strong characters, the series worked superbly as a realistic private eye yarn in the Chandler tradition. Garner left *Rockford* in 1980, in the middle of the series' sixth season, suffering from the rigors of its action-packed production. Soon after, Universal sued the actor for breaching his contract, but in 1983 Garner, ever the maverick off-screen, brought a \$22.5 million suit against the studio for creatively accounting him out of his *Rockford* profits; six years later Universal settled for an undisclosed, reportedly multi-million dollar, sum.

Garner had dusted off his gambler's duds in 1978 for two appearances as Bret Maverick in the pilot and first episode of a short-lived series *Young Maverick* (same concept, now featuring a young cousin as the wandering hero). A year after exiting *Rockford*, Garner revived his original roguish alter-ego once more in a new series, *Bret Maverick*, with the dapper cardsharp now older and more settled as a rancher and saloon owner in an increasingly modern west. Despite good ratings, the show was canceled after one season, ostensibly because its demographics skewed too old.

Garner took on the occasional movie role throughout the 1980s, in hits like *Victor, Victoria* (1982), and *Murphy's Romance* (1985)—which earned him an Oscar nomination—and misses like *Tank* (1984) and *Sunset* (1988). But

feature work became almost a sidelight for the actor as he entered a new phase of his career, cultivating his dramatic side in a succession of made-for-television movies and miniseries. Apart from a fairly pedestrian role in the soap-epic mini-series *Space*, Garner's performances in *The Long Summer of George Adams*, *The Glitter Dome*, *My Name Is Bill W.*, and *Decoration Day* allowed him to explore and expand his palette as a character actor. He earned some of the best notices of his career (and two Emmy nominations) for his performances in *Heartsounds*, as a physician facing his own mortality, and *Promise*, as a self-involved bachelor faced with the responsibility of caring for his schizophrenic brother. More recently Garner won praise as Joanne Woodward's curmudgeonly husband in *Breathing Lessons*, and for his portrayal of the taciturn Woodrow Call in *Streets of Laredo*, a miniseries sequel to Larry McMurtry's *Lonesome Dove*.

The affable charmer Garner did not completely abandon the light touch, however. In 1991 he returned to series television in a half-hour comedy *Man of the People*, as a gambler and con-man appointed by corrupt politicians to fill the city council seat of his late ex-wife. Independent and honorable (in his way), Councilman Jim Doyle managed to confound his patrons and do some good for the community while lining his own pockets. (Shades of *Nichols*, low ratings prompted producers to try to make the character "warmer" after a few months, but the tinkering didn't help and the show was canceled at mid-season.) Two years later Garner was cast as RJR-Nabisco executive Ross Johnson in HBO's *Barbarians at the Gate*, in large part to ensure that at least one character in the cast of corporate cutthroats would have some likability. When *Maverick* was reincarnated as a theatrical film in 1993 (with Mel Gibson as Bret), Garner was there as an aging lawman who turns out to have more than a passing connection to the Maverick legend. And P.I. Jim Rockford was revived in a series of *Rockford Files* made-for-television reunion movies beginning in 1994, his relaxed attitude and wry anti-heroics intact. With three *Rockford* movies aired, three more projected, and other television and feature projects in the pipeline, James Garner has never been busier—or better. As he approaches the end of his fourth decade as an actor, Garner demonstrates true maturity at his craft (he would undoubtedly call it a "job").

Described as "amiable" and "lovable" in countless career profiles, Garner's warmth and likability were best suited, perhaps, to the intimacy of television's small screen and serial storytelling forms. And yet from the very beginning his career constituted a unique exception in the hierarchy of Hollywood stardom, as he passed back and forth with relative ease between television and feature work, and—although that boundary remains distinct, and crossover rare—still does. Like many of Hollywood's greatest actors, he tends to play an extension of himself—like Jimmy Stewart, Spencer Tracy, Cary Grant, and his mentor Henry Fonda. Like them, Garner is affecting not

because of his ability to obliterate himself and become a character, but because of his ability to exploit his own personality in creating a part. Admittedly, it is a different sort of talent than that of a DeNiro or Duvall. Yet, as Jean Valley wrote in *Esquire*, DeNiro is probably unsuited to television stardom—he may not be the kind of star we want to see our living room. “On the other hand,” Valley wrote, “you love having Garner around. He becomes part of the fabric of the family. You really care about him.” Where DeNiro impresses us with his skill, Garner welcomes us with his humanity. Which is why he may indeed be the quintessential TV actor, and why he surely will be remembered by television audiences as he has said he wishes to be: “with a smile.”

—Mark Alvey

**JAMES GARNER.** Born James Scott Baumgarner in Norman, Oklahoma, U.S.A., 7 April 1928. Attended University of Oklahoma; studied acting at Herbert Bergof Studios, New York. Served with U.S. Merchant Marines in Korean War (awarded Purple Heart). Married: Lois Clark, 1956; children: Greta, Kimberly, and Scott. Began career with stage production *The Caine Mutiny Court Martial*, early 1950s; offered contract with Warner Brothers, 1956; film debut, *Toward the Unknown*, 1956; title role in *Maverick*, 1957–62; title role in *The Rockford Files*, NBC-TV, 1974–80. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1977 and 1986.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1957–62	<i>Maverick</i>
1971–72	<i>Nichols</i>
1974–80	<i>The Rockford Files</i>
1981–82, 1990	<i>Bret Maverick</i>
1991	<i>Man of the People</i>

#### TELEVISION MINISERIES

1985	<i>Space</i>
1993	<i>Barbarians at the Gate</i>
1995	<i>Larry McMurtry's Streets of Laredo</i>

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

1974	<i>The Rockford Files</i>
1978	<i>The New Maverick</i>
1982	<i>The Long Summer of George Adams</i>
1984	<i>Heartsounds</i>
1984	<i>The Glitter Dome</i>
1986	<i>Promise</i> (also producer)
1989	<i>My Name Is Bill W.</i> (also producer)
1990	<i>Decoration Day</i>
1993	<i>Barbarians at the Gate</i>
1994	<i>Rockford Files: I Still Love L.A.</i>
1994	<i>Breathing Lessons</i>
1995	<i>The Rockford Files: A Blessing in Disguise</i>
1996	<i>Rockford Files: If the Frame Fits</i>
1996	<i>Rockford Files: Friends and Foul Play</i>

#### FILMS

*Toward the Unknown*, 1956; *The Girl He Left Behind*, 1956; *Shoot-Out at Medicine Bend*, 1957; *Sayonara*, 1957; *Darby's Rangers*, 1959; *Up Periscope*, 1959; *Cash McCall*, 1960; *The Children's Hour*, 1962; *Boy's Night Out*, 1962; *The Great Escape*, 1963; *The Thrill of It All*, 1963; *The Wheeler Dealers*, 1963; *Move Over Darling*, 1963; *The Americanization of Emily*, 1964; *36 Hours*, 1965; *The Art of Love*, 1965; *A Man Could Get Killed*, 1966; *Duel at Diablo*, 1966; *Mister Buddwing*, 1966; *Grand Prix*, 1966; *Hour of the Gun*, 1967; *How Sweet It Is*, 1968; *The Pink Jungle*, 1968; *Marlowe*, 1969; *Support Your Local Sheriff*, 1969; *A Man Called Sledge*, 1970; *Support Your Local Gunfighter*, 1971; *Skin Game*, 1971; *They Only Kill Their Masters*, 1972; *One Little Indian*, 1973; *The Castaway Cowboys*, 1974; *Health*, 1979; *The Fan*, 1981; *Victor, Victoria*, 1982; *Tank*, 1984; *Murphy's Romance*, 1985; *Sunset*, 1988; *Fire in the Sky*, 1993; *Maverick*, 1994.

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See also *Maverick*; *Rockford Files*

## GARNETT, TONY

### British Producer

Tony Garnett, producer, was a central figure in the group (including writer Dennis Potter and director Ken Loach) which revolutionized British television drama in 1960s, creating something of a golden age.

Originally an actor, Garnett was recruited by Sidney Newman in 1963 as a script editor for a new BBC drama series, *The Wednesday Play*. British television drama in the 1950s had been dominated by classic theatrical texts done in the studio, normally live, with occasional 35mm film inserts. The coming of videotape meant only that these productions were done live-to-tape. *The Wednesday Play*, with a commitment to new talent and new techniques, changed all this. Influenced by the theatre of Joan Littlewood (*Oh What a Lovely War*) and the cinema of Jean-Luc Goddard (*A bout de souffle*), Garnett sought contemporary, overtly radical scripts for the series which he was producing by 1964.

In 1966, he produced, with Loach directing, *Cathy Come Home*. Many British viewers were complacent that its welfare system was among the best in the world, and this documentary-style film of the devastating effects of homelessness on one young family had enormous impact. It was the first of many controversies. Between 1967 and 1969, Garnett mounted 11 productions ranging in subject from the plight of contemporary casualized building workers (*The Lump* by Jim Allen, directed by Ken Loach) to aristocratic corruption in Nazi-era Germany (*The Parachute* by David Mercer, directed by Anthony Page). Garnett's productions became TV "events".

In the 1970s the paced slowed but not the combative quality of the work. In 1975, *Days of Hope*, a Jim Allen miniseries, rewrote the history of the decade before the 1926 General Strike as a betrayal of the working class by its own leaders. In 1978, another Allen miniseries, *Law and Order*, caused an uproar by treating professional criminals as just another group of capitalist entrepreneurs trying to turn a profit.

The cockney criminal slang in *Law and Order* was so authentic that the BBC program guide had to provide a glossary. The language and Northern accents in *Kes*, Garnett's first feature script, produced in 1969, were also so authentic that this story of a disadvantaged boy and a kestrel had to be subtitled.

Uncompromising politics—"self-righteous idealism" as Garnett recalls it—and rigorous authenticity created a passion, if completely uncommercial, oeuvre. But Garnett

then discovered the critical importance, the "disciplines," of popular genres during the 1980s, a decade he spent in Hollywood. Here he learned "a movie should never be about what it's about". Thus, for example, he produced in *Follow That Bird* and *Earth Girls Are Easy*, two films about racial prejudice disguised as, respectively, a Sesame Street adventure and a comedy about space aliens.

In the 1990s, back in England, Garnett revisited the subjects of earlier work but now in popular genre form. *Between the Lines* was a hit crime series that focused on police corruption and set in the internal investigation department of the force. *Cardiac Arrest* was a bitter examination of the state of Britain's socialized medical system but in the form of a black situation comedy series. Garnett, characteristically, continued to rely heavily on new talent.

Tony Garnett has been, and remains, one of the major shaping intelligences of British television drama.

—Brian Winston

TONY GARNETT. Born in Birmingham, West Midlands, England, 3 April 1936. Attended local primary and grammar schools; University of London. Began career as assistant manager and, briefly, actor; script editor for producer James McTaggart on *The Wednesday Play* series, BBC, meeting longtime collaborator Kenneth Loach, 1964; first collaboration as producer with Loach, on *Cathy Come Home*, 1966; co-founded, with Loach, Kestrel Films, 1969; debut as film director, 1980. Chairman, World Productions.

### TELEVISION SERIES (selection)

1975	<i>Days of Hope</i>
1978	<i>Law and Order</i>
1992–94	<i>Between the Lines</i>

### TELEVISION PLAYS

1962	<i>Climate of Fear</i>
1962	<i>The Boys</i>
1965	<i>Up the Junction</i>
1966	<i>Cathy Come Home</i>
1966	<i>Little Master Mind</i>
1967	<i>The Lump</i>
1967	<i>In Two Minds</i>
1967	<i>The Voices in the Park</i>
1967	<i>Drums along the Avon</i>
1967	<i>An Officer of the Court</i>
1968	<i>The Golden Vision</i>

1968	<i>The Gorge</i>
1969	<i>The Parachute</i>
1969	<i>Some Women</i>
1969	<i>The Big Flame</i>
1970	<i>After a Lifetime</i>
1972	<i>The Gangster Show: The Resistible Rise of Arturo Ui</i>
1973	<i>Hard Labour</i>
1973	<i>Blooming Youth</i>
1974	<i>Steven</i>
1974	<i>The Enemy Within</i>
1975	<i>Five-Minute Films</i>

1976	<i>The Price of Coal</i>
1978	<i>The Spongers</i>
1979	<i>Black Jack</i>
1989	<i>Fat Man and Little Boy! Shadowmakers</i>
1989	<i>Earth Girls Are Easy</i>

#### FILMS (selection)

*Kes* (also writer), 1969; *The Body*, 1970; *Family Life*, 1971; *Prostitute* (also director), 1980; *Deep in the Heart Handgun* (also director and writer), 1983.

See also *Cathy Come Home*; Loach, Ken; *Wednesday Play*

## GARROWAY AT LARGE

### U.S. Music Variety Show

**G**arroway at Large was the definitive program series emanating from the Chicago School of Television during the late 1940s and early 1950s. An intimate, low-budget musical variety program, this critically acclaimed series allowed its host, Dave Garroway, to wander the NBC studio "at large" during the actual telecast. In the process, the show combined a number of elements later defined as being in the Chicago style—improvisation, scriptlessness, interpretive cameras.

Dave Garroway began his career in broadcasting in 1938 when he landed a sixteen-dollar-a-week page position at NBC-New York. Enrolling in the network's announcer school, he placed an unimpressive twenty-third out of a class of twenty-four but did manage to find work as a special events announcer at Pittsburgh's KDKA. In September 1939, he joined the announcing staff at NBC-Chicago's WMAQ radio outlet.

From the opening strains of "Sentimental Journey" to his trademark expression of "Peace," Garroway's "hip" esoteric broadcasting persona developed and crystallized on Chicago radio. His local *11:60 Club*, jazz music and conversation at midnight, led him into network radio with his Sunday evening *Dave Garroway Show* and his daytime *Reserved for Garroway*. From there he moved quickly into network television. *Garroway at Large* premiered on 16 April 1949, within four months of NBC television beginning operations in Chicago.

Taking advantage of Garroway's intellect, unique personality and relaxed, intimate broadcasting style, *Garroway at Large* scripts were more conceptual than specific and placed minimal emphasis on elaborate production. Under the watchful eye of producer Ted Mills, writer Charles Andrews, and directors Bob Banner and Bill Hobin, the show worked to create illusions and gently shatter them with the reality of the television studio. In the best tradition of Chinese Opera, commedia dell'arte, or the Pirandellian manipulation of reality, Garroway would wander in and out of scenes or from behind sets, stopping to hold quiet conversations with occasional guest celebrities, the home view-

ing audience, technicians and cast members (vocalists Connie Russell, Bette Chapel and Jack Haskell, comic actor Cliff Norton and orchestra leader Joseph Gallicchio). Using raised eyebrows, slight gestures and knowing shrugs, he communicated eloquently and brought a cool, glib, offbeat humor to prime-time television.

*Garroway at Large* broadcast its last show from Chicago on 24 June 1951. On 14 January 1952, NBC's *Today* show premiered in New York with Garroway as host. *Garroway at Large* was revived but working under the production pressures of New York, the show lost much of the charm of the Chicago version and left the air after one season.

Through the 1950s, Garroway's workload increased to between 75 and 100 hours per week. In addition to his efforts on *Today*, he hosted NBC's *Wide, Wide World* (1955-58) and NBC radio's *Monitor* series. An exhausted Garroway left the *Today* show in 1961 and, while he continued to appear on television in various shows and formats, he never again achieved comparable success or popularity. Dave Garroway died on 21 July 1982 at the age of 69.

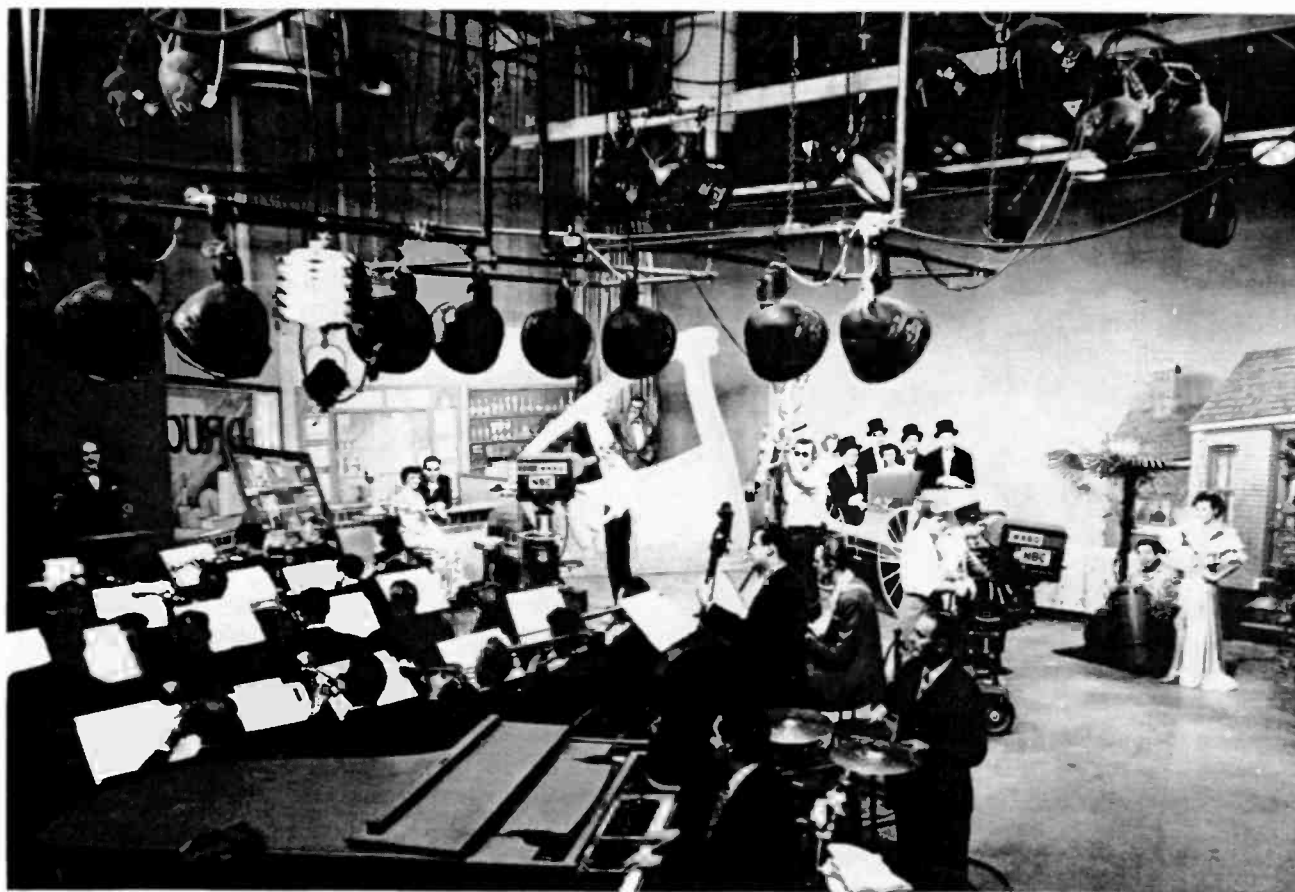
—Joel Sternberg

#### REGULARS

Dave Garroway  
Jack Haskell  
Cliff Norton  
Bette Chapel (1949-51)  
Carolyn Gilbert (1949)  
Connie Russell (1949-51)  
Jill Corey (1953-54)  
Shirley Harmer (1953-54)  
Songsmiths Quartet (1949)  
The Daydreamers (1950)  
The Cheerleaders (1953-54)

#### DANCERS

Russell and Aura (1950-51)  
Ken Spaulding and Diane Sinclair (1953-54)



Garroway at Large

Photo courtesy of WMAQ-TV/Chicago

#### ORCHESTRA

Joseph Gallichio (1949–1951)  
Skitch Henderson (1953–1954)

**PRODUCER** Ted Mills

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

##### • NBC

April 1949–July 1949	Saturday 10:00–10:30
July 1949–June 1951	Sunday 10:00–10:30
October 1953–June 1954	Friday 8:00–8:30

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See also Chicago School of Television; *Today Show*

## GARTNER, HANA

### Canadian Broadcast Journalist

**H**ana Gartner is co-host of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC) major evening newscast, *Prime Time News*. Her long broadcasting career has made her one of the most visible journalists in Canada.

In 1970, Gartner worked for Montreal radio station CJAD as both an interviewer and a features reporter. She subsequently joined Standard Broadcast News, a syndicated radio news service, as parliamentary correspondent in Ottawa, the federal capital. In 1974, Gartner made her first switch to television. She returned to Montreal as co-host of *The City at Six*, CBC Montreal's local daily news hour. The following year, she relocated to Toronto for a position as host of *In Good Company* on CBC Toronto television. In 1976, however, Gartner returned briefly to radio to host the CBC's signature network radio program, *This Country in the Morning*.

The movement between radio and television, and amongst various cities, is typical of CBC journalists. Not only does it contribute to their training and but it also allows the CBC to use its various radio and television stations as "farm teams" for network programming. This system has also helped launch many Canadian journalists on successful international careers.

In 1977, Gartner made her second and decisive switch to television when she joined CBC Toronto's local news hour, *24 Hours*, as co-host and interviewer. She also became host of a CBC television network daytime interview program, *Take 30*.

In 1982, Gartner was selected to co-host CBC television's flagship public affairs news and investigation program, *The Fifth Estate*, which is best known for breaking new stories and for presenting complex issues in compelling narrative style. In this capacity, she has reported from around the world on a huge range of topics. In 1978, she was given her own summer series, *This Half Hour*.

Gartner's interview style combines toughness, honesty, and sympathy. She is capable of uncomfortable directness, and even irony, in her questioning of subjects; however, she does not stray into gratuity or nastiness. She is capable of revealing a personal attitude or orientation towards an issue without betraying journalistic objectivity. On the contrary, these qualities win the sympathy of viewers who identify with her. As is characteristic of Canadian news and information programming generally, the overall tone of Gartner's work is sober with a focus on issues and their intricacies rather than personality or glamour.

In 1985, Gartner won the Gordon Sinclair Award for excellence in broadcast journalism. In 1994, she was given a CBC series of special interviews, *Contact with Hana Gar-*

*tner*. In 1995, she became co-host of *Prime Time News*, the most visible journalistic position in Canada.

—Paul Attallah

**HANA GARTNER.** Born 1948 in Prague, Czechoslovakia. Educated at Loyola College (now Concordia University), Montreal, Quebec, Canada, B.A. in communications 1970. Married: Bruce Griffin, 1987; two children. Began career as radio-show host, CJAD, Montreal, 1970; began television career at CBC, Montreal, 1974; host, interviewer, reporter, various television and radio programs. Recipient: Gordon Sinclair Award, 1985; three Gemini's.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1977–82	<i>Take 30</i> (host)
1978	<i>This Half Hour</i>
1982–95	<i>The Fifth Estate</i> (host)
1995–	<i>Prime Time News</i> (co-host)
1995–	<i>The National</i>

#### TELEVISION SPECIAL

1994	<i>Contact with Hana Gartner</i> (host)
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Hana Gartner

Photo courtesy of the National Archives of Canada

**RADIO**

CJAD Montreal (interviewer), 1970; *This Country in the Morning* (CBC), 1976.

**FURTHER READING**

"Gartner to Join Mansbridge: The Current Host of *The Fifth Estate* Will Replace Wallin on Prime Time News." *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 3 June 1995.

"The National's New Face: Hana Gartner Brings Gutsy Style to CBC TV." *Maclean's* (Toronto), 18 September 1995.

"Star Power Gets in the Way (for Hana Gartner)." *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 22 June 1993.

See also Canadian Programming in English; *Fifth Estate*; *National* / *The Journal*

## GELBART, LARRY

U.S. Writer/Producer

As producer of *M\*A\*S\*H*, Larry Gelbart provided numerous contributions to one of television's most innovative and socially aware sitcoms. But he has been a dynamic force in broadcasting for more than thirty years. Gelbart has written for radio, television, film and the stage. After leaving television in the early 1980s, Gelbart went on to produce feature films, including *Oh, God!* (1977) and *Tootsie* (1982).

During the 1940s, Gelbart began working as a writer for Fanny Brice's radio show, and as a gag writer for Danny Thomas. After a brief stint in the army, where he wrote for Armed Forces Radio, Gelbart joined the writing staff of *Duffy's Tavern*, a popular radio program. He also wrote for Bob Hope, whom he followed to television.

In the early 1950s, Gelbart became part of the extraordinarily talented crew of writers on Sid Caesar's *Your Show of Shows*. This group, which included Carl Reiner, Howard Morris, Mel Brooks and Woody Allen, helped define the medium in its earlier days. Shortly after becoming head writer for *The Pat Boone Show*, Gelbart became disgusted by broadcasting's communist witch-hunts and moved to England. While in London, he continued to work in British film and television.

In the early 1970s, Gene Reynolds, who was developing a television version of the film *M\*A\*S\*H*, enticed Gelbart to write the pilot script. Gelbart was leery about returning to American television, but became interested when he learned that CBS was willing to allow the series to realistically depict the horrors of war. When CBS picked up the series in 1972, Gelbart became its creative consultant. One year later, Gelbart joined Reynolds as co-producer.

Gelbart provided numerous innovations to an idea which had already made for a best-selling novel and box office hit. Recalling a Lenny Bruce bit on draft dodges, Gelbart created Corporal Klinger, a character who dressed in women's clothing in hopes of getting a "Section Eight" discharge. Written as a one-time character, Gelbart's Klinger, played by Jamie Farr, became central to the long-running series. When actor McLean Stevenson decided to leave the series, Gelbart was involved in the decision to "kill off" Stevenson's character, Colonel Henry Blake. This was the first time a series regular had met such a fate. Furthermore, Gelbart is credited with "The Interview" episode, an innovative script in which journalist Clete Roberts, playing

himself, interviews the doctors of the *M\*A\*S\*H* unit. Produced with a cold opening (no teaser, lead-in, or commercial), filmed in black and white, and shot in documentary style, it paved the way for the numerous innovations carried out by later *M\*A\*S\*H* producers. After four seasons with *M\*A\*S\*H*, Gelbart became worried he would grow repetitive and left the series.

In 1973, Gelbart and Reynolds created *Roll Out*, a disappointing series about an army trucking company set in World War II. Gelbart's last outing with series television, the highly touted *United States*, also failed to score with the public. One of television's first stabs at dramatic sitcoms (dramedy), it fizzled out two months after its March 1980 debut.

—Michael B. Kassel



Larry Gelbart

Photo courtesy of Broadcasting and Cable

**LARRY GELBART.** Born in Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., 25 February 1928. Served U.S. Army, 1945–46. Married: Pat Marshall, 1956; children: Cathy, Paul, Becky, Adam, and Gary. Began career as radio writer, *Danny Thomas (Maxwell House Coffee Time)*, 1945; television writer for Bob Hope, 1948–52; best known for *M\*A\*S\*H* series, 1972–76; artist-in-residence, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 1984–85. Honorary degree: LittD, Union College, 1986. Member: Motion Picture Association of Arts and Sciences; Writers Guild of America; Writers Guild of Great Britain; ASCAP. Recipient: Sylvania Award, 1958; Emmy Awards, 1958 and 1973; Tony Awards, 1963, 1990 (twice); Peabody Awards, 1964 and 1975; Montreaux Television Festival Golden Rose Award, 1971; Humanitas Award, 1976; Edgar Allen Poe Awards, 1977 and 1990; Writers Guild of America Awards, 1977, 1978, and 1982; Christopher Award, 1978; Laurel Award, 1981; Los Angeles Film Critics Award, 1982; New York Film Critics Award, 1982; Pacific Broadcasting Pioneer Award, 1987; Lee Strasberg Award, 1990; Outer Critics Circle Awards, 1990 (twice); New York Drama Critics Circle Award, 1990; Beverly Hills Theater Group Award, 1991. Address: 807 North Alpine Drive, Beverly Hills, California 90210, U.S.A.

#### TELEVISION SERIES (writer or writer-producer)

1952	<i>The Red Buttons Show</i>
1953	"Honestly, Celeste!" ( <i>The Celeste Holm Show</i> )
1954–62	<i>The Patrice Munsel Show</i>
1954	<i>The Pat Boone Show</i>
1955–57	<i>Caesar's Hour (Your Show of Shows)</i>
1958–59	<i>The Art Carney's Specials</i>
1963	<i>The Danny Kaye Show</i> (consultant)
1971	<i>The Marty Feldman Comedy Machine</i>
1972–83	<i>M*A*S*H</i> (also directed several episodes)
1973–74	<i>Roll Out</i>
1975	<i>Karen</i>
1980	<i>United States</i>
1983–84	<i>After M*A*S*H</i>
1985, 1986	<i>Academy Award Show</i>
1992	<i>Mastergate</i>
1993	<i>Barbarians at the Gate</i>

## GELLER, HENRY

### U.S. Telecommunications Legal Expert

**H**enry Geller is a Washington, D.C., telecommunications attorney and law professor with a distinguished career in U.S. communications policy making and regulation. He worked at the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) at several intervals from 1949 until 1973, serving as general counsel for six years (1964–70) and then becoming assistant to FCC chair Dean Burch. He later served as administrator of the National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA) for

#### FILMS

*The Notorious Landlady*, 1962; *The Thrill of It All*, with Carl Reiner, 1963; *The Wrong Box*, with Burt Shevelove, 1966; *Not with My Wife, You Don't*, with Norman Panama and Peter Barnes, 1966; *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*, 1966; *A Fine Pair*, 1969; *Oh, God!*, 1977; *Movie, Movie*, 1977; *Rough Cut* (as Francis Burns), 1978; *Neighbors*, 1981; *Tootsie*, 1982; *Blame It on Rio*, 1984.

#### RADIO

*Danny Thomas (Maxwell House Coffee Time)*, 1945; *The Jack Paar Show*, 1945; *Duffy's Tavern*, 1945–57; *The Eddie Cantor Show*, 1947; *Command Performance (Armed Forces Radio Service)*, 1947; *The Jack Carson Show*, 1948; *The Joan Davis Show*, 1948; *The Bob Hope Show*, 1948.

#### RECORDINGS

*Peter and the Wolf*, 1971; *Gulliver*, 1989.

#### STAGE

*My L.A.*, 1948; *The Conquering Hero*, 1960; *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*, 1962; *Jump*, 1971; *Sly Fox*, 1976; *Mastergate*, 1989; *City of Angels*, 1989; *Power Failure*, 1991.

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See also *M\*A\*S\*H*; Writing for Television

three years (1978–81) during the Carter presidency. His contributions to national telecommunications policy making led to the National Civil Service Award in 1970.

Geller has since served as a telecommunications advisor for a number of non-governmental organizations, including Duke University's Washington Center for Public Policy Research, the Rand Corporation, and the Markle Foundation. His advice on policy matters was solicited because of his experience as a Washington telecommunications insider,

and because of his iconoclastic views on communications spectrum issues.

Geller has long espoused that the electromagnetic spectrum allocated for telecommunications purposes is a finite national resource and that fees should be collected from all users of that spectrum. In 1979, while at the NTIA, Geller first broached the idea of auctioning spectrum for then-new technologies such as cellular telephony and wireless cable (MMDS). Free users of this resource such as radio and television broadcasters were adamantly opposed to such proposals, claiming that they were serving the public interest by providing news and other informative programming.

Geller felt that broadcasters, especially at the local level, had neglected their public-interest programming obligations, and that the FCC should eliminate all "public fiduciary" regulation in favor of a fee-for-spectrum arrangement. The benefits of such a system, as Geller described it, would involve an end to the lack-luster provision of public affairs and children's programming, and would allow the public, rather than the buyers and sellers of existing broadcast licenses, to benefit from spectrum auctions. He proposed that funds raised from spectrum auctions be dedicated to the development of public broadcasting services—much like the traditional British model of public support for national programming.

The irony of Geller's position on spectrum auctions is that the FCC now conducts such auctions for emerging communications technologies such as Personal Communications Services (PCS). However, the revenues collected will be allocated for federal deficit reduction instead of supporting public broadcasting. Henry Geller is a well-informed critic of the status quo in telecommunications policy making, and the recent adoption of the spectrum auctions in the United States reaffirms a position that he has long advocated for the benefit of the public, rather than private, interest.

—Peter B. Seel

**HENRY GELLER.** Born in Springfield, Massachusetts, U.S.A., 14 February 1924. University of Michigan, B.S. 1943; Northwestern Law School, J.D. Law Clerk, Illinois Supreme Court Justice Walter V. Schaffer, 1950; attorney, Federal Communications Commission (FCC), 1949–50, 1952–55, and 1961–73; general counsel, FCC, 1964–70; special assistant to the chair, 1970; helped write cable television rules and definitive explication of the Fairness Doctrine, 1972; worked on projects concerning communications law, Rand Corporation, 1973–74; Communications Fellow, Aspen Institute Program on Communications and Society, 1975; consultant, House Communications Subcommittee, 1976; assistant secretary, Communications and Information and Administrator of the National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA), U.S. Department of Commerce, functioned as chief adviser to President Carter on telecommunications policy, 1978–81; founder and director of the Washington Center for Public Policy Research, 1981–89; professor (of practice), Duke University, 1981–89; communications fellow, John and Mary R. Markle Foundation, 1990–; senior fellow, Annenberg



Henry Geller

Photo courtesy of Henry Geller/Ankers Photographers, Inc.

Washington Program, 1991–96. Recipient, National Civil Service Award, 1970. Address: 1750 K Street, N.W., Suite 800, Washington, DC 20006, U.S.A.

#### **PUBLICATIONS** (selection)

- The Fairness Doctrine in Broadcasting.* Santa Monica, California: Rand, 1973.
- Newspaper-Television Station Cross Ownership: Options for Federal Action,* with Walter S. Baer and Joseph A. Grundfest. Santa Monica, California: Rand, 1974.
- A Modest Proposal to Reform the Federal Communications Commission.* Santa Monica, California: Rand, 1974.
- The Mandatory Origination Requirement for Cable Systems.* Santa Monica, California: Rand, 1974.
- Charging for Spectrum Use,* with D. Lambert. Washington: Benton Foundation, 1989.
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See also National Telecommunications and Information Administration

## GENDER AND TELEVISION

In a two-part article written for *TV Guide* in 1964, best-selling author of *The Feminine Mystique*, Betty Friedan, claimed that television has represented the American woman as a "stupid, unattractive, insecure little household drudge who spends her martyred, mindless, boring days dreaming of love—and plotting nasty revenge against her husband." Almost thirty years later, Pulitzer Prize winning journalist Susan Faludi suggested that the practices and programming of network television in the 1980s were an attempt to get back to those earlier stereotypes of women, thereby countering the effects of the women's movement that Friedan's messages had inspired in the late 1960s and 1970s.

Although the analyses of Friedan and Faludi are undeniable on many levels, it is important to remember that television provides less than realistic stereotypes of men as well (although these stereotypes embody qualities—courage, stoicism, rationality—that society values) and the images of femininity justifiably disturbing to Friedan and Faludi are not necessarily read by female viewers in the ways intended by program producers and advertisers. Recent scholarship has studied not only female fan groups that rework television texts in their own writings, but has also suggested that narratives and images are polyvalent and dependent on contextual situations for meaning. For example, television scholar Andrea Press studied women's responses to *I Love Lucy*, finding that middle-class women drew strength from Lucy Ricardo's subversion of her husband's dominance and Lucille Ball's performing talents, while working-class women tended to find Ball as Lucy Ricardo funny, but thought the character was silly, unrealistic, and manipulative.

While scholarship such as Press's, motivated by an agenda of understanding cultural products and practices, attempts to understand how audiences negotiate the meanings of gender and class in their encounters with television, commercial broadcasting also has a history of research into audience composition and desires. Of course its agenda is mainly focused on understanding the audience as consumers, since the economic basis of commercial broadcasting is selling products to consumers. As early as the late 1920s, market research suggested to advertisers the importance of the middle-class female consumer in terms of her primary role in making decisions regarding family purchases. Early radio programs included some targeted to the female listener. Adver-

tisers found success with how-to and self-help programs that could highlight the use of a food, cosmetic, or cleaning product in their generous doses of advice patter. By the early 1930s, household product advertisers successfully underwrote serialized dramas ("soap operas") in the daytime hours, and their assumptions that women were the primary listeners during those hours meant that narratives often revolved around central female characters and that segmentation of story and commercial must conform to the working woman's activities as she listened.

Several of the popular radio soap operas made the transition to television, with many new ones created for the medium which would eventually eclipse radio in audience numbers. As with their radio predecessors, these shows were programmed for the daytime hours and featured commercials aimed at the housewife, that "drudge" Friedan described as the stereotype of the post-war American culture. Daytime hours on television also included game and talk/advice shows, whose rhetorical strategies assumed women's capacity as caretaker of the family's economic and emotional resources. The make-up of daytime programming on the broadcast networks has stayed remarkably the same over the years, although soap opera plots seem to take into account the presence of male viewers (not only making male characters more important, but mixing action genre ingredients into the narratives). Perhaps even more significantly as programming strategy, game shows have given way on the schedule to talk shows.

This latter trend began with the tremendous success of *Donahue*, which started in 1967 as a local, Dayton call-in talk show aimed at women. Host Phil Donahue was interested in serving the needs of the woman at home who was intelligent and politically sophisticated, but unrecognized by other media. Appearing at a time of considerable political and gender unrest and change, by 1980 it was carried on 218 stations around the country, delivering the "right numbers" to advertisers—women aged 18 to 49. Oprah Winfrey also started locally (in Chicago) and two years later, in 1986, *The Oprah Winfrey Show* went national, not only beating *Donahue* in the ratings, but also becoming the third-highest rated show in syndication. Winfrey is now one of the wealthiest working women in the country, and has her own production company to produce theatrical and television films, often about African American women. Like Donahue, Winfrey aims her show at intelligent



Ann Southern



I Dream of Jeannie



Cagney and Lacey



Charlie's Angels



women at home, but she attempts more intimacy with her viewers by relating her guests' problems to her own difficulties with weight, drugs, and sexual abuse. The success of Donahue and Winfrey led to a glut of talk shows on daytime television, and the fierce competition among them has resulted in an exploration (some would say exploitation) of once-unspoken or repressed experiences of gender and sexuality (transvestitism, homosexuality, prostitution, incest, adultery, abortion, etc.).

Ironically, primetime television, once considered more "serious" than daytime programming, has continued to cause controversy in the 1980s and 1990s when dealing with issues (abortion, homosexuality) now regularly discussed on daytime talk shows. Primetime television has been considered by the networks and media critics and historians as more serious because of the presumed "adult" dramas, mostly with male characters as central figures, scheduled during the late, 9:00-11:00 P.M. time slots. Of course, the unspoken assumption here is that these shows are serious because they appeal to male viewers, who are stereotyped as more interested in violence, the law, and the sometimes socially relevant aspects of nighttime drama.

Many primetime dramas of the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s drew on the "masculine" emphasis of genres successful in other, prior media forms—novels, films, and radio. The western, the detective/police thriller, science fiction, and the medical drama featured controlling male characters, having adventures, braving danger, solving problems through reason and/or violence. Many critics have pointed to the goal-oriented nature of these generic forms, as opposed to the more open-ended, process-orientation of the serialized melodrama assumed to appeal to the female viewer. Yet the primetime dramas addressing the male audience have never precluded the development of characters and community. Some of the primary pleasures of westerns, such as *Gunsmoke* and *Wagon Train*, derived from their emphasis on community and the "feminine" values of civilization over the male hero alone in the wilderness. Yet, *Wagon Train* and two other long-running westerns, *Rawhide* and *Bonanza*, had no regular female characters. Likewise, medical dramas of the period, such as *Dr. Kildare*, *Ben Casey*, and *Marcus Welby*, had rational male doctors diagnosing hysterical female patients and, as in the western *Bonanza* or the sci-fi show *Star Trek*, whenever a serious relationship developed between a female character and one of the shows' heroes, she would usually die before the episode concluded.

The detective and cop thriller tended to fit most securely within the action-oriented, goal-driven narrative form assumed to be compatible with stereotypes of masculine characteristics. From the police procedural *Dragnet* to the buddy cop thrillers *Starsky and Hutch* and *Streets of San Francisco*, women were usually criminals or distractions. In many ways, these were men's worlds.

This trend was born out in the statistics gathered by media researchers: in 1952, 68% of characters in primetime

dramas were male; in 1973, 74% of characters in these shows were male. These kinds of numbers, as well as the qualities of the portrayals of women, spurred the National Organization for Women (NOW) to action in 1970. NOW formed a task force to study and change the derogatory stereotypes of women on television, and in 1972 they challenged the licenses of two network-owned stations on the basis of their sexist programming and advertising practices. Although they were unsuccessful in this latter strategy, NOW and other women's groups provided much needed pressure when CBS tried to cancel *Cagney and Lacey*, a "buddy" cop show and the first primetime drama to star two women. Conceived in 1974 by Barbara Corday and Barbara Avedon, two women inspired by critic Molly Haskell's study of women's portrayal in film, *Cagney and Lacey* was originally turned down by all three networks, only getting on the air after eight years. Producer Barney Rosenzweig worked closely with organized women's groups and female fans to support the show during threats of cancellation, after CBS fired the first actress to portray Christine Cagney because she was not considered "feminine enough," and during periods when the show aired controversial episodes on such topics as abortion clinic bombings.

Despite the controversy over *Cagney and Lacey*, by the time it got on the air, there were already other changes in primetime dramas that reflected the impact of the women's movement and networks increasing desire to capture the female market in primetime. *Hill Street Blues*, *St. Elsewhere*, even the detective thriller, *Magnum, P.I.* with its Vietnam vet hero, had begun to emphasize characters' emotional developments over action, with the former two programs adopting the serialized form once more common in the daytime soap operas (*NYPD Blue* and *Homicide* inherit these changes in the 1990s). Made-for-television movies, scheduled almost every night of the week during the 1970s and 1980s often featured female characters in central roles, causing many critics to suggest that they filled the void of women's pictures now vanished from the theatrical feature film world. In the mid to late 1980s, shows such as *China Beach* (about nurses in Vietnam), *Heartbeat* (women doctors at a women's health clinic), *L.A. Law* (with both male and female law partners) suggested new trends in primetime drama. Yet, in 1987, 66% of characters in primetime were still male.

The situation comedy, which filled the early primetime hours from the early fifties to the present, has tended to be more hospitable to female characters, at least in terms of numbers. In terms of their portrayals of women and femininity, situation comedies are more of a mixed bag. Because most comedy shows focused on the family, women were mainly seen as wives, mothers, and daughters. Within that context, the programs might center on the value of the mother's nurturance and work, as in *Mama* or *The Goldbergs* (which star Gertrude Berg produced), or marginalize her in decision making about the family's resources and children, as in *Leave It to Beaver* (the mother in *The Brady Bunch* of

the late 1960s-1970s is heir to June Cleaver in that regard). Zany wives, who continually acted against their husband's wishes, were featured in *I Love Lucy*, *I Married Joan*, and *My Favorite Husband*; while *Private Secretary* and *Our Miss Brooks* represented single working women as only slightly less irrational. It would be wrong to suggest that these shows ignored gender tensions—some of the programs were fraught with them. In *Father Knows Best*, for example, although father Jim Anderson is the moral center of the show, his intelligent wife Margaret and ambitious daughter Betty are confronted in more than one episode with some of the agonies of the polarized choices (wife and mother or career) women faced in the 1950s. Likewise, Donna Stone of *The Donna Reed Show* questions the connotations of the media's use of "housewife" in one episode, and Lucy Ricardo of *I Love Lucy* is probably the most ambitious and dissatisfied woman in all of television history.

In the 1960s, restlessness with domesticity appears in shows where the female characters have to literally use magic to leave their roles, as in *Bewitched* and *I Dream of Jeannie*, or in the girlish pretensions of would-be actress Ann Marie in *That Girl*. Although critics now point to her idealized feminine looks and her sometimes subservient response to boss Mr. Grant, Mary Richards of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* was a refreshing relief from the frustrated women in sitcoms of the 1950s and 1960s. Coming on the air the same year NOW organized its task force, this show still stands out in not compromising Mary's single status, in its development of her career as a news producer, in its portrayal of a character basically happy as a non-married, working woman. Her smart and sarcastic (and slightly more man crazy) friend Rhoda was so popular with viewers that she starred in a spin-off show. While producer Norman Lear's *All in the Family* more successfully satirized male stereotypes than female, other Lear productions like *Maude* and *One Day at a Time* worked against earlier portrayals of wives and mothers. These women were married more than once, raised children, stood up for their rights and beliefs. Maude even had an abortion in one of the most controversial programs in television history.

Although sitcoms of the 1980s and 1990s, such as *Kate and Allie*, *Designing Women*, *Golden Girls*, *Roseanne*, *Murphy Brown*, *Grace Under Fire*, continue the trend of the 1970s in representing working women, female friendships, free from competition, non-traditional family formations, etc., television producers during this period persisted in creating family sitcoms that banished mothers. Although in reality a statistically small number of households involve single fathers, *Full House*, *My Two Dads*, *Empty Nest*, *Blossom*, *The Nanny*, and *I Married Dora* featured men as both mothers and fathers (who sometimes have a great housekeeper/nanny). Mom was around in *The Cosby Show*, but some critics suggested she was too present, claiming the program hardly captured the reality of a working attorney who was also a mother of five. The show's depiction of Claire Huxtable as free from the tensions of demanding career vs.

motherhood caused some critics to label her character "post-feminist." At the opposite end of the spectrum, *Murphy Brown* and *Roseanne* have come under fire for depicting motherhood in too "non-traditional" ways.

While current broadcast network programming arguably presents a greater variety of representations of women than in previous decades due to changes in gender roles in society since the women's movement, this is as much because the "new woman" is recognized as a consuming audience member as it is because networks feel a responsibility to break down cultural stereotypes. Such marketplace driven political correctness even motivated the creation of Lifetime, a cable network for women, in 1984. At first relying mostly on acquired programming, which included many primetime reruns from the broadcast networks, in the late 1980s the channel began producing original TV movies and programs appealing to women on the basis of central female characters and behind-the-camera female personnel, such as director-actress Diane Keaton directing a TV movie. When NBC cancelled *The Days and Nights of Molly Dodd*, a "dramedy" about a wistful, divorced, working woman, Lifetime acquired the reruns and produced 30 original episodes of its own. While this decision did not generate the ratings hoped for, it was great public relations, and put the channel on the map. Morning hours concentrate on advice shows for young mothers, and the rest of daytime hours are filled with reruns of shows with proven appeal to women, such as *Cagney and Lacey*, *The Tracy Ullman Show*, and *L.A. Law*. While the channel refuses to identify itself as feminist—it only admits to avoiding programming that "victimizes" women—its existence does suggest that women are far from ignored by television.

Currently, the greatest gaps in television programming's representation of women probably reside in sports and news. Broadcast networks rarely cover women's sports (newer sports cable channels do a little better if only because they have 24 hours of coverage to fill), and when they do, media scholars have noted that the sportscasters call female athletes by first name and use condescending or paternal adjectives in describing them. Female TV news journalists have had their own problems in getting airtime, and are usually submitted to sexist biases about feminine appearance. Women in television news divisions, both behind and in front of the camera, organized groups in the 1970s and 1980s to pressure executives to give women in these areas more power and representation. There were well-publicized sex discrimination and sexual harassment suits at this time, but change has come slowly. But CNN, a cable channel needing to fill 24 hours, has put more women on the air (including an all women news show, *CNN and Co.*), and the profitability of increasing the number of "newsmagazines" on the air prompted the broadcast networks to include more female anchors in the early 1990s. Yet women are used as experts on news shows only about 15% of the time, an issue of representation as important as their presence as news

anchors. Many media critics look to an increase in the use of women as experts as a possible catalyst for change in all areas of television programming. When women are seen as authority figures in our culture, their representation in fiction as well as non-fiction media forms will perhaps change for the better.

—Mary Desjardins

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See also Children and Television; Family on Television

## GENERAL ELECTRIC THEATER

### U.S. Anthology

**G**eneral Electric Theater featured a mix of romance, comedy, adventure, tragedy, fantasy and variety music. Occupying the Sunday evening spot on CBS following the *Toast of the Town/Ed Sullivan Show* from 1 February 1953 to 27 May 1962, the *General Electric Theater* presented top Hollywood and Broadway stars in dramatic roles calculated to deliver company voice advertising to the largest possible audience.

Despite a long technical and practical experience with television production, General Electric's previous attempts to establish a Sunday evening company program had fared poorly. In the fall of 1948 General Electric entered commercial television for the first time with the *Dennis James Carnival*, a variety show dropped after one performance. A quiz program entitled *Riddle Me This* substituted for twelve weeks and was also dropped. In April 1949 GE returned to

Sunday evenings with the musical-variety *Fred Waring Show*. Produced by the Young and Rubicam advertising agency under the sponsorship of GE's Appliance, Electronics and Lamp Divisions, the program occasionally included company voice messages. In November 1951 GE transferred television production to the Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn (BBDO) advertising agency, under whose direction the *General Electric Theater* debuted 1 February 1953 as an "all-company project" sponsored by GE's Department of Public Relations Services.

The first two seasons of *General Electric Theater* established the half-hour anthology format of adaptations of popular plays, short stories, novels, magazine fiction and motion pictures. "The Eye of the Beholder," for example, a Hitchcock-like telefilm thriller starring Richard Conte and Martha Vickers, dramatized an artist's relationship with his

model from differing, sometimes disturbing psychological perspectives.

The addition of Ronald Reagan as program host commencing the third season, beginning 26 September 1954, reflected GE's decision to pursue a campaign of continuous, consistent company voice advertising. The Reagan role of program host and occasional guest star brought needed continuity to disparate anthology offerings. The casting of Don Herbert of TV's *Watch Mr. Wizard* fame in the role of "General Electric Progress Reporter" established a clear-cut company identity for commercials. "Outstanding entertainment" became the watchword of GE's public and employee relations specialists. Reagan, in the employ of BBDO, helped merchandise the concept within the company itself. The first of many promotional tours orchestrated by BBDO and the GE Department of Public Relations Services sent Reagan to twelve GE plant cities in November 1954 to promote the program idea, further his identity as spokesman, and become familiar with company people and products. By the time *General Electric Theater* concluded its eight-year run in 1962, Reagan claimed to have visited GE's 135 research and manufacturing facilities, and met some 250,000 individuals. In later years, Reagan's biographers would look back upon the tour and the platform it provided for the future president of the United States to sharpen his already considerable skill as a communicator.

By December 1954, after only four months on the air with Reagan as program host, the new *General Electric Theater* achieved Nielsen top-ten status among all programs as television's most popular weekly dramatic program. The format accommodated live telecasts originating from both coasts, and increasingly, the telefilms of Revue Productions, the motion picture production company of the Music Corporation of America (MCA). An unprecedented talent waiver, granted to MCA-Revue by the Screen Actors Guild (SAG) during Reagan's tenure as SAG president in 1952, and again in 1954, allowed MCA-Revue to dominate the fledgling telefilm industry. The SAG talent waiver enabled MCA-Revue to simultaneously represent artists and employ them in telefilms that it produced. MCA's stars appeared on Revue's *General Electric Theater*, and ratings soared. Many made television debuts in dramatic roles. Joseph Cotten starred in "The High Green Wall," an adaptation of Evelyn Waugh's *A Handful of Dust*; Jack Benny starred in "The Face is Familiar," a comedy about a man whose face no one could remember; Alan Ladd starred in "Committed," a mystery about "an author who advertises for trouble and finds it." Joan Crawford made her only 1954 television appearance in "The Road to Edinburgh," a story of "terror on a lonely road." "The Long Way Around" featured Ronald Reagan and Nancy Davis Reagan, who solved "a unique marital problem to reunite a family." In a direct dramatic tie-in with a company voice theme, Burgess Meredith portrayed "Edison the Man," a telecast coinciding with GE's commemoration of "Light's Diamond Jubilee."



General Electric Theater: Tell Me Where It Hurts  
Photo courtesy of Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research

*General Electric Theater* saturated its audience with Reagan's genial progress-talk in introductions, segues and closing comments, and Herbert's commercials. From the viewpoint of its sponsors, the program's entertainment component seemed beside the point of audience "recall scores," "impact studies" and the "penetration" of company messages culminating with the motto, "Progress is our most important product." Commercials from the 1954 fall season, for example, included "Kitchen of the Future," "Lamp Progress," "Jet Engine Advancement," "Turbosupercharger Progress," "Sonar Development," "Atomic Safety Devices" and so on. "Kitchen of the Future" achieved the highest impact score (90% audience recall) recorded to date by the polling firm of Gallup-Robinson, whose specialists reported the *General Electric Theater* as "the leading institutional campaign on television for selling ideas to the public." Following a 1956 Herbert "progress report" on the subject of steam turbine generators and their contributions to "progress toward a fuller and more satisfying life," Reagan reiterated, "In the meantime, remember: From electricity comes progress; progress in our daily living; progress in our daily work; progress in the defense of our nation; and at General Electric, progress is . . ."

By 1957 *General Electric Theater* had hit stride with a top-rated program package the equal of the company's early technical proficiency in television. While GE's product divisions developed individual sponsorships to reach

appliance, lamp and electronics consumers via *The Jane Froman Show*, *The Ray Milland Show*, *I Married Joan*, *Ozzie and Harriet* and *Today*, the *General Electric Theater* aspired to the overarching sale of Total Electric living. One telecast featuring Jimmy Stewart, for example, celebrated the first anniversary of the electric utilities' "Live Better Electrically" campaign and "National Electric Week." The closing commercial featured Nancy and Ronald Reagan in the kitchen of a Total Electric home. "When you live better electrically," Reagan told viewers, "you lead a richer, fuller, more satisfying life. And it's something all of us in this modern age can have." In his 1965 autobiography *Where's the Rest of Me?* Reagan recalled that GE installed so many appliances in his Pacific Palisades home that the electrical panel needed to serve them soon outgrew the usual pantry cupboard for a three-thousand-pound steel cabinet outside the house. The *General Electric Theater* was no less loaded with the corporate stewardship of personal and social improvement, expressed over and over by Reagan: "Progress in products goes hand in hand with providing progress in the human values that enrich the lives of us all."

*General Electric Theater* left the air in 1962 in a welter of controversy surrounding the U.S. Justice Department's anti-trust investigation of MCA and the Screen Actors Guild talent waivers granted to MCA Revue. The hint of scandal discounted Reagan's value as company spokesman and program host. As SAG president in the 1950s Reagan had, after all, signed the waivers, and later benefited from the arrangement as a *General Electric Theater* program producer himself. The suggestion of impropriety fueled Reagan's increasingly anti-government demeanor on tour,

and his insistence upon producing and starring in episodes combating Communist subversion in the final season of *General Electric Theater*.

—William L. Bird Jr.

#### HOST

Ronald Reagan (1954–1962)

**PRODUCERS** Harry Tugend, William Morwood, Joseph Bantman, Stanley Rubin, William Frye, Mort Abrhams, Bob Mosher, Joe Connelly, Gilbert A. Ralston, Joseph Sistrom, Arthur Ripley

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 200 Episodes

• CBS

February 1953–September 1962 Sunday 9:00–9:30

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See also Anthology Drama; Reagan, Ronald

## GENRE

The French term "genre," meaning "gender" or "kind," is applied in various contexts throughout the study of an audiovisual medium. Television users and audiences are familiar with uses of the term that appear in popular television criticism, in programming strategies and schedules, and in the common designations found in newspaper and magazine listings. For those who make television shows the term is absolutely central to the organization and structure of the production industries. And in the study of television, genre criticism is a major approach, clearly dependent on systems of classification that sometimes agree with, and sometimes differ from, those used for industrial and advertising purposes.

Genre criticism can be said to have begun with the Greek philosopher Aristotle, who mentions different genres in the first sentence of his book *De Poetica* (*Poetics*), "Our subject being Poetry, I propose to speak not only of the art in general but also of its species and their respective capacities...Epic poetry and Tragedy, as also Comedy...are all,

viewed as a whole, modes of imitation." This same concept of "species" or "groups" of imitative forms can be used in study and analysis of television genres.

When people speak of "watching television," strictly speaking they mean they watch some kind of program that is broadcast by the *medium* of television. A large percentage of these programs have a narrative structure—they tell stories. As a glance at any newspaper television log shows, there are many different kinds of narratives. Yet all television programs can be classified according to type; every program is a distinct work, but it is also a kind of program. The most common genres are commercials, news programs, situation comedies, soap operas, documentaries, sports shows, talk shows, action adventure programs, detective shows, science-fiction shows, hospital dramas, and westerns. In principle, there may be a finite number of genres and each television show should fit into only one of them, if the classification system works perfectly. In practice, however, there are mixed genres, combinations of kinds of programs, that complicate





Little House on the Prairie



Adam 12



Mr. Ed



Dr. Kildare

matters enormously. For example, a science-fiction story that involves having the hero find a murderer is really a mixture of science-fiction and detective genres.

Texts carried by a mass medium such as television, which have huge audiences, are often constructed in a manner that makes them easily understood by large numbers of people. As a result, they tend to be formulaic—that is, they observe certain familiar conventions which make it relatively easy for audiences to follow them. John Cawelti, who has written extensively on formulas in the mass media, suggests that texts can be placed along a continuum from *invention* (which involves new ways of organizing texts) to *convention* (which involves formulaic, often-repeated ways of organizing texts).

The basic conventions found in narrative texts involve the following matters: time when story takes place; location where story takes place; characteristics of heroes and heroines; nature of villains and villainesses; characteristics of secondary characters; kinds of plots; themes found in the plots; costuming of main characters; means of locomotion; weaponry of heroes and villains.

These conventions vary from genre to genre. Thus, science-fiction stories tend to take place in the future, in outer space, and have courageous heroes and heroines with specific powers (mental or physical). These characters soar through space in ships, battle against aliens, robots, and villains, with ray guns, lasers, and similar devices. Detective stories usually take place in the present and have rather less-than-courageous heroes and heroines with specific skills and specialties and styles of behavior. They move through urban scapes in automobiles and do battle with criminals, using conventional weapons and their fists.

The formulas of science-fiction or detective stories may be well established, enabling audiences to be familiar with the narrative events, but each individual adventure is, to some degree, different. With series such as *Star Trek* or *The Rockford Files*, audience members who watch a number of the programs feel they know the characters, identify with them, and thus can understand their motivations and behavior. They may take pleasure, however, from observing small variations, learning more about a character's background, or predicting character behavior in unexpected circumstances.

It can be argued that formulas are subclasses of genres. Thus, the detective story genre has three basic formulas. The tough, hard-boiled detective formula is exemplified in a program like *Mike Hammer*. The classical detective formula, with cerebral detectives who are not members of police forces, are represented by figures such as Sherlock Holmes and Hercule Poirot. The police procedural presents detectives who are members of a police force, who use crime laboratories and other technologies in their work, but must still rely on their intelligence and courage to find and apprehend murderers. Many of the most popular "cop" shows are police procedurals. The British series *Prime Suspect* is an excellent example of this formula. As these examples make clear, however, one problem for those who study

television is identifying the continuing combinations and permutations of both formula and genre. *Hill Street Blues*, for example, solidly grounded in the tradition of the police procedural, also takes on many of the characteristics of prime time melodrama such as *Dallas* and *Dynasty*, complete with domestic struggles, psychological conflict, and a range of emotional complications not necessary in a classic procedural.

Indeed, among the more important questions related to the study of genres is the matter of the way genres evolve. There is, for example considerable difference between the production values of the original *Star Trek* and its latest incarnation, *Star Trek: Voyager*. Nevertheless, we still have the same kinds of characters and plots. This relationship between the two instances of an ongoing, unfolding, and developing "story" is complex and continually interesting.

There is also the matter of how genres are related to one another. Intertextual borrowings from one genre to another have led to new, mixed genres. In this regard it is crucial to consider varying roles of the medium and the impact that new technologies have had, and will have, on televised texts. For example, if screen sizes continue to enlarge, will greater action, larger special effects, and more panoramic scenes alter television's tendency to explore intimate psychological involvement, character developments, and domestic arenas that are often the site of television comedy?

Such concerns are also central within the television industry, which in many ways is organized according to genre. In the United States, where television production is centered in Hollywood, this reliance on genre is as old as the film studio system, in which certain studios or units within studios were closely identified with particular types of films—westerns, musicals, gangster narratives. The practice remains in place in the production of television. Certain independent producers are closely identified with particular genres, even with particular formulas within genres. Norman Lear's socially conscious situation comedies of the 1970s are a familiar example.

The more complicated example, perhaps, is MTM Entertainment, the production company originally founded to produce *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. After a string of successful comedies, MTM produced *Lou Grant*, a melodrama shaped around the social entanglements of a major metropolitan newspaper. This shift in production styles served as a transition as the company moved on to produce *Hill Street Blues*, which combined, as suggested, the police procedural and the prime time melodrama.

These transitions and connections among genres are complicated still further when we recognize that the details extend to characters and actors. The transformation of Ed Asner's "Lou Grant" from a supporting, comic role in *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* to the serious, central character in a melodrama, required adjustment on the part of writers, producers, and audiences, as well as the actor himself.

Moreover, genre is used to organize the actual production process in the television industry. Half-hour situation



comedies are generally produced inside studios, before live audiences, with multiple cameras using either film or videotape to capture a script performed in sequence, line by line, scene by scene. The production schedule, from completed script to performance, usually requires five days, with additional days for post-production. The comedies are written by staffs of writers who often collaborate in a very intense manner up until the actual moments of performing the show. By contrast, one-hour action programs, melodramas, courtroom or hospital stories, are shot out of sequence, on location, with a single camera. These productions—actually small, one-hour movies—move from script to completed production in seven to nine days, again with additional time required for post-production. Even the scripts for half-hour comedies and one-hour programs are formatted differently on the page. It is easy to understand, then, why genre affords a handy organizational structure for the television industry.

But the use of this organized, routinized scheme of classification extends beyond the production stage. It is also used to organize the television schedule. The schedule is based on programmer assumptions about social and cultural organization, and genres are presumed to “match” certain aspects and classifications of daily experience. Early prime time, for example, is usually reserved for comedy. In the United States, even without official regulation of programming schedules, this means that certain types of programs are deemed suitable for “family” viewing. As the schedule progresses into later hours, more serious programming—which often means more violent or sexually explicit—is preferred. And at various moments in the history of U.S. television, certain genres have been selected for production and scheduling because they are presumed to appeal to specific demographic groups—the youth audience, the adult audience, the older audience.

These uses of genre are crucial because the categories function as far more than descriptive classifications. They are ways of organizing ideas about social issues, human experience, cultural behavior. Comedies, for example, may seem to be silly diversions in many cases, but often they are also very important arenas for exposing the “rules” and “standards” that go unnoticed in everyday life. Crime shows almost always explore notions of guilt, innocence, and justice. Melodramas touch on sensitive, delicate issues of personal interaction. Moreover, any of these genres can be altered to examine matters from new perspectives. Very serious social issues such as AIDS, abortion, health care, and crime have been explored in “comedies” and the mixtures of expectations and outcomes require audiences to adopt a different relationship with both the topics and the genre. In this sense genres are not merely descriptions or production facilitators—they are ways of thinking about the world.

There is, for example, the matter of the relationship between certain popular television genres, which lend themselves to violence and are permeated by violence, and society. A considerable amount of social science research indicates

that repeated exposure to televised violence excites certain individuals, who are violence prone—but also has a negative impact on people in general by desensitizing them. And the exposure of young children to the kinds of adult problems found in soap operas and other dramas may also have harmful psychological effects. These issues, with questions of the impact these programs and genres may be having on viewers, on culture, and on society must be carefully considered when programs from these genres are aired or when they are selected by audiences for viewing.

All these genre related questions permeate television systems around the world. Genres drawn from specific cultural contexts are developed to express explicit social and cultural concerns. Often, however, because of the high costs involved in local production, audiences are already familiar with television produced in the United States, the United Kingdom, or elsewhere, then imported to fill schedules. As a consequence, genres are often blended or shared. These “ways of thinking” have been moved across cultural and social lines all because they are cheap to purchase and program.

It is precisely these economic questions that underlie any complete understanding of the role of genre in television. In commercially-supported systems producers and programmers offer genres to audiences and shift their financial support toward those that draw large numbers or particularly desirable viewers. In systems rooted in public support, additional genres may be supplied for smaller audiences and more specialized groups, and non-formulaic presentations may provide a greater portion of the scheduled offerings without regard to costs.

But as these systems become more and more intertwined, the economic base becomes more evident. In the United States, for example, financing of television production is founded on the syndication of successful programs—resale for non-network, non-prime time distribution, and further resale to non-U.S. markets. In the U.S. syndication markets, half-hour comedies are the primary commodity, the most popular items, and the search for the “hit” comedy drives many decisions by writers, producers, actors, network executives, and programmers. But U.S. comedies are not as popular in non-U.S. markets, where one-hour action programs are still the primary choices.

Producers and distributors must weigh costs of producing within a particular generic context against possible rewards. But they must also acknowledge that genres are systems of meaning and significance. Either the financial constraints or the cultural significance can be deemed the primary factor in understanding any given program, but both must be recognized to fully understand the significance of genre in television as a system. As a form of classification within the medium, then, genre is an active and indispensable concept at almost every level of practice. Whether future forms of television alter this significance remains to be seen.

—Arthur Asa Berger

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- See also Action Adventure Shows; Comedy, Domestic Settings; Comedy, Workplace; Demographics; Detective Programs; Melodrama; Police Programs; Producer in Television; Programming; Spy Programs; Writing for Television; Workplace Programs

## GEOGRAPHY AND TELEVISION

The importance of a geographical understanding of television lies in recognizing that television always has been produced for, has circulated across, and has been engaged at particular sites. Consequently, what is understood as the "televisual" has never been a discrete object but a set of practices or attributes—always attached to, situated within, and dispersed across different environments. While one may choose to talk about the distinctive properties of television (e.g., as an industry, a technology, a narrative or cultural form, an audience), it is just as necessary to recognize that any definition draws strategically on examples of practices from particular locations. Similarly, any such definition risks ignoring how these distinctive properties have always been site-specific, complexly conjoined, along with other practices, to environments. As a consequence, any aspect of the televisual has been deployed, developed, and engaged unevenly around the world.

Beside being organized around locations and landscapes, the televisual has also mediated and shifted any understanding of "the geographic." As a visual and narrative form, it has conditioned perceptions and understandings of places, showing particular pictures as "locations" for drama, for example, or narrating documentaries from a particular point of view. As a dispersed formation it has conditioned concrete, material relations among places, with some countries selling their technology and their television programs to others, just as other countries set quotas and limits on what and how much television can be imported. There are, of course, very specific physical geographic features of television's material infrastructure and circulation: the location of studios and transmitter towers, the use of microwave relay stations to cross mountains, cable strung from poles, receivers placed in homes, or particular national or regional systems of broadcasting. There are even geographically specific stories and narrative strategies. As is the case with other

aspects of telecommunications and telematics, the televisual infrastructures, networks, and network flows, dependent upon electronic and satellite signals, are increasingly invisible and pose special challenges to geographers accustomed to marking and charting the visible. The increasing dispersal of television sets outside the home has contributed to spatial redefinitions of the relation between the private and public spheres. Within different cultural contexts, television narrative has conventionalized and mythologized place and landscape—where, after all, is *Dallas*? In other words, television has aspired to the role of cultural atlas. Television viewers have formed cognitive maps of an environment they inhabit in part through their engagements with television. The ways in which viewers engage television, then, are contingent upon both television and viewers' relations to particular locations. And they are also contingent upon both television and the viewers' mediation of other locations through and around the site of television watching.

The spread and containment of the televisual have been fraught with political conflicts and legislation over a variety of sites, borders, and kinds of territory. Efforts to regulate the consumption of pornography, for example, have found television's place in the domestic sphere to be particularly alarming. In this case, legislating television is nothing short of legislating the domestic sphere. In the case of the nation-state, the implementation of national coding of broadcast signals (e.g., NTSC, PAL, and SECAM) has served as an invisible border against the international flow of television broadcasting. In Europe, for instance, these televisual borders began to erode with the increased reliance upon satellite broadcasting and with efforts to organize a European Union. Still, language and other cultural differences have deterred a European televisual formation, and the difficulties faced in legislating and regulating the cultures of a "European television" have been a recurring impediment to actualizing a

European Union or of treating television as merely another commodity in a European common market. Questions of cultural geography rise with the uses of television among Australian aboriginal communities, which have not only raised issues of autonomy and governance within and among these communities but have been the subject of the Australian government's efforts to implement policy regarding "national" broadcast space. And beside the impact of transnational televisual flows on the collapse of the Soviet Union, the televisualization of the dismantling of the Berlin Wall in 1989 attested to the capability of television to conjoin a global audience in an event that signaled a profound transformation in geo-political borders. Moreover, that event also served as an occasion for national commentators and audiences to reformulate national cultural maps of the world. As these instances affirm, the location of television is organized through emerging and residual social and cultural formations, of which the televisual is one. But the location of television is also organized through policies and commercial interests bent on preserving, or dismantling residual formations or on nurturing or containing emerging ones—or on co-opting both.

The history of the televisual, then, is a history of how various sites and environments—such as domestic, urban, rural, regional, national, or global space—have conditioned and been conditioned by the place of television in everyday life. Emphasizing the sites and (overlapping or conflicting) territories of the televisual thus makes it impossible to conceive of a uniform and universal history of television. But to say that the televisual lacks a discrete, continuous history is not to ignore that there have in fact been certain historically parallel developments that eventually contributed to global flows of television broadcasting. In one respect, the televisual belongs to certain spatial models that have underpinned geopolitics since the 1920s. Numerous experiments with television technology before World War II occurred alongside the development of telephony and radio technology, and all three continued to be crucial in the social organization of national territory after the war. In particular the "national" could be defined as a networked space with a single center of cultural production (as London was to Britain, Hollywood to the United States, or Rome to Italy). The national broadcasting and telecommunication companies, formed during the 1920s and 1930s, were also an important factor in the conceptualization and maintenance of the national territory. But throughout the 1980s it was in fact their competition—often with expanding local, regional, or foreign companies—that began to undo that model of the nation. During the 1980s, some cities became equally or more aligned to flows outside their national boundaries than had previously been the case.

Despite having followed this trajectory of development in many nation-states, the televisual only became central to the formation of social relations and to everyday life after World War II, a period characterized by a broad restructur-

ing of cities and of the relation between domestic space and the outside world. As Raymond Williams has noted, the expansion of cities and the proliferation of suburbs hastened at this time. The developments were sustained by technologies such as telephony, a greater reliance upon automobile travel, and broadcasting—all of which were supposed to facilitate flows to and from these new settlements. Williams' observations describe a general set of conditions, however, that were more common in North America, Britain, and Australia during the 1950s and 1960s than in other parts of the world. That is, the observations explain why television became more quickly and deeply embedded in the everyday life of some places, amidst certain historical convergences, rather than others.

Since the late 1940s, the development of the televisual has occurred through a changing set of relations between the home and other sites and spaces. In part this has been a process of linking the home to a circuit and assemblage of sites, vectors, and spaces. It has also been a process of aligning new domestic spaces, in new settlements, with already built (but, in the wake of resettlement, changing) places and spheres of community. But the role of television in colonizing and expanding the domestic sphere and of mediating new and old places (and other flows between them) has not just involved the material networking of homes. It has also been contingent upon television audiences' investment in and mobility between the home and other sites. Such an investment has only partially to do with "watching television," but everything to do with television's role in mediating the places of everyday life. And it has occurred in part through television narratives about settlement and domesticity. These narratives have mythologized certain architectural ideals of domestic space and domestic space's relation to other spheres.

The set design of ranch homes in TV westerns in the United States during the early 1960s—series such as *Bonanza*, *High Chaparral*, *The Virginian*, or *The Big Valley*—contributed, for instance, to concrete and imaginary relations of suburban homes to suburban settlement. They drew upon the western genre's mythology of settlement for an era of planned development, appropriating the post-war ideals of other domestic narratives and domestic design magazines to valorize a "ranch" style (on a grander scale than most early, post-war "ranch homes") for 1950s and early 1960s suburban "settlers." Many television comedies produced in the United States from the late 1950s to the early 1960s rarely involved characters who abandoned or ventured too far outside the suburbs. Contemporaneous crime series, such as *Peter Gunn*, were set in an inner-city where vice and eccentricity was made to seem beyond the realm of everyday life in the suburbs but, through television, having a vital connection to the domestic, suburban domain. At other times, U.S. television narrative (indeed whole series) have been about displacement and resettlement—a televisual discourse about television's changing relation to a changing material and symbolic environment (e.g., the

Goldbergs' move to suburbia during the early 1950s on *The Goldbergs*, the Clampetts' move from a "simple," rural America to the suburban dream-world of Beverly Hills in the early 1960s on the sitcom *The Beverly Hillbillies*, or the Jeffersons' move "up" and out from Queens to Manhattan in the mid-1970s on the sitcom *The Jeffersons*).

That television has played a mediating role amidst the flows of people reshaping cities has also been evident in the post-cable/satellite era when television became an invaluable instrument in the "revitalization" projects of certain cities. Particularly in the United States, where cable/satellite broadcasting first became widely established, Chicago and Atlanta transformed local network affiliates (Chicago's WGN and Atlanta's WTBS) into "superstations," capable of broadcasting across the United States via satellite and the rapidly expanding cable companies. Through sports broadcasting in particular, these superstations maintained a circuit of fans and thus of potential tourists to cities that were concurrently attempting to "rehabilitate" their old commercial centers as new tourist sites/sights through "restoration" projects. Wrigley Field became a nationally circulating image of a pre-suburban Chicago, and Turner Broadcasting's ownership of and regular recycling of *Gone with the Wind* functioned similarly for the contemporaneous "restoration" of the area surrounding Atlanta's Peachtree Street as a retail/tourist center. In both instances, the televisual worked to spatially redefine and to re-image the relation of current development to an urban past. Since the 1970s, the modifications to these cities have developed alongside the construction of Disney World in Orlando and the initiation of the Disney Channel that promoted the theme park, and alongside the Nashville Network's promotion of that city as country-music mecca and museum. Through television, these cities emerged as "new" centers of national popular culture (after New York and Los Angeles) through their reproduction of an urban past already partially constituted as televisual and cinematic past. These urban "revitalization" projects precipitated and were fueled by a reterritorialization of national and global economic flows, by the movement of people (as "settlers" or "tourists") to these cities, and by broadcasts from them.

The flow of television broadcasting via cable, fiber-optic, and satellites has affected the geographic features of the televisual and its environment in a variety of ways. It has brought traditional broadcast television into close relations with the paths and flows of telecommunications and telematics, though these convergences have been fraught with commercial and political conflicts over territory. It has occurred amidst a redistribution of people and economic/cultural capital. Not every home and not every nation and few rural areas are equally connected to these potentially global flows. To the extent that new modes of transmission and new industry alliances have made the televisual a global formation, this formation is at best tenuously sustained through various conjunctions and divisions between the domestic, the urban, the rural, the regional, and the national.

And recognizing only the global flow of television risks ignoring how the movement of people from one part of the world to another often involves their "assimilation" into a new environment—shaped politically, economically, culturally—in part through televisual mediation of their new sense of place and/or their relation to their former homeland. This has occurred through Spanish-language television broadcasting across the western hemisphere, through television produced by and for Iranian exiles in Los Angeles, through television broadcast via satellite by the Italian RAI foreign service to Italian-American audiences in New York, through video rentals and pirating for video playback where there are no broadcasts for immigrant audiences, or through audiences whose sense of place is bound up with their consumption of television that arrives from abroad (e.g., Europeans watching *Dallas* or Australian aborigines watching *Diff'rent Strokes*).

The televisual has always been appended to particular sites and located within particular environments—mediating various spheres of sociality. But the current codependence of television with telecommunication and telematics suggests that what has been known so far as "the televisual" was comprised of spatial formations and forms of spatial modeling whose effectivity belonged to a vanishing set of environmental conditions. In certain respects, the first wave of televisual technologies emerged within established infrastructures, networks, and environmental conditions. Through these conditions the televisual flourished as a means of spatially organizing social relations. But the flow of images and the formation of discourses through the current technological convergence has already been predicated upon changing concentrations and dispersals of economic and cultural capital, and cultural capital, after all, is the basis for accessing these flows, as opposed merely to inhabiting an environment conditioned by them. Despite the enthusiastic proclamations about the democratizing potential of new technological convergences, then, access to global media flows is still unequally distributed at the level of home and region. The televisual thus remains as a residual formation, still an organizing feature of homes, cities, nations even as their relations are once again being redefined spatially through technologies appended to television.

—James Hay

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See also Coproductions, International; Satellite; Superstation

## THE GEORGE BURNS AND GRACIE ALLEN SHOW

### U.S. Domestic Comedy

**T**he *George Burns and Gracie Allen Show*, which premiered on 12 October 1950, was one of the first comedy series to make the successful transition from radio to television. Similar to the format of the radio program in which George Burns and Gracie Allen played themselves, the CBS domestic comedy was set in their home, the first television series to depict the home life of a working show business couple.

The half-hour series was broadcast live for the first two seasons. The first six episodes were broadcast from New York, but the show soon moved to Hollywood, making it only the third CBS series to emanate from the West Coast (after *The Ed Wynn Show* and *The Alan Young Show*). On Burns' insistence, the show was broadcast on alternate weeks in order to provide sufficient time for rehearsals and alleviate some of the pressures of live broadcasts. During its bi-weekly period, the series alternated with the anthology series *Starlight Theater* and, later, with *Star of the Family*. After two seasons of live performances, the series switched to a weekly filmed broadcast. Although not filmed before a studio audience, the final filmed product was previewed to an audience and their reactions recorded. At a time when many series relied on mechanically reproduced ("canned") laughter, Burns claimed that his series only "sweetened" the laughter when a joke went flat and there was no way of eliminating it from the film. Even then we never added more than a gentle chuckle."

Like other television pioneers such as Desi Arnaz and Jack Webb, George Burns must also be credited for his contributions behind the scenes. *Burns and Allen* incorporated a number of television "firsts," although Burns noted that "television was so new that if an actor burped, everyone agreed it was an innovative concept and nothing like it had ever been done on television before." Still, he was the first television performer to use the theatrical convention of "breaking the fourth wall" between the audience and the performer. He frequently stepped out of a scene and out of character to address the audience, then rejoined the story. This convention was later imitated by others, but not used effectively until *It's Garry Shandling's Show* in the 1980s.

The staff writers for the series were those who had written for the Burns and Allen radio program or worked with the team in vaudeville, including Paul Henning (who later created *The Beverly Hillbillies*), Sid Dorfman (who later wrote for *M\*A\*S\*H* and produced *Good Times* for Norman

Lear), Harvey Helm, and William Burns, George's younger brother. To keep dialogue and situations consistent with the characters' personalities and ages, the writers adhered to policies and practices established during their radio show. The stories stayed away from topical humor, fantastic characters, and absurd situations and focused instead on more universal aspects of daily life. Plots were simple (e.g., Gracie attempting to learn Spanish) and, like their vaudeville routines, the comedy emanated from Allen's uniquely skewed interpretation of the world and the resulting confusion. Burns played the quintessential straight man to the giddy, scatterbrained Allen.

Each episode began with Burns standing, trademark cigar in hand, before the proscenium surrounding their living room set. There he presented a brief monologue, then offered the audience a few comments regarding the situation they were about to see.



The George Burns and Gracie Allen Show

Allen's success, and her enormous popularity, emanated from her ability to underplay her character. Her convincing sincerity makes illogical premises, such as sewing buttons on her husband's shirttails so no one would notice if he lost one, seem logical.

Episodes ended with a Burns and Allen dialog reminiscent of their vaudeville routines. At the conclusion, of every episode Burns would turn to Allen and say, "Say goodnight, Gracie," to which Allen would obligingly turn to their audience and fondly bid them "goodnight."

The supporting cast continued in roles established in the original *Burns and Allen* radio program. Bea Benaderet and Hal March played the Burns' neighbors, Blanche and Harry Morton. Bill Goodwin, as himself, played the show's announcer and friend of the family, and Rolfe Sedan played mailman Mr. Beasley, with whom Gracie gossiped. During the run of the series, the role of Harry Morton was subsequently played by John Brown, Fred Clark, and Larry Keating. In the second season, announcer Goodwin left to host his own variety series (*The Bill Goodwin Show*, NBC) and was replaced by Harry Von Zell. A musical entr'acte entertainment was provided by The Singing Skylarks. The Burns' son Ronnie later joined the cast as himself.

Although *Burns and Allen* was never among the top-rated series, it maintained consistently high ratings throughout its eight seasons. The show garnered a total of twelve Emmy nominations: four for best comedy series, six for Allen as best actress and comedienne, and two for Bea Benaderet as best supporting actress.

The series ended on 22 September 1958 with Allen's decision to retire from show business. Burns continued working in a revamped version of the show, *The George Burns Show* (NBC, 21 October 1958 to 14 April 1959), in which he again played himself, now in the role of a theatrical producer. Bea Benaderet and Larry Keating reprised their roles as Blanche and Harry Morton, but now portrayed Burns' secretary and accountant and Harry Von Zell repeated his role as Burns' announcer. The series lasted only one season.

Burns returned to series television again in 1964 as producer and star of *Wendy and Me* (ABC, 14 September 1964 to 6 September 1965), in which he played an apartment building owner who narrated and commented on the action. Burns' McCadden Productions continued to produce other situation comedies, such as *Mr. Ed*, *The Bob Cummings Show*, *The People's Choice*, and *The Marie Wilson Show*. In 1985, at age 89, Burns hosted the short-lived

half-hour comedy anthology series *George Burns Comedy Week* (CBS, 18 September 1985 to 25 December 1985).

—Susan R. Gibberman

#### CAST

<i>George Burns</i> . . . . .	Himself
<i>Gracie Allen</i> . . . . .	Herself
<i>Blanche Morton</i> . . . . .	Bea Benaderet
<i>Harry Morton</i> (1950–51) . . . . .	Hal March
<i>Harry Morton</i> (1951) . . . . .	John Brown
<i>Harry Morton</i> (1951–53) . . . . .	Fred Clark
<i>Harry Morton</i> (1953–58) . . . . .	Larry Keating
<i>Bill Goodwin</i> (1950–51) . . . . .	Himself
<i>Harry Von Zell</i> (1951–58) . . . . .	Himself
<i>Mr. Beasley, Mailman</i> . . . . .	Rolfe Sedan
<i>Ronnie Burns</i> (1955–58) . . . . .	Himself
<i>Bonnie Sue McAfee</i> (1957–58) . . . . .	Judi Meredith

**PRODUCERS** Fred DeCordova, Al Simon, Ralph Levy, Rod Amateau

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 239 Episodes

#### • CBS

October 1950–March 1953	Thursday 8:00–8:30
March 1953–September 1958	Monday 8:00–8:30

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See also Allen, Gracie; Comedy, Domestic Settings; Burns, George; Family on Television

## GERMANY

Television in Germany began as an integrated part of an existing public broadcasting system. Although it took seven years in the 1950s to fully establish TV as a mass medium, its history started before World War II. The first

tests with wireless transmission of television pictures without sound were regularly offered by the German Reichpost in 1929. As a result of these tests, the first TV-movie *Morgenstund hat Gold im Mund* (*The Early Bird Catches the*

*Worm*) was produced in 1930. It was not until 1934, however, that programs combining pictures and sounds were produced.

The National Socialist Party enforced further technical developments in order to create a new instrument for propaganda. The first regular television network, "Paul Nipkow," began operation on 22 March 1935 under control of Reichssendeleiter Eugen Hadamovsky. In order to fulfill the propaganda function, reception was made available only in public television rooms. These venues, which operated quite similarly to movie theatres and presented programs at three nights a week, were set up in Berlin. The first highlight, shown in 28 television rooms, was live coverage of the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin. Private reception of television was made technically possible by the *Deutsche Fernseh-Einheitsempfänger*, but the system could not be introduced to the market because of the beginning of the war. Television programming adapted to the situation and by 1941 a series of variety shows, *Wir senden Frohsinn—Wir spenden Freude* (*We Broadcast Joy—We Spend Happiness*), were broadcast for injured soldiers in Berlin. Following the presentation of programs in Hamburg, television was also broadcast in occupied Paris from 1942 until 1944. The same programs produced for the injured soldiers were aimed in French at the inhabitants of Paris.

The development of television in Germany following World War II began when the Western Allies founded new networks in their occupied areas, patterned on the network systems of their home countries. A common aim of the Western Allies was to prevent the future abuse of broadcasting by the German government. Thus the different regional networks were placed under control of the federal countries of the republic: NWDR (Northern and West Germany, which were split, during the 1950s, into NDR and WDR); Radio Bremen (Bremen); BR (Bavaria); HR (Hessia); SR, SDR, and SWF for Southwest Germany.

In 1948, the British Allies allowed the NWDR to broadcast television programs for the northern part of Germany. A general television programming test phase, organized by Werner Pleister, started on 25 September 1950. Pleister and members of a television committee traveled to the United States and several European countries to become more familiar with television standards. In 1950 the NWDR presented a two-hour program between 8:00 and 10:00 P.M. which included news, variety shows, movies, and television plays. In 1951 additional programs for children (*Television's Children's Hour with Ilse Obrig*) and women (*Television's Tea Hour with Eva Baier Post*) were already broadcast in the afternoon. Further gaps in the daily schedule were filled during the 1950s and, beside the NWDR, other federal networks also started to develop television programs.

In the time of the test phase, between 1950 and 1952, it seemed necessary to promote the new medium by pointing out the technical differences that distinguished television from its "big brothers," radio and film. By presenting live

reports with both visual and sound components, television was described as the fifth wall in the living room or as the "Miracle Mirror." Television was celebrated as the "window to the world" which transferred directly into German homes. Two major events assisted in efforts to change television into a mass medium—the live coverage of the Coronation Ceremony of Queen Elizabeth II on the 2 June 1953 and the final game of the Soccer World Cup in Switzerland on the 4 July 1954. Many people who did not yet own a television set watched these events in pubs.

In 1954 a regular television schedule began as a cooperation of all federal networks, which had formed an association named ARD (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*). ARD was financed by licence fees paid by the audience and, after 1956, with a few minutes of commercials presented in the early evening. During the 1950s the basic television genres in the central areas of entertainment, information, and education were established, and television plays developed as television's own specific art form. Because of the lack of a recording technique, these plays, as well as other types of shows, were presented live. In 1954 the first family series *Unsere Nachbarn heute Abend: Familie Schoelermann* (*Our Neighbours Tonight: The Schoelermann Family*) appeared. Their lifestyle served as an ideal for the audience, which resulted in many letters expressing gratitude for helpful advice. Documentaries, under the heading *Zeichen der Zeit* (*Sign of the Time*), also gave direct insights into several parts of German society.

Improvements in the technical quality of television sets, reduced prices, and better programs resulted in a steady increase in licence holders, and their number reached one million on 1 October 1957. This success and new, still unused frequencies motivated Konrad Adenauer, chancellor of the German government, to increase his influence by founding a second channel, "Free Television," financed by the industry with the central goal of presenting government opinions. The federal governments protested against these activities and they were finally stopped by court judgment in 1961. The ARD also presented a second schedule of programs from 1 January 1961 until 4 January 1963. In addition, the federal governments allowed the several ARD networks to found regional third channels which, from 1964, presented educational and cultural programs in addition to local information.

The ZDF (Second German Television) was founded by the federal states in 1963 as the long-promised second national network. In contrast to the ARD, whose networks distributed several radio programs as well, the ZDF was centrally organized solely for the production of television programs. According to a decision by the federal governments, programming had to be planned in cooperation with the ARD with the aim of presenting contrasting elements on the two channels. Still, the well-established ARD perceived the ZDF as a competitor which they confronted with enhanced news coverage and several international reports. New political magazine programs such as *Panorama* created



controversial public discussions as a result of their investigative journalism. The ZDF did not yet have enough journalists to cover these areas with the same standard. Instead, it increased its efforts in presenting entertainment in order to gain a larger audience. The arrival of colour TV in 1967 increased the presentation of popular programs for both ARD and ZDF, whose schedules by then included many U.S. serials, such as *Bonanza*. With the increasing influence of popular television shows, the star system also became far more significant. Still, as in the 1960s, the highlight of the era came in the form of live coverage—with the first man on the moon on the 21 July 1969.

Serials dominated prime time television broadcasts in the 1970s. In the early years of the decade the liberalization movements initiated by students started to influence television. In 1971 Wibke Bruhns was the first female news anchor. *Wuensch Dir was (Desire Something, 1969-72)* was the first game show which intended to improve social behaviour of the candidates. The first German sitcom series *Ein Herz und eine Seele (One Heart and One Soul, 1973)* criticized the conservative attitude and the chauvinistic behaviour of its protagonist, Ekel Alfred. Television plays tried to present realistic daily life routines in the tradition of Egon Monk's *Wilhelmsburger Freitag (Friday in Wilhelmsburg, 1964)*. Even television series such as Rainer Werner Fassbinder's *Acht Stunden sind kein Tag (Eight Hours Don't Form a Day, 1972)* followed realistic dramaturgy in order to present the necessity of political engagement. This aim also influenced informational programs which were mainly presented in magazine format, but in addition to politics there were also magazines for seniors, car owners, and others. Politics was approached from another direction when the election campaign in 1976 was used to develop new formats for the presentation of political items, and television discussions between the main candidates were established.

In the late 1960s the government founded a commission to analyze possible influences of new media technologies, but the commission did not present its report until 1976. It made clear that cable technology made new, commercially-financed television channels possible. Although a 1981 legal decision guaranteed the audience further educational and information programs supplied from public television, this period saw major changes resulting from the rise of commercial broadcasting that was made possible by these new technologies.

With the foundation of privately organized pilot projects in 1984 in Ludwigshafen, Berlin, and Dortmund, the media landscape in Germany, long dominated by public television, changed rapidly. Ratings, instead of quality, now formed the basic criteria for the success of programming. ARD and ZDF, the state supported competitors to the commercial systems, altered their schedules in attempts to secure their financial situation. The general public service goal of integrating social minorities through the development and broadcasting of special programming was now driven by the dominance of economic measurements. Public

television systems did produce their own series, which were quite successful with their specific regional orientation.

Ratings instead of quality now formed the basic criteria for the success of programming which was designed with different forms of entertainment. The steadily increasing number of channels created a growing demand for programs. It was quite expensive to produce them but the prices for licenses exploded as well. Many Hollywood movies and U.S. series like *Dallas*, *Dynasty*, and *The A-Team* were broadcast. The commercial networks RTL and SAT.1 established the form of the daytime series with productions like *The Springfield Story*. Game show and talk show formats were both successful and inexpensive. RTL tried to gain public attention by breaking existing taboos—*Tutti Frutti (1990)* was the first striptease show presented on German TV. Soft news dominated the information sector. Instead of seriously discussing a topic, RTL talk shows were based on the principle of "confrontainment."

At the beginning of the 1990s RTL and SAT.1 improved their financial situation. Simultaneously ARD and ZDF, as public networks, experienced a financial crisis because of the decreasing number of commercials they carried. With their new prominence, RTL and SAT.1 started several campaigns to improve their image. They promised a higher percentage of self-produced TV-movies and series, more information, and less sex in future programming. They bought in stars in order to deepen the identification between the viewers and their networks. ARD and ZDF increasingly adapted the successful formats of their competitors, who had themselves already taken up popular public television formats such as folklore programs.

From 1992 to 1994 "Reality TV" shows were a successful format on every channel. The blurred lines between reality and fiction in these programs created controversial public discussions and led to their slow disappearance. Several forms of emotionalized shows like *Ich bekenne (I Confess)* or *Verzeih mir (Pardon me)* presented weeping guests comforted by weeping hosts. Flirt and love shows offered exciting possibilities for finding a partner or even for marriage in front of studio cameras (*Traumhochzeit*). During the 1990s several specialty channels were created. In addition to news (n-tv), sport (DSF), and music channels (Viva I and Viva II), local channels (HH1, Puls TV) were also founded. Even more new channels are expected in the future as digital television technologies make more networks possible.

Throughout most of these developments in West Germany, television broadcasting in the GDR (East Germany) remained under government control and served as a propaganda instrument for socialistic ideals. Regular programming officially started on 3 March 1956 as an alternative to West German television but it reached only few regions across the border. By contrast, ARD broadcasts could be seen in most parts of the GDR.

As in West Germany, there had been a test phase in the GDR, begun on 3 June 1952 under the control of Hermann



Zille. TV officials traveled to Moscow to gain insight into socialist models of television practices. For political reasons, Zille was fired in 1953 and replaced by Heinz Adameck in June 1954, who remained as head of the system until 1989. The first East German television play was an adaptation of E.T.A. Hoffmann's *Des Vetters Eckfenster* (*The Cousin's Corner Window*, 22 January 1953).

The purpose of television was to form the morality of socialist people. Television shows and old DEFA movies were presented as entertainment to keep the audience from watching West German channels. In the 1960s TV novels were popular, presenting historical plots in miniseries format. The news *Aktuelle Kamera* (*Current Camera*) was directly controlled by members of the government. *Der Schwarze Kanal* (*The Black Channel*) with anchorman Karl Eduard von Schnitzler reacted directly to West German news coverage with propaganda material.

As a reaction to the West German television landscape, a second program schedule, presented in colour, was founded in 1969 to complement the original schedule. In its early period this channel presented colour versions of programs which the audience already knew from the first schedule. Additionally, the leaders of Soviet troops in the GDR demanded a series of Russian movies, *Fuer die Freunde der Russischen Sprache* (*For Friends of the Russian Language*), which were presented in the original language. In the late 1970s the second schedule began several educational and cultural programs.

During the 1980s East German television tried to react against commercial tendencies in West Germany. More movies and popular series were placed in the schedules to keep citizens from watching West German channels. By the 1989-90 season, following political changes in East German

and the unification of East and West Germany, the central issue for television was the matter of news coverage. Journalists of the ARD claimed to have encouraged the political changes with their information policy. In essence, East German television was adapted to the West German broadcasting system, with various services integrated in the ARD.

It remains to be seen whether the newer, combined German system of television will continue a familiar path of creating new channels to serve viewer interests, or become something quite different. Throughout the world television as medium of "mass" communication has begun to fragment into several forms of individual communication. New possibilities for interactive television try to change viewers into active users. Still, it is likely that many of those now sitting before the television set will cling to this medium as a favorite source for information, stories, and human insights.

—Joan Bleicher

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## GERUSSI, BRUNO

### Canadian Actor

After an extensive career in stage, radio, and television and film, Bruno Gerussi became one of Canada's most highly recognizable actors and television personalities. Despite the diversity of his career, the Canadian-born Gerussi is best known for his role as Nick Adonidas on Canada's longest running television series, *The Beachcombers* (1972-90).

Gerussi began his acting career on the stage where he ultimately performed both supporting and leading roles in Canadian Players and Stratford Festival productions such as *Twelfth Night*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Julius Caesar* and *The Crucible*. The exposure and experience provided allowed Gerussi to make a smooth transition into the expanding arena of Canadian television production of the late 1950s and early 1960s. During this time the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) developed a number of televised dramas, including *The Crucible* (1959), *Riel* (1961), and *Galileo* (1963), in which Gerussi assumed important dramatic roles.

After a two-year stint (1967-68) with his own nationally broadcast midmorning CBC radio show *Gerussi, Words and Music*, Gerussi won the lead role on the popular CBC family adventure series *The Beachcombers* (1972-90) created by Marc and Susan Strange (produced by Philip Keatley and Derek Gardner). Gerussi portrayed Nick Adonidas, the Greek-born owner of Nick's Salvage Company, and father figure for a set of characters who inhabited the fishing village around Molly's Reach. Although largely consistent with the family-adventure genre, *Beachcombers* ("The" was dropped from the title in 1988) stretched the limitations of the form sufficiently to allow the various characters to evolve and the series to stay fresh during its long history. Over the course of the series, for example, the romantic, free spirit nature of Gerussi's character became increasingly responsible and fatherly towards his substitute family.

A total of 324 half-hour *Beachcomber* episodes were produced over a 19-year period. At its peak in 1982, the

series attracted an audience of 1.94 million (25% of the available audience) during the "CBC Sunday night family hour" (7:30 P.M. time slot). *Beachcombers* was one of the few Canadian productions of its time to be widely exported, selling to as many as 34 countries at once, including Greece, Australia, Italy and Britain. The location of the production, Gibson's Landing, a small fishing village on the coast of British Columbia, pulled upwards of 100,000 tourists a year as a result of the show's popularity. Despite the international appeal of *Beachcombers*, the program was often interpreted by Canadians as the quintessential Canadian program. This was true both in terms of its economic development—a relatively low budget product of the publicly subsidized CBC, as well as culturally, in the sense that it presented a relatively innocent, unglamorous group of characters and story lines, which distinguished the series from much of the U.S. prime-time programming distributed on Canadian airwaves. Ironically, CBC management attempted to re-vamp the series in its last years by increasing the level of action and violence in the story lines, decreasing the contrast to its competition. This move was publicly criticized by longtime cast members, particularly Gerussi, who saw this as an "Americanization" of Canadian programming. By the 1988-89 season, *Beachcombers*' audience fell to 990,000, and the program was canceled the following year.

Since the 1970s Gerussi accumulated dozens of television credits as a guest character on various Canadian and U.S.-Canada co-productions, including *E.N.G.*, *McQueen*, *Seeing Things*, *Hangin' In*, *Wojeck*, *Wiseguy* and most recently on CBC's *Side Effects*. Gerussi was often cast in roles that take advantage of his "larger than life" persona. For example, Gerussi acted as the host of the Canada Day telecast, and the opening of the Canada's National Arts Centre. Gerussi also hosted his own CBC afternoon cooking program for four years entitled *Celebrity Cooks*. This weekday production, often shot in one take, drew on the host's personality and ability to interact with the celebrities who acted as guest chefs.

Through his association with the *Beachcombers* series, and his decision to locate his career permanently in Canada rather than in the larger U.S. market, Gerussi developed a particularly strong link to Canada and its television industry.

—Keith C. Hampson

**BRUNO GERUSSI.** Born in Medicine Hat, Alberta, Canada, 1928. Educated at the Banff School of Fine Arts. Joined the Stratford Festival and the Canadian Players as a stage actor, mid-1950s; star of morning CBC radio show *Gerussi, Words and Music*, 1967-68; star of CBC television adventure series *The Beachcombers*, 1972-90; host of afternoon show *Celebrity Cooks*. Died 21 November 1995.

#### TELEVISION SERIES (selection)

1972-90      *The Beachcombers*



Bruno Gerussi

Photo courtesy of Bruno Gerussi

#### TELEVISION SPECIAL

1995      *Artisans de notre histoire* (actor)

#### FILMS

*Alexander Galt: The Stubborn Idealist*, 1962; *The Stage to Three*, 1964; *Do Not Fold, Staple, Spindle or Mutilate*, 1967.

#### RADIO

*Gerussi, Words and Music*, 1967-68.

#### STAGE (selection)

*Twelfth Night*; *Romeo and Juliet*; *Julius Caesar*; *The Crucible*.

#### FURTHER READING

"Beachcomber Gerussi Rakes CBC Officials for Cancelling Show." *Montreal Gazette*, 26 June 1990.

"Gerussi Award Planned Bruno Award." *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 19 January 1996.

"Gerussi Busy Despite Demise of *Beachcombers*." *Winnipeg (Canada) Free Press*, 19 September 1991.

"Gerussi's Move On, But Still Pines for *The Beachcombers*." *Vancouver Sun*, 20 September 1991.

"Stormy Weather on the Sunshine Coast: Bruno Gerussi Has His Doubts About Head Office." *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 1 August 1989.

See also *Beachcombers*; Canadian Programming in English

## GET SMART

### U.S. Spy Parody

The premise of this cult-classic television comedy series is that an evil organization, KAOS, is attempting to take over the world. The forces of good, symbolized by the organization CONTROL, constantly battle KAOS to preserve order in the world. Maxwell Smart (Don Adams) is CONTROL Secret Agent 86. Yet Smart was anything but smart. A stupid, self-centered man, Smart is the antithesis—and parody—of everything conventionally represented by secret service agents in popular culture.

Smart's immediate superior is the Chief (Ed Platt), the head of the Washington Bureau of CONTROL. In his fight against KAOS Smart is assisted by his side-kick, Agent 99, played by former model Barbara Feldon. Unfailingly faithful to Maxwell Smart and always willing to let him take credit for her proficiency, 99's admiration of Smart goes well beyond professional respect. It is obvious to anyone, except of course Maxwell Smart, that Agent 99 is in love with him, and indeed, in a later show they marry.

The success of *Get Smart* has been linked to three primary factors. The first was the spy craze that was all the rage in early 1960s popular culture. Second was the talent of persons involved in the production of the series both in front and behind the camera. And third was the more tenuous sense of a new mood in the American public, a willingness to accept television humor that went beyond sight gags and family situation comedies. In the aftermath of 1950s McCarthyism, the Civil Rights Movement, and increasing criticism of the policy in Vietnam, these newer forms of television humor included satiric jabs at an increasingly questioned status quo.

In the mid-1960s spies were hot: *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* aired on NBC in 1964. *I Spy* appeared in 1965. *The Avengers*, a British production, came to U.S. television in March 1966. *Burke's Law* premiered in 1963 but in the 1965 season changed its name to *Amos Burke—Secret Agent*. In the same year *The Wild, Wild West* appeared on the small screen. *Honey West*, a Burke spin-off, featured Anne Francis as a female private detective who depended on technological marvels—tear-gas earrings and garters that converted into gas masks—to solve crimes. CBS imported *Secret Agent* from Britain, and ABC aired *The FBI*.

In this context Mel Brooks (*The Producers*, *Blazing Saddles*, *Spaceballs*), Buck Henry (*The Graduate*, *Saturday Night Live*), Jay Sandrich (director of *Soap*, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* and *The Cosby Show*), and Carl Reiner (*Mary Tyler Moore*) were brought together by Dan Melnick and David Susskind. Melnick and Susskind owned Talent Associates, the company that had produced the highly acclaimed television series *East Side/West Side* (1963-64). Brooks and Henry developed the idea for *Get Smart*.

Don Adams had played a house detective on *The Danny Thomas Show* before signing on as Agent 86. His ability to deliver memorable lines was uncanny. On several



Get Smart

occasions, for example, after being asked if he understands that his current assignment means he will be in constant danger, unable to trust anyone, and face torture or even death, Smart, assuming a cavalier stance, responds with, "And loving it." Another catchy phrase, "Sorry about that, chief," was usually uttered when Smart accidentally caused his boss some problem.

Finally, the mood of the American public seems to have contributed to the success of a program like *Get Smart*. In 1965 protests against the war in Vietnam, riots by African Americans in many urban centers, organized efforts by Mexican and Mexican American migrant workers to strike for higher wages, and an increase in new political activism on the part of women eventually led to a questioning of fundamental assumptions about the role of the U.S. government in domestic and world affairs. A television series like *Get Smart* was able to make pointed—some might say subversive—statements about many political issues in a non-threatening, humorous way. McCrohan provides an example she refers to as "probably the strongest anti-bomb statement made by situation comedy up to that time". The dialogue she cites takes place between Maxwell Smart and Agent 99 in the episode titled "Appointment in Sahara". Behind the two characters is an image of a mushroom cloud:

99: Oh, Max what a terrible weapon of destruction.

Smart: Yes. You know, China, Russia, and France should outlaw all nuclear weapons. We should insist upon it.

99: What if they don't, Max?

Smart: Then we may have to blast them. That's the only way to keep peace in the world.

*Get Smart* is credited with paving the way for other comedy programs and broadening the parameters for the presentation of comedy on television. While it was on the air, from 1965 to 1970, a total of 138 half-hour programs were produced.

In the 1994-95 television season an attempt was made to revive the series with some of the original actors. This time Don Adams was cast as the Chief, Barbara Feldon is a congresswoman and Secret Agent Smart is their son. The series lasted only a few episodes, its jokes, and perhaps its cast, unable to attract a large audience.

—Raul D. Tovaes

#### CAST

*Maxwell Smart, Agent 86* . . . . . Don Adams  
*Agent 99* . . . . . Barbara Feldon  
*Thaddeus, The Chief* (1965-70) . . . . . Edward Platt  
*Agent 13* (1965-70) . . . . . Dave Ketchum

## GLEASON, JACKIE

U.S. Comedian/Actor

Jackie Gleason must be counted among Milton Berle, Sid Caesar, and Red Skelton in the small group of creative comedy-variety stars who dominated, and to some degree invented, early television. Perhaps more than any of the others he explored the limits of broad physical gesture and loud verbal bombast in the contextual frame of the small screen. His highly stylized and adroitly choreographed blustering, prancing, smirking and double-taking led Gilbert Seldes to describe Gleason as "a heavy man with the traditional belief of heavy men in their own lightness and grace." Gleason's work in the 1950s constitutes a vital contribution to the invention of television comedy.

Born in a poor section of Brooklyn and abandoned by an alcoholic father, he dropped out of school at an early age and supported himself as a pool hustler, professional boxer and carnival barker before establishing himself as "Jumpin' Jack" Gleason, a nightclub comic and vaudeville emcee known for his spirited exchanges with hecklers. Following a brief, unsuccessful stint in Hollywood as a Warner Brothers contract player, Gleason's career reached an apparent plateau. He worked as a stand-up comic and a master of ceremonies in venues ranging from middle-level nightspots to seamy dives in the New York area.

*Carlson* (1966-67) . . . . . Stacy Keach  
*Conrad Siegfried* (1966-69) . . . . . Bernie Kopell  
*Starker* (1966-69) . . . . . King Moody  
*Hymie, the Robot* (1966-69) . . . . . Dick Gautier  
*Agent 44* (1965-70) . . . . . Victor French  
*Larrabee* (1967-70) . . . . . Robert Karvelas  
*99's Mother* (1968-69) . . . . . Jane Dulo

**PRODUCERS** Leonard B. Stern, Jess Oppenheimer, Jay Sandrich, Burt Nodella, Arnie Rosen, James Komak

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 138 Episodes

#### • NBC

September 1965–September 1968	Saturday 8:30-9:00
September 1968–September 1969	Saturday 8:00-8:30

#### • CBS

September 1969–February 1970	Friday 7:30-8:00
April 1970–September 1970	Friday 7:30-8:00

#### FURTHER READING

Green, Joey. *The Get Smart Handbook*. New York: Collier, 1993.

McCrohan, Donna. *The Life and Times of Maxwell Smart*. New York: St. Martin's, 1988.

See also Spy Programs

In 1949, at age 33, he got the title role in a TV adaptation of *The Life of Riley*, a popular radio series about a culturally displaced Brooklyn factory worker who follows his job to a new life in a Southern California suburb. The plodding, moralistic narrative structure of the sitcom, however, obscured Gleason's verbal rancor and physical comedy. The series was not renewed; however, it was successfully revived several years later when its radio star, William Bendix, was freed from a movie contract that had enjoined him from appearing on television.

Gleason was once again called on as a substitute when Jerry Lester, the host of DuMont's *Cavalcade of Stars*, suddenly quit the show in 1950. This time it turned out to be the break of his career. The live-from-New York, comedy-variety format played directly to Gleason's strengths, allowing him to wisecrack as emcee, to engage in off-the-cuff chats with guests and to move in and out of short sketch material that emphasized physical humor rather than narrative resolution. The show became DuMont's biggest success.

It was on *Cavalcade* that Gleason originated most of the sketch characters he would play for the rest of his career: the absurdly ostentatious millionaire Reginald Van Gleason, III;

the Poor Soul, a pathetic street character played in pantomime; the hapless, bumbling Bachelor; and, his greatest creation, Ralph Kramden, a bus driver tortured by a life that will not support his ego. All were to some degree autobiographical fantasies, personal visions of despair and grandeur culled from his poverty-stricken Brooklyn childhood, meditations on who the comedian could, would, or might have been. It was on the DuMont show that Gleason created his persona of the Great One; he also began his life-long association with Art Carney, a *Cavalcade* regular.

Impressed by Gleason's performance on the screen and in the ratings, William Paley personally wooed the star away, offering him five times his DuMont salary and the far greater market coverage of CBS. *The Jackie Gleason Show* debuted in 1952, quickly propelling the comedian into national stardom. By 1954, Gleason was second only to Lucille Ball in the ratings. Taking advantage of this success, he secured rights that allowed him to thoroughly dominate every aspect of production, from casting to set design to script approval.

Glitz was Gleason's watchword. The June Taylor Dancers opened each show with a high-stepping chorus-line dance number that always included at least one overhead kaleidoscope shot of the Busby Berkely variety. A troupe of personally-auditioned beauties, known as the Glea Girls, escorted the star around the stage and brought him "coffee" (he always sipped it as if were something stronger) and lit his cigarettes on camera. Unable to read music, Gleason composed his own musical theme, "Melancholy Serenade," which he hummed out for a professional songwriter. (Gleason also produced several gold albums of romantic music this way in an LP series titled "For Lovers Only.") The show ended each week with an unprecedented but justifiable personal credit: "Entire Production Supervised by Jackie Gleason."

Riding high, the comedian paid little attention to the relationship between his sudden rise in fortune and the medium that had facilitated it. The Gleason style was utterly suited to 1950s comedy-variety: the vaudeville trappings, including a live audience; the emphasis on slapstick, constant close-ups, blackout segues, splintered segments and so on. But ever the *arriviste*, the star remained extremely defensive about his talents and status, yearning to prove himself in "higher" forms, especially the movies.

Attempting to make time for new ventures, he came up with a radical format for retaining his CBS Saturday night hour in the 1955-56 season. Gleason repackaged the most popular feature of his show, *The Honeymooners*, into a 30-minute sitcom, while the second half of the hour was contracted to the Dorsey Brothers for a big-band musical program. The best of the old Ralph Kramden sketch material was reworked into the thirty-nine *Honeymooners* episodes that have run in continuous syndication ever since.

For pure economy of style and setting, *The Honeymooners* has never quite been equaled. Often using only a single set, rarely employing more than four regular characters, each episode is completely dependent upon the bra-



Jackie Gleason

vura performances of the show's stars: Gleason, as Ralph Kramden, the incorrigible egoist who, when not being teased about his weight, is repeatedly humiliated by his failed get-rich-quick schemes; Art Carney, as Ed Norton, a best friend and sidekick whose physical and mental slownesses play foil to Gleason's mania in a kind of TV variation on Laurel and Hardy; and Audrey Meadows as Alice, the stoic, sensible wife who is forced to function as parent as much as spouse. Signature lines and gestures, such as Ralph's threats to send Alice "to the moon," or Ralph's throwing Norton out of his apartment, are ritually repeated to extraordinary comic effect.

Unfortunately that season marked the end of Gleason's most creative period. He would continue to hold down a prime-time slot (with some gaps) until 1970, but he never created any new noteworthy characters or elaborated further on the style he had developed. Casting about for a fresh format in which he could demonstrate versatility, he hosted a game show (*You're in the Picture*, 1961), conducted a one-on-one talk show (*The Jackie Gleason Show*, 1961) and returned to comedy-variety, promising (but not delivering) an innovative social satire approach (*Jackie Gleason and his American Scene Magazine*, 1962-66). The results were all critically disappointing, though the last of the three did prove that he could still deliver a top twenty audience with a comedy-variety format.

In 1964 all pretense was dropped and the Saturday night hour with relaunched as *The Jackie Gleason Show*, a reprise of the familiar comedy-variety form of dozen years

early. Gleason spent much of the rest of his TV career doing increasingly tiresome replays of *The Honeymooners* and his other 1950s creations. Perhaps the only notable feature of the final series is that it was the only show in prime time not made in Los Angeles or New York. Gleason had moved his home and his show to Miami Beach.

Jackie Gleason's career illustrates much about the lot of television comedians. A small-timer with an erratic career, Gleason found a medium perfectly suited to his talents. He refused, however, to respect either the medium or the genre that had made him. Rather than pursue further depth as a TV sketch artist, he tried to prove that his talents transcended medium and genre. Others who would make this mistake include Dan Aykroyd, Katherine O'Hara, Chevy Chase and Joe Piscopo. Gleason finally did achieve some popular success in the movies playing a Southern sheriff in the three *Smokey and the Bandit* films made between 1977 and 1983.

—David Marc

**JACKIE GLEASON** (Herbert John Gleason). Born in Brooklyn, New York, U.S.A., 26 February 1916. Married: 1) Genevieve Halford, 1936 (divorced, 1971); children: Geraldine and Linda; 2) Beverly McKittrick, 1971 (divorced, 1974); 3) Marilyn Taylor Horwich, 1975. Began career by winning stand-up comedy contest at age 15, 1931; master of ceremonies, Halsey Theater, Brooklyn, 1931; worked and toured in variety of entertainment jobs, including carnival barker, master of ceremonies, bouncer, amateur boxer, and disc jockey, 1935-38; signed to Warner Brothers, 1940; prominent television career beginning with *Cavalcade of Stars*, 1950; *The Honeymooners* debuted as segment on *Cavalcade of Stars*, 1951; wrote and recorded six albums of mood music, *Music for Lovers Only*. Recipient: "Best Comedian of the Year," *TV Guide*, 1952; Television Hall of Fame, 1985; Antoinette Perry Awards (TONY) "Best Actor," 1960. Died 24 June 1987, Fort Lauderdale, Florida.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1949-50	<i>The Life of Riley</i>
1950-52	<i>Cavalcade of Stars</i>
1952-55	<i>The Jackie Gleason Show</i>
1953	<i>The Laugh Maker</i>

1955-56	<i>The Honeymooners</i>
1957-59	<i>The Jackie Gleason Show</i>
1959	<i>Time of Your Life</i>
1961	<i>You're in the Picture</i>
1961	<i>The Jackie Gleason Show</i>
1961	<i>The Million Dollar Incident</i>
1962-66	<i>Jackie Gleason and his American Scene Magazine</i>
1964-70	<i>The Jackie Gleason Show</i>

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIE

1985	<i>Izzy and Moe</i>
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#### FILMS

*Navy Blue*, 1941; *Springtime in the Rockies*, 1942; *The Desert Hawk*, 1950; *The Hustler*, 1961; *Gigot* (wrote, starred in, and composed music), 1962; *Requiem for a Heavyweight*, 1962; *Soldier in the Rain*, 1963; *The Time of Your Life*, 1963; *Papa's Delicate Condition*, 1966; *Skidoo*, 1968; *How to Commit a Marriage*, 1969; *Don't Drink the Water*, 1969; *How Do I Love Thee?*, 1970; *Mr. Billion*, 1977; *Smokey and the Bandit*, 1977; *Smokey and the Bandit II*, 1980; *The Toy*, 1982; *String II*, 1983; *Smokey and the Bandit III*, 1983; *Fools Die*, 1985; *Nothing in Common*, 1986.

#### STAGE

*Hellzapoppin'*, 1938; *Keep Off the Grass*, 1940; *Follow the Girls*, 1944; *Artists and Models*, 1943; *Along Fifth Avenue*, 1949; *Take Me Along*, 1959-60; *Sly Fox*, 1978.

#### FURTHER READING

Bacon, James. *How Sweet It Is: The Jackie Gleason Story*. New York: St. Martin's, 1985.  
 Bishop, Jim. *The Golden Ham: A Candid Biography of Jackie Gleason*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956.  
 Henry, William A. *The Great One: The Life and Legend of Jackie Gleason*. New York: Doubleday, 1992.  
 McCrohan, Donna. *Honeymooner's Companion*. New York: Workman, 1978.  
 Weatherby, William J. *Jackie Gleason: An Intimate Portrait of the Great One*. New York: Pharos, 1992.

See also Carney, Art; *Honeymooners*; Variety Programs

## GLESS, SHARON

U.S. Actor

**S**haron Gless, who worked primarily in supporting roles for a number of series and TV movies in the late 1970s and early 1980s, rose to stardom as Christine Cagney in the female cop show, *Cagney and Lacey* (1982-88).

Two of her more prominent roles before *Cagney and Lacey* anticipated aspects of the Cagney character. In a short-lived NBC sitcom, *Turnabout* (1979), Gless played Penny Alston, whose

mind and spirit are exchanged with those of her husband. Gless's character thus explored gender differences through the split between a feminine exterior and masculine motivations. Three years later, Gless was tapped to take over the co-starring role in *House Calls* when Lynn Redgrave was forced out of the series.

It was the experience of trying to take over in the wake of a popular actor's departure that made Gless hesitate when

she was offered the role of Christine Cagney. In the TV movie, Cagney had been played by Loretta Switt, and in the first season of the series, the character had been portrayed by Meg Foster. A CBS executive touched off a protest from fans, however, when he made a statement suggesting Foster was not feminine enough for the role, making the team of Chris Cagney and Mary Beth Lacey (played by Tyne Daly) look like "a pair of dykes." Renewal of the series was contingent on replacing Foster with someone "softer." Though initially seen by fans as a sellout to the network, Gless soon gained acceptance from the devoted audience of *Cagney and Lacey*. Ironically, she developed a substantial following among lesbian viewers, according to critic Julie D'Acci.

Not only did Cagney contrast with her married, working class partner, but, as played by Gless, Christine Cagney embodied a number of contradictions in class and gender. Her soft blonde beauty played against the tough shell she maintained both on the job and in many of her personal encounters. Her working-class Irish cop identity, inherited from her father, clashed with the sleek, upper crust veneer she had acquired from her mother. Her career success contrasted with a string of unhappy romances in her personal life.

Although Gless has said she considers herself primarily a comedienne, *Cagney and Lacey* provided the opportunity for her to grow as a dramatic actor. In the first three years of the series, Gless was nominated for an Emmy, but Daly received the award for Best Actress in a Dramatic Series. The following two years, however, the Emmy went to Gless, and in the final year of the series, the Emmy went back to Daly. Gless took pride in her contribution to the substance and quality of the series: "We're pioneering," she said in a story for *McCall's*. "We're showing women who can do a so-called man's job without ever forgetting that they are women."

Since the end of *Cagney and Lacey* in 1988, Gless has married Barney Rosenzweig, who created another series for her, *The Trials of Rosie O'Neill* (1990–1991). In the role of the title character, Gless again portrayed a single, upscale character connected with the law—this time a newly divorced, well-healed lawyer, working in the cramped, underfunded offices of Los Angeles public defenders. Gless won a Golden Globe Award for her work in the series before it was canceled. She has also joined Daly in several *Cagney and Lacey* reunion movies, and has appeared in a number of other made for television movies.

—Sue Brower

SHARON GLESS. Born in Los Angeles, California, U.S.A., 31 May 1943. Attended Gonzaga University. Married Barney Rosenzweig, 1991. Actress in television from 1973. Recipient: Emmy Award, 1986 and 1987; Golden Globe Award, 1985 and 1990; Coalition for Clean Air Crystal Airwaves Media Award, 1987; Viewers for Quality TV Best Actress Award; Milestone Award, 1988; SI Award, 1991; Gideon



Sharon Gless

Photo courtesy of Sharon Gless

Media Award, 1992; Distinguished Artist Award, 1992; Hollywood Women in Radio and TV Genii Award. Address: William Morris Agency, 151 El Camino Drive, Beverly Hills, California, 90212, U.S.A.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1973–74	<i>Faraday and Company</i>
1974–75	<i>Marcus Welby, M.D.</i>
1975–78	<i>Switch</i>
1979	<i>Turnabout</i>
1981–82	<i>House Calls</i>
1982–88	<i>Cagney and Lacey</i>
1990–91	<i>The Trials of Rosie O'Neill</i>

#### TELEVISION MINISERIES

1978	<i>The Immigrants</i>
1978	<i>Centennial</i>
1979	<i>The Last Convertible</i>

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

1970	<i>Night Slaves</i>
1972	<i>All My Darling Daughters</i>
1973	<i>My Darling Daughters' Anniversary</i>
1976	<i>Richie Brockelman: The Missing 24 Hours</i>
1978	<i>The Islander</i>
1978	<i>Crash</i>
1979	<i>Kids Who Knew Too Much</i>



1980	<i>Moviola: The Scarlett O'Hara Wars</i>
1980	<i>Revenge of the Stepford Wives</i>
1980	<i>Hardhat and Legs</i>
1981	<i>The Miracle of Kathy Miller</i>
1983	<i>Hobson's Choice</i>
1984	<i>The Sky's No Limit</i>
1985	<i>Letting Go</i>
1989	<i>The Outside Woman</i>
1992	<i>Honor Thy Mother</i>
1994	<i>Separated by Murder</i>
1994	<i>Cagney and Lacey: The Return</i>
1995	<i>Cagney and Lacey: Together again</i>
1995	<i>Cagney and Lacey: The View Through the Glass Ceiling</i>

## GODFREY, ARTHUR

### U.S. Variety Show Host

Arthur Godfrey ranks as one of the important on-air stars of the first decade of American television. Indeed, prior to 1959 there was no bigger TV luminary than this freckled faced, ukelele playing host and pitchman. Through most of the decade of the 1950s Godfrey hosted a daily radio program and appeared in two top-ten prime-time television shows, all for CBS. As the new medium was invading American households, there was something about Godfrey's wide grin, his infectious chuckle, his unruly shock of red hair that made millions tune in, not once, but twice a week.

To industry insiders, Godfrey was television's first great master of advertising. His deep, microphone-loving voice delivery earned him a million dollars a year, making him one of the highest paid persons in the United States at the time. He blended a Southern folksiness with enough sophistication to charm a national audience measured in the millions through the 1950s. For CBS-TV in particular, Godfrey was one of network television's most valuable stars, generating millions of dollars in advertising billings each year, with no ostensible talent save being the most congenial of hosts.

After more than a decade on radio, Godfrey ventured onto prime-time TV in December 1948 by simply permitting the televising of his radio hit *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*. The formula for *Talent Scouts* was simple enough. "Scouts" presented their "discoveries" to perform live before a national radio and television audience. Most of these discoveries were in fact struggling professionals looking for a break, and the quality of the talent was quite high. The winner, chosen by a fabled audience applause meter, often joined Godfrey on his radio show and on *Arthur Godfrey and His Friends* for some period thereafter.

Through the late 1940s and 1950s Godfrey significantly assisted the careers of Pat Boone, Tony Bennett, Eddie Fisher, Connie Francis, and Patsy Cline. An institu-

### FILMS

*Airport 1975, 1974; The Star Chamber, 1983.*

### STAGE

*Watch On the Rhine, 1989; Misery, 1992-93; Chapter Two, 1995.*

### FURTHER READING

D'Acci, Julie. *Defining Women: Television and the Case of Cagney and Lacey*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Gordon, Mary. "Sharon Gless and Tyne Daly." *Ms.* (New York), January 1987.

See also *Cagney and Lacey*; Daly, Tyne

tion on Monday nights at 8:30 P.M., *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts* always functioned as Godfrey's best showcase and through the early 1950s was a consistent top-ten hit.

A month after the December 1948 television debut of *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts* came the premiere of *Arthur Godfrey and His Friends*. Here, Godfrey employed a resident cast which at times included Julius La Rosa, Frank Parker,



Arthur Godfrey



Lu Ann Simms, and the Cordettes. Tony Marvin was both the announcer and Godfrey's "second banana," as he was on *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*. The appeal of *Arthur Godfrey and His Friends* varied depending on the popularity of the assembled company of singers, all clean cut young people lifted by Godfrey from obscurity. Godfrey played host and impresario, sometimes singing off key and strumming his ukulele, but most often leaving the vocals to others.

As he had done on radio, Godfrey frequently kidded his sponsors, but always "sold from the heart," only hawking products he had actually tried or regularly used. No television viewer during the 1950s doubted that Godfrey really did love Lipton Tea and drank it every day. He delighted in tossing aside prepared scripts and telling his audience: "Aw, who wrote this stuff? Everybody knows Lipton's is the best tea you can buy. So why get fancy about it? Getcha some Lipton's, hot the pot with plain hot water for a few minutes, then put fresh hot water on the tea and let it just sit there."

Godfrey perfected the art of seeming to speak intimately to each and every one of his viewers, to sound as if he was confiding in "you and you alone." Despite all his irreverent kidding, advertisers loved him. Here was no snake-oil salesman hawking an unnecessary item, merchandise not worth its price. Here was a friend recommending the product. This personal style drove CBS efficiency experts crazy. Godfrey refused to simply read his advertising copy in the allocated 60 seconds. Instead he talked—for as long as he felt it necessary to convince his viewers of his message, frequently running over his allotted commercial time.

CBS owner William S. Paley detested Godfrey but bowed to his incredible popularity. CBS president Frank Stanton loved Godfrey because his shows were so cheap to produce but drew consistently high ratings. In 1955 when *Disneyland* cost \$90,000 per hour, and costs for a half hour of *The Jack Benny Show* totalled more than \$40,000, *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts* cost but \$30,000. This figure was more in line with the production of a cheap quiz program than fashioning a pricey Hollywood-based show on film.

In his day Godfrey accumulated a personal fortune that made it possible for him to own a vast estate in the Virginia horse country, maintain a huge duplex apartment in Manhattan, and fly back and forth in his own airplanes. In 1950 he qualified for a pilot's license; the following year he trained to fly jets. Constantly plugging the glories of air travel, Godfrey, according to Eddie Rickenbacker, did more to boost aviation than any single person since Charles Lindbergh.

Godfrey's end symbolized the close of the era of experimental, live television. But he should be remembered for more than his skill in performing for live television. Perhaps even more significant is that he taught the medium how to sell. In terms of the forces of that have shaped and continue to shape the medium of television, Godfrey's career perfectly illustrates the workings of the star system. Here was a person who seemed to have had "no talent," but was so effective that through most of the 1950s he was "everywhere" in the mass media. In the end, times and tastes changed. In 1951 Arthur Godfrey stood as the very center of American television. Eight years later he was back on radio, a forgotten man to all but the few who listened to the "old" medium.

—Douglas Gomery

ARTHUR GODFREY. Born in New York City, New York, U.S.A., 31 August 1903. Educated at Naval Radio School, 1921; Naval Radio Materiel School, 1929; various correspondence courses. Married: Mary Bourke, 1938; children: Richard (from previous marriage), Arthur Michael, Jr., and Patricia Ann. Served in the U.S. Navy, receiving radio training and becoming a radio operator on destroyer duty, 1920–24; served in the U.S. Coast Guard, 1927–30. Radio announcer and entertainer, WFBR, Baltimore, Maryland, 1930; staff announcer, NBC, Washington, D.C., 1930–34; freelance radio entertainer, from 1934; joined CBS Radio, 1945; CBS television host, *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*, 1948–58; television host, *Arthur Godfrey and His Friends*, 1949–59; national radio host, *Arthur Godfrey Time*, 1960–72; starred in films, from 1963 to 1968. Member: National Advisory Committee on Oceans and Atmosphere, and Citizen's Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality. Died in New York City, U.S.A., 16 March 1983.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1948–58      *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*  
1949–59      *Arthur Godfrey and His Friends*

#### FILMS

*Four For Texas*, 1963; *The Glass Bottom Boat*, 1966; *Where Angels Go... Trouble Follows*, 1968

#### RADIO

*Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*, 1945–48; *Arthur Godfrey Time*, 1960–72.

See also *Arthur Godfrey Shows*; Columbia Broadcasting System; Dann, Michael

## THE GOLDBERGS

### U.S. Domestic Comedy

In many ways the program that Gertrude Berg devised in 1928 and sold to NBC radio the following year was unique. No other daily serial drama reflected so explicitly its creator's own ethnic background, and few other producers retained such close control over their work. Until the late 1930s, Berg herself wrote all the scripts, five to six fifteen-minute stories per week, and even after hiring outside writers continued to act as producer; she performed the role of the main character herself throughout the show's thirty-year history on radio and television.

*The Rise of the Goldbergs* began as skits produced at her family's Catskills hotel for the rainy-day entertainment of guests. Originally centered around the comic character Maltke Talznitsky, Maltke became Molly and Talznitsky modulated to Goldberg, while Berg herself ventured into writing theatrical and commercial continuities. On 20 November 1929, the first episode of *The Rise of the Goldbergs* aired as a sustaining program on WJZ, flagship of the NBC Blue network, no doubt building on the success of radio's first network dramatic serial, *Amos 'n' Andy*, introduced in August 1929. Early scripts concerned themselves explicitly and intimately with an immigrant Jewish family's assimilation into American life. The cast consisted of "Molly" herself, playing the wise and warmhearted wife of Jake (James R. Waters) and mother of Rosalie (Roslyn Silber), and Sammy (Alfred Ryder/Alfred Corn). Uncle David (Menasha Skulnik) filled the role of resident family patriarch. Molly, Jake, and Uncle David spoke with a heavy Yiddish accent, while the children favored standard American with a goodly dash of the Bronx. Much humor derived from Molly's malapropisms and "Old World" turns of phrase, drawing on the vaudeville ethnic dialogue tradition. The first season's scripts deal with such issues as the difficulties of raising children in an American environment that sometimes clashed with old world traditions, and the immigrant family's striving for economic success and security. Molly's conversations up the airshaft with her neighbor—"Yoo hoo, Mrs. Bloo-oom"—and frequent visitors in their small apartment vividly invoke New York tenement life. The success of this slice of specifically ethnic, but far from atypical, American experience resulted in eighteen thousand letters pouring into NBC's office when Berg's illness forced the show off the air for a week.

*The Rise of the Goldbergs* aired sporadically for its first few seasons, then more regularly from 1931 to 1934 sponsored by Pepsodent, appearing daily except Sunday from 7:45 to 8:00. After a hiatus it returned in 1936 as a late afternoon serial, running five days a week from 5:45 to 6:00 on CBS under the sponsorship of the Colgate-Palmolive-Peet company via the Benton and Bowles agency. At this point it was renamed simply *The Goldbergs*. Procter and Gamble took over the program in 1938.

In 1939 the show's setting shifted from the Bronx to the Connecticut town of Lastonbury, in keeping with its narrative of American assimilation. Yet Berg never lost sight



The Goldbergs

of the specifically Jewish ethnic background that made the Goldbergs unique in network radio and television. One memorable episode, aired 3 April 1939, invoked Krystallnacht and the worsening situation in Nazi Germany as the Goldberg's Passover Seder was interrupted by a rock thrown through their living room window. Other stories referred to family members or friends trying to escape from Eastern Europe ahead of the Holocaust. Most plot lines avoided head-on discussion of anti-Semitism or world politics, however, concentrating instead on family and neighborhood doings with the occasional crime or adventure story to liven up the action. Molly continued to supervise her family's activities, Jake experienced business setbacks and successes, Rosalie and Sammy grew up, got married, and went off to war, as American families in the show's loyal listening audience followed a similar trajectory.

In 1946 the show suspended production, during which time Berg adapted it to the Broadway stage as a play called *Me and Molly* which ran for 156 performances. In 1949 *The Goldbergs* moved to television with a new cast (except Molly), sponsored on CBS by General Mills' Sanka Coffee, which dropped the program in 1951 when Philip

Loeb, then playing Jake, was blacklisted in the infamous Red Channels purge. Reappearing without Loeb and with a different sponsor and network in 1952, the television Goldbergs ran on NBC from February 1952 through September 1953, then on DuMont from April to October 1954. These early seasons were all performed live and featured the Goldberg family back in the Bronx (with the children once again teenagers). In 1955 they moved to the New York suburb of Haverhill in a version filmed for syndication; this lasted one season.

Combining aspects of the family comedy and the daytime serial, *The Goldbergs* pioneered the character-based domestic sitcom format that would become television's most popular genre. Its concern with ethnicity, assimilation, and becoming middle class carried it through the first three decades of broadcasting and into the post-war period, but ultimately proved out of place in the homogenized suburban domesticity of late 1950s TV.

—Michele Hilmes

#### CAST

<i>Molly Goldberg</i> . . . . .	Gertrude Berg
<i>Jake Goldberg</i> (1949–51) . . . . .	Philip Loeb
<i>Jake Goldberg</i> (1952) . . . . .	Harold J. Stone
<i>Jake Goldberg</i> (1953–56) . . . . .	Robert H. Harris
<i>Sammy Goldberg</i> (1949–52) . . . . .	Larry Robinson
<i>Sammy Goldberg</i> (1954–56) . . . . .	Tom Taylor
<i>Rosalie Goldberg</i> . . . . .	Arlene McQuade
<i>Uncle David</i> . . . . .	Eli Mintz
<i>Mrs. Bloom</i> (1953) . . . . .	Olga Fabian
<i>Dora Barnett</i> (1955–56) . . . . .	Betty Bendyke
<i>Carrie Barnett</i> (1955–56) . . . . .	Ruth Yorke
<i>Daisy Carey</i> (1955–56) . . . . .	Susan Steel
<i>Henry Carey</i> (1955–56) . . . . .	Jon Lormer

**PRODUCERS** Worthington Miner, William Berke, Cherney Berg

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

- CBS
 

January 1949–February 1949	Monday 8:00-8:30
March 1949–April 1949	Monday 9:00-9:30
April 1949–June 1951	Monday 9:30-10:00
- NBC
 

February 1952–July 1952	Monday, Wednesday, Friday 7:15-7:30
July 1953–September 1953	Friday 8:00-8:30
- DuMont
 

April 1954–October 1954	Tuesday 8:00-8:30
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- First-run Syndication
 

1955–1956	
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See also Berg, Gertrude; Family on Television; Racism, Ethnicity and Television; Gender and Television

## "GOLDEN AGE" OF TELEVISION DRAMA

The "golden age" of American television generally refers to the proliferation of original and classic dramas produced for live television during America's postwar years. From 1949 to approximately 1960, these live dramas became the fitting programmatic complements to the game shows, westerns, soap operas and vaudeo shows (vaudeville and variety acts on TV) that dominated network television's prime time schedule. As the nation's economy grew and the population expanded, television and advertising executives turned to dramatic shows as a programming strategy to elevate the status of television and to attract the growing and increasingly important suburban family audience. "Golden age" dramas quickly became the ideal marketing vehicle for major U.S. corporations seeking to display their products favorably before a national audience.

In the early years, "golden age" drama programs such as *The Actors' Studio* (ABC/CBS, 1948–50) originated from primitive but innovative two-camera television studios located primarily in New York City, although some broadcasts, such as *Mr. Black* (ABC, 1949), a half-hour mystery anthology series, were produced in Chicago as well. Ranging in duration from thirty minutes to an hour, these live dramas were generic hybrids uniquely suited to the evolving video technology. Borrowing specific elements from the stage, network radio, and the Hollywood film, the newly constructed dramas on television (teledramas) fashioned a dynamic entertainment form that effectively fused these high and low cultural expressions.

From radio these teledramas inherited the CBS and NBC network distribution system, sound effects, music,

theme songs and the omniscient narrator, who provided continuity after commercial message breaks. From film, teledramas borrowed aging stars and emerging personalities, camera stylistics, mobility and flexibility. Imported from the theater were Broadway-inspired set designs, contemporary stage (i.e. realist and "method") acting techniques that imparted a sense of immediacy and reality to small-screen performances, and finally, teleplay adaptations of classic and middle-brow literature. In a statement that clearly expresses television drama's debt to the stage, Fred Coe, producer of the weekly *NBC Television Playhouse* (1948–55), remarked that "all of us were convinced it was our mission to bring Broadway to America via the television set."

Ironically, however, it was live teledramas that helped television to displace radio, the stage and film as the favorite leisure-time activity for the nation's burgeoning suburban families in the late forties to the mid-fifties. This postwar demographic shift from urban to suburban centers is often credited with creating the new mass audience and the subsequent demand for the home-theater mode of entertainment that network television, boosted by the high quality drama programs, was uniquely capable of satisfying.

The first so-called "golden age" drama program to appear was the *Kraft Television Theatre*, which premiered on 7 May 1947, on the NBC network. The *Ford Theater* (CBS/NBC/ABC, 1948–57), *Philco and Goodyear Television Playhouses* (NBC, 1948–55), *Studio One* (CBS, 1948–58), *Tele-Theatre* (NBC, 1948–50) and *Actors Studio* (ABC/CBS, 1948–49) followed the very next year. In 1951 network television was linked coast to coast, and in 1950 *Hollywood Theater Time* (ABC) became one of the first dramatic anthology shows to originate from the West Coast (although transmitted to the East via kinescopes—inferior copies of shows filmed directly from the television screen).

Several important factors contributed to the rise of "golden age" dramas by the mid-1950s. First, the U.S. Congress issued more station licenses and allocated more air time and frequencies to the nation's four networks, NBC, CBS, ABC and DuMont. Consequently, this major expansion of the television industry necessitated a rapid increase for new shows. Because this early video era preceded the advent of telefilm and videotape, the live television schedule was a programming vortex with an inexhaustible demand for new shows, 90% of which were broadcast live. The remaining dramas were transmitted (usually from the East Coast to the West) via kinescopes. Location on the television schedule was also a key element in the success of anthology dramas during this early phase. Because the sponsors rather than the networks generally controlled the programs, teledramas were not restricted to a particular network or time schedule. As a result of this programming flexibility, it was not unusual for shows either to rotate around the dial or to remain firmly entrenched, all in search of the best possible ratings. In 1953, the *Kraft Television Theatre* aired at 9:00 P.M. on Wednesdays over the NBC network and aired a second hour under the same series title on Thursdays at 9:30 P.M. on ABC. The

venerable *Ford Television Theater* appeared on all three networks during its nine-year run. The anthology format itself, which demanded a constant supply of actors, writers, directors and producers, and was quite different from the episodic series structure featuring a stable cast, always offered something new to viewers. And since anthology dramas provided plenty of work to go around, many actors got their first starring roles in live dramas, while others gained national exposure that was not possible on the stage or that eluded them on the big screen.

This rotating system of anthology drama production resulted in a creative environment for television that many television historians consider as yet unsurpassed. The fact that these shows dramatized many high quality original works as well as adaptations of high and middle-brow literature gave advertisers cost-effective reasons for underwriting the relatively high production values that characterized many of the topnotch anthology programs. Many, in fact, were consistent Emmy Award winners. The *Texaco Star Theater* won the 1949 Emmy for "Best Kinescope Show." *U.S. Steel Hour* won two Emmys in 1953, its debut year, and *Studio One* received three Emmys for the 1955 season for its production of "Twelve Angry Men."

As the genre matured and traded its amateur sets for professionally designed studios, it looked good, and by extension, so did its sponsors. Accordingly, the growing prestige of live dramas enabled established and fading stars from the Broadway stage and Hollywood films to be less reticent about performing on television, and many flocked to the new medium. In fact, some even lent their famous names to these anthology drama programs. *Robert Montgomery Presents* (ABC, 1950–57) is one of the first anthology series to rely on Hollywood talent. His star-driven program was later joined by the *Charles Boyer Theater* (1953), and in 1955 silent film star Conrad Nagel hosted his own syndicated anthology drama entitled *The Conrad Nagel Theater*. Bing Crosby Enterprises produced *The Gloria Swanson Show* in 1954, with Swanson as host and occasional star in teleplays produced for this dramatic anthology series. More commonly, however, it was the sponsor's name that appeared in the show titles, with stars serving as narrators or hosts. For example, from 1954 to 1962 Ronald Reagan hosted CBS' *General Electric Theater*.

As crucial as these elements were, perhaps the most important reason leading to the success of this nascent television art form was the high caliber of talent on both sides of the video camera. Whereas many well-known actors from the stage and screen participated in live television dramas as the 1950s progressed, it was the obscure but professionally trained theater personnel from summer stock and university theater programs like Yale's Drama School who launched the innovative teletheater broadcasts that we now refer to as television's "golden age."

In 1949, 24 year-old Marlon Brando starred in "I'm No Hero," produced by the *Actors' Studio*. Other young actors, such as Susan Strasberg (1953), Paul Newman

(1954), and Steve McQueen, made noteworthy appearances on the *Goodyear Playhouse*. Among some of the most prominent writers of "golden age" dramas were Rod Serling, Paddy Chayefsky, Gore Vidal, Reginald Rose and Tad Mosel. Rod Serling stands out for special consideration here because in addition to winning the 1955 Emmy for "Best Original Teleplay Writing" ("Patterns" on *Kraft Television Theatre*), Serling also won two teleplay Emmys for *Playhouse 90* (1956 and 1957), and two "Outstanding Writing Achievement in Drama" Emmys for *Twilight Zone* (1959 and 1960) and for *Chrysler Theater* in 1963. Serling's six Emmys for four separate anthology programs over two networks unquestionably secures his position at the top of the golden age pantheon. For television, it was writers like Serling and Chayefsky who became the *auteurs* of its "golden-age." Gore Vidal sums up the opportunity that writing for television dramas represented in this way: "one can find better work oftener on the small grey screen than on Broadway." Chayefsky was more sanguine when he stated that television presented "the drama of introspection," and that "television, the scorned stepchild of drama, may well be the basic theater of our century."

In addition to actors and writers, some of the most renowned Hollywood directors got their big breaks on television's anthology dramas. John Frankenheimer directed for the *Kraft Television Theatre*, Robert Altman for *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*, Yul Brynner and Sidney Lumet for *Studio One*, Sidney Pollack for *The Chrysler Theater* (1965 Emmy for "Directorial Achievement in Drama") and Delbert Mann for *NBC Television Playhouse*. These are but a few major directors who honed their skills during television's "golden age."

By 1955 "golden age" dramas had proven so popular with national audiences that they became important staples of the network television schedule. Some of the anthologies were now produced on film, but they maintained the aesthetic and psychological premises of the live productions that tutored their creators and their audiences. These drama series aired on the networks each day except Saturdays, and on some days there were up to four separate anthology shows airing on one evening's prime-time schedule. One instance of such a programming pattern occurred on Thursday nights during the 1954-55 TV season. Here, in one single evening, viewers could choose between *Kraft Television Theatre* (ABC, 1953-55), *Four Star Playhouse* (CBS, 1952-56), *Ford Theater* (NBC, 1952-56) and *Lux Video Theater* (NBC, 1954-57). Dramatic anthologies came in various generic formats as well. The other genres were, for example, suspense: *Kraft Suspense Theatre* (NBC, 1963-65) and *The Clock* (NBC/ABC, 1949-51); mystery: *Mr. Arsenic* (ABC, 1952) and *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* (CBS/NBC, 1955-65); psychological: *Theater of the Mind* (NBC, 1949); legal: *They Stand Accused* (DuMont 1949-54); science fiction: *Twilight Zone* (CBS, 1959-64); military: *Citizen Soldier* (Syndicated, 1956); and reenactments: *Armstrong Circle Theater* (NBC/CBS, 1950-63).

As these various titles suggest, the dramas staged on these anthology programs were remarkably diverse, at least in form if not in substance. In this regard, critics of the so-called "golden age" dramas have noted what they consider to be major problems inherent in the staging of plays for the commercial television medium.

Much of the criticism of these live television dramas concerned the power sponsors often exerted over program content. Specifically, the complaints concerned the mandate by sponsors that programs adhere to a "dead-centerism." In other words, sponsored shows were to avoid completely socially and politically controversial themes. Only those dramas that supported and reflected positive middle-class values, which likewise reflected favorably the image of the advertisers, were broadcast. Critics charge the networks with pandering to Southern viewer expectations in order not to offend regional sensibilities. Scripts exploring problems at the societal level (i.e. racial discrimination, poverty, and other social ills) were systematically ignored. Instead, critics complain, too many "golden age" dramas were little more than simplistic morality tales focusing on the every day problems and conflicts of weak individuals confronted by personal shortcomings such as alcoholism, greed, impotence, and divorce, for example. While there is no doubt that teleplays dealing with serious social issues were not what most network or advertising executives considered appropriate subject matter for predisposing viewers to consume their products, it is important to note that the "golden age" did coincide with the cold-war era and McCarthyism and that cold-war references, including many denigrating communism and celebrating America, were frequently incorporated in teleplays of the mid to late 1950s.

Most of the scripts in the live television dramas, however, were original teleplays or works adapted from the stage, ranging from Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman* and Eugene O'Neill's *The Iceman Cometh* to Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* and *Othello*, among many others. This menu of live television dramas, especially when compared with popular Hollywood films, the elite theater, or commercial radio, presented American audiences with an extraordinary breadth of viewing experiences in a solitary entertainment medium. Moreover, this cultural explosion was occurring in the comfort of the new mass audiences' brand new suburban living rooms. While the classics and some contemporary popular writers provided material for the teleplays, they were not enough for the networks' demanding weekly program schedules. Moreover, the television programmers were often thwarted by Hollywood's practice of buying the rights to popular works and refusing to grant a rival medium access to them, thereby foreclosing the television networks' ability to dramatize some of the most popular and classic plays. In response, the networks began cultivating original scripts from young writers. Thus, the majority of the dramas appearing on these anthology shows were original works.

Perhaps the quintessential "golden age" drama is Paddy Chayefsky's "Marty." On 24 May 1953, Delbert Mann

directed Chayefsky's most renowned teleplay for NBC's *Philco Television Playhouse*. Starring Rod Steiger and Nancy Marchand as the principals, "Marty" is a love story about two ordinary characters and the mundane world they inhabit. "Marty" is important because its uncomplicated and sympathetic treatment of Marty, the butcher, and his ability to achieve independence from his demanding mother and embrace his uncertain future, resonated with many new suburban viewers, who were, themselves, facing similar social and political changes in postwar American society. "Marty" was an ideal drama for the times, leading one reviewer to write that it represented "the unadorned glimpse of the American middle-class milieu." The suburban viewers, like the fictional "Marty" they welcomed into their living rooms, had become willing participants in an emerging national culture no longer distinguishable by inter-generational and inter-ethnic differences. What further distinguishes "Marty" is the fact that it signaled a trend in the entertainment industry whereby teleplays were increasingly adapted for film. Shortly after its phenomenal television success, "Marty" became a successful feature film.

Some of the most successful and critically acclaimed dramatic anthology programs of the "golden age" were *Armstrong Circle Theater* (thirteen seasons), *Kraft Television Theatre* (eleven seasons), *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* (ten seasons), *Studio One* (ten seasons), *The U.S. Steel Hour* (ten seasons), *General Electric Theater* (nine seasons), *Philco Television Playhouse* (seven seasons), *Goodyear Playhouse* (six seasons), *Playhouse 90* (four seasons), and *Twilight Zone* (four seasons, revived in 1985–88). In present times, only the *Hallmark Hall of Fame* (1951–present), survives from the heyday of television's "golden age." With the advent of videotape and telefilm, the shift to Hollywood studios as sites of program production, and the social upheavals of the 1960s, live anthology dramas fell victim to poor ratings and changing social tastes

—Anna Everett

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## THE GOLDEN GIRLS

### U.S. Situation Comedy

The opening line of the popular song "Thank You for Being a Friend" not only became the weekly thematic prelude to the situation comedy, *The Golden Girls*, it also came to represent the sensibility which sprang from the heart of this delightful program. With *The Golden Girls* NBC brought to television one of the first representations of senior women coming together to create a circle of friends that functioned as a family. The program centered around four

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See also Advertising, Company Voice; Anthology Drama; Chayefsky, Paddy; Coe, Fred; Frankenheimer, John; *Goodyear Theater*; *Kraft Television Theatre*; Mann, Delbert; *Playhouse 90*; Programming; Rose, Reginald; Serling, Rod; *Studio One*

main characters: Dorothy Sbornak (Bea Arthur), a divorced school teacher; Sophia Petrillo (Estelle Getty), Dorothy's elderly, widowed mother; Blanche DeVereaux (Rue McClanahan), a widow and owner of the Miami home in which all of the women lived, and Rose Nylund (Betty White), a widow and an active volunteer in the community. Aside from the mother-daughter relationship between Dorothy and Sophia, no other family relations existed between

the women, yet they shared their daily lives, dreams, fears, and dilemmas as a unit. The group life of the characters enabled expression of diverse opinions and approaches to problems the women faced as individuals.

The south Florida setting added a warmth and lightness to the show, reflected in the tropical furniture and clothing favored by the women. The vivid colors and the light that flooded the production visually represented the vibrance of the lives of the characters.

Though all of the women were late-middle aged or beyond, they were presented as full of life, working, capable, and energetic. Even Sophia, the elderly mother was often in plays, taking trips, having dates, and doing charity work. Blanche, the youngest of the golden girls, known for her fondness for men, enjoyed her reputation for wild sex. (Though Blanche's sexual adventures were always a topic of conversation, they were never actually portrayed on the program). Rose, the storyteller of the group, boasted about her roots in St. Olaf, Minnesota and was painted as much more conservative than the passionate Blanche. Much of the comedy in the program stemmed from the absurdity of Rose's stories of her "simple" hometown. These rambling narratives were often utterly inane, but eventually, after the no-nonsense Dorothy shouted in frustration, "the point, Rose, get to the point!", the story would offer warm-hearted advice or a perceptive viewpoint on the problem at hand. Sophia often aimed her sharp and sarcastic wit at Rose's stories, making fun of her in a critical, but kind, way. Dorothy, the working school teacher and the voice of reason, generally played against the more extreme, often comical perspectives of the other women. Despite individual eccentricities, each woman was wise in her own way and each valued the others' experiences and sage advice. Each played her part in the maintenance of friendships and family bonds that resulted from their cohabitation.

*The Golden Girls* valued women and put special emphasis on the importance of women's networks friendships, and experiences. The series was big enough to showcase the concerns and escapades of four distinctive, aging women, yet balanced enough to combine the individual experiences into a positive picture of four senior citizens functioning together to make the most of life.

Despite the success of the program, NBC dropped *The Golden Girls* from the prime-time line up at the end of the 1992 season. CBS picked up the program, but Arthur and McClanahan refused to make the move. The new network changed the show into *The Golden Palace*, and set it in a hotel run by Rose and Sophia. It was a failure, and after its swift cancellation, the character Sophia returned to NBC to do occasional walk-ons on *Empty Nest*, a *Golden Girls* spin-off.

—Dawn Michelle Nill

#### CAST

*Dorothy Zbornak* . . . . . Bea Arthur  
*Rose Nylund* . . . . . Betty White  
*Blanche Devereaux* . . . . . Rue McClanahan  
*Sophia Petrillo* . . . . . Estelle Getty



The Golden Girls

**PRODUCERS** Paul Junger Witt, Tony Thomas, Susan Harris

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 180 Episodes

• NBC

September 1985–July 1991	Saturday 9:00-9:30
August 1991–September 1992	Saturday 8:00-8:30

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See also Arthur, Beatrice; Comedy, Domestic Settings; Gender and Television; Harris, Susan; Thomas, Tony; Witt, Paul Junger



## GOLDENSON, LEONARD

U.S. Media Executive

As the founder of a major U.S. network, Leonard Goldenson is perhaps not as famous as David Sarnoff of NBC or William S. Paley of CBS. Starting in 1951, over a thirty-year period, Goldenson created the modern ABC (American Broadcasting Company) television network. He did not have the advantage of technological superiority, as NBC had from its owner, Radio Corporation of America (RCA). He did not have the advantage of an extraordinary talent pool, as CBS did from its radio contract. Yet Goldenson should be given credit as one of the modern corporate chieftains who shaped and led television in the United States into the network era—and beyond. The last of the old TV network tycoons, Leonard Goldenson snatched ABC from the brink of irrelevance as a minor radio network and by the 1980s had transformed the company into one of the top broadcasting networks and a leading site for advertising in the world. Three of Goldenson's considerable accomplishments: he lured the big Hollywood movie studios into the TV production business; he re-packaged sports and made it prime-time fare with *Monday Night Football* and Olympic coverage; he led the networks into the era of movies made for TV and miniseries.

After graduating from the Harvard Business School in 1933, Goldenson was hired to help reorganize the then near bankrupt theater chain of Hollywood's Paramount Pictures. So skillful was his work at this assignment that Paramount's chief executive officer Barney Balaban hired Goldenson to manage the entire Paramount chain. In 1948 when the U.S. Supreme Court forced Paramount to choose either the theater business or Hollywood production and distribution, Balaban selected the Hollywood side and handed over the newly independent United Paramount theater chain to Goldenson. Goldenson then sold a number of movie palaces. Looking for a growth business in which to invest these funds, he selected ABC.

Goldenson finalized the ABC takeover in 1953, which came with a minor network and five stations. Given the ownership restrictions defined by the Federal Communication Commission's Sixth Report and Order, Goldenson worked from the assumption that only three networks would survive. Only in 1955, with the failure of the DuMont television network, was ABC really off on what would become its successful quest to catch up with industry leaders, CBS and NBC.

As late as 1954 only 40 of the more than 300 television stations then on the air were primarily ABC-TV affiliates. More affiliates for ABC-TV were so-called secondary accounts, an arrangement through which an NBC or CBS affiliate agreed to broadcast a portion (usually small) of the ABC-TV schedule. When DuMont went under, ABC-TV could claim only a tenth of network advertising billings; NBC and CBS split the rest.

Goldenson developed a specific tactic: find a programming niche not well served by the bigger rivals and take it



Leonard Goldenson  
Photo courtesy of Leonard Goldenson

over. Thus, for a youth market abandoned by NBC and CBS, ABC set in motion *American Bandstand*, *Maverick*, and *The Mickey Mouse Club*. Goldenson found early ABC stars in Edd "Kookie" Byrnes, James Garner, and Ricky Nelson. Controversy came with the premiere of *The Untouchables*, as critics jumped on an apparent celebration of violence, but Goldenson rode out the criticism and lauded the high ratings to potential advertisers.

When necessary, Goldenson would also copy his competition. In the 1950s there was no greater hit than CBS' sit-com *I Love Lucy*. Goldenson signed up Ozzie Nelson and Danny Thomas, and in time *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* would run 435 episodes on ABC, and Danny Thomas' *Make Room for Daddy* would air 336.

Goldenson was able to convince Hollywood, in the form of Walt Disney and Warner Brothers, to produce shows for ABC. A turning point—for the network and for all of television—came when Walt Disney agreed to supply ABC with TV shows. In exchange ABC sold its movie palaces and loaned the money to Disney to build a new type of amusement park. Disney had approached any number of banks, but could not convince their conservative officers that he really did not want to build another "Coney Island." Repeatedly, the financial institutions passed on "Disneyland." So, too, did NBC and CBS, thus



missing out on the opportunity to program *The Mickey Mouse Club* and *The Wonderful World of Disney*.

ABC's first Disney show went on the air on Wednesday nights beginning in October 1954; it moved to Sunday nights in 1960, and would remain a Sunday night fixture for more than two decades. ABC-TV had its first top-twenty ratings hit, and made millions from its investment in Disneyland. In particular a December 1954 episode entitled "Davy Crockett" created a national obsession, fostering a pop music hit, enticing baby boomers to beg their parents for coonskin cape, and making Fess Parker a TV star.

With the Warner Brothers shows—*Cheyenne*, *77 Sunset Strip*, *Surfside 6* and *Maverick*—the ABC television network began making a profit for the first time. By the early 1960s ABC was airing the top-rated *My Three Sons*, *The Real McCoys*, and *The Flintstones*, which was television's first animated prime-time series. In the more turbulent late 1960s ABC-TV mixed the traditional (*The FBI* and *Marcus Welby, M.D.*) with the adventuresome (*Mod Squad* and *Bewitched*). But it was not until the 1976–77 season that ABC-TV finally rose to the top of the network ratings; its prime-time hits that season were *Happy Days*, *Laverne and Shirley*, and *Monday Night Football*.

In sports telecasting ABC-TV soon topped NBC and CBS as a pioneer. ABC led the way with not only its Monday night NFL football, but also with *ABC Wide World of Sports* and coverage of the both summer and winter Olympics. In the late 1970s ABC's mini-series *Roots* set ratings records, and acquired numerous awards for its 12 hours of dramatic history. The TV-movie was also innovated at ABC-TV and in time the "alphabet" network received top ratings for airing *Brian's Song*, *The Thorn Birds*, and *The Winds of War*.

By the mid-1980s Leonard Goldenson had passed his 80th birthday and wanted out of the day-to-day grind of running a billion dollar corporation. In 1986 Capital Cities, Inc., backed by Warren Buffett's Berkshire Hathaway investment group, bought ABC for \$3.5 billion. Capital Cities, Inc., had long been an award-winning owner of a group of the most profitable television stations in the United States. "Cap Cities" chief executive officer Thomas Murphy inherited what Leonard Goldenson had wrought. Leonard Goldenson then gracefully retired.

—Douglas Gomery

LEONARD GOLDENSON. Born in Scottsdale, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., 7 December 1905. Educated at Harvard College, B.S., 1927; Harvard Law School, LL.B., 1930. Married: Isabelle Weinstein, 1939; children: Genise Sandra, Loreen

Jay, and Maxine Wynne. Served as law clerk to a railroad attorney, early 1930s; worked in reorganization of Paramount's New England theaters, 1933–37; assistant to the executive in charge of Paramount theater operations, 1937; head, Paramount theater operations, 1938; vice-president, Paramount Pictures, Inc., 1942; president and director, Paramount Theatres Service Corporation, 1944; president, chief executive officer, and director, United Paramount Pictures, Inc., 1950, and American Broadcasting-Paramount Theatres, Inc., 1953; chair of the board and chief executive officer, American Broadcasting Companies, Inc., until 1986; chair of the executive committee and director, Capital Cities/ABC, Inc., since 1972. Honorary chair of the Academy of TV Arts and Sciences. Member: International Radio and Television Society; National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences; Broadcast Pioneers; Motion Picture Pioneers; graduate director of the Advertising Council, Inc.; director, Research America; trustee emeritus, Museum of Broadcasting.

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See also American Broadcasting Company, Disney, Walt; Networks; Warner Brothers Presents

## GOOD TIMES

### U.S. Domestic Comedy

Evictions, gang warfare, financial problems, muggings, rent parties and discrimination were frequent themes of the television program *Good Times*, which aired on CBS Television from February 1974 to August 1979. The program was created by Norman Lear and Bud Yorkin. This highly successful team of independent producers team enjoyed unmitigated success during the 1970s and 1980s with a number of hit television shows including *Maude*, *Sanford and Son*, *The Jeffersons* and one of television's most controversial sitcoms, *All in the Family*.

*Good Times* was a spin-off show of the hit series *Maude*. In *Maude*, the black maid/housekeeper Florida, was portrayed by actor Esther Rolle. Rolle was chosen to star with John Amos as Mr. and Mrs. Evans in *Good Times*. The cast of *Good Times* included Florida; her unemployed but always looking-for-work husband, James; their teen-aged son, J.J.; a daughter, Thelma; and a younger son, Michael. The Evans' neighbor, a fortyish woman named Willona made frequent appearances. A very young Janet Jackson of the Jackson family fame, joined the cast later as Willona's adopted daughter.

*Good Times* earned its place in television history for a number of reasons. The program is significant for its decidedly different view, not only of black family life, but American family life in general. Unlike the innocuous images served up in early television shows such as *Father Knows Best* and *Julia*, *Good Times* interjected relevancy and realism into prime-time television by dealing with the pressing issues of the day.

*Good Times* was also noteworthy in its portrayal of an African-American family attempting to negotiate the vicissitudes of life in a high-rise tenement apartment in an urban slum—the first show to tackle such a scenario with any measure of realism. The program exploited, with comic relief, such volatile subject matter as inflation, unemployment and racial bigotry. Along with *The Jeffersons*, *Good Times* was one of first television sitcoms featuring a mostly black cast to appear since the controversial *Amos 'n' Andy* show had been canceled some twenty years previously.

*Good Times* was initially successful in that it offered solace for both blacks and whites, who could identify with the difficulties the Evans family faced. During the program's appearance on prime-time television, the concurrent period of history had included the Watergate scandal, the atrocities of the Vietnam War, staggeringly high interest rates, and growing unemployment. The James Evans character made clear his dissatisfaction with current government policies, and, the show became a champion for the plight of the underclass.

The show also highlighted the good parenting skills of James and Florida. In spite of their difficult situation, they never shirked on their responsibility to teach values and morality to their children. The younger son Michael was thoughtful, intelligent, and fascinated with African-American history. He frequently participated in protest marches



Good Times

for good causes. J.J. was an aspiring artist who dreamed of lifting his family from the clutches of poverty. In one episode the family's last valuable possession, the television set, is stolen from J.J. on his way to the pawn shop to obtain a loan that would pay the month's rent. But somehow the Evans family prevailed, and they did so with a smile. Their ability to remain stalwart in the face of difficult odds was an underlying theme of the show.

*Good Times* is also significant for many layers of controversy and criticism that haunted its production. Both stars, Rolle and Amos, walked away and returned as they became embroiled in various disputes surrounding the program's direction. A major point of disagreement was the J.J. character, who metamorphosed into a coon-stereotype reminiscent of early American film. His undignified antics raised the ire of the black community. With his toothy grin, ridiculous strut and bug-eyed buffoonery, J.J. became a featured character with his trademark exclamation, "DY-NO-MITE!" J.J. lied, stole, and was barely literate. More and more episodes were centered around his exploits. Forgotten were Michael's scholastic success, James' search for a job and anything resembling family values.

Both Ester Rolle and John Amos objected to the highlighting of the J.J. character. When both stars eventually left the program in protest, abortive attempts were made to soften the J.J. character and continue the program without

James and Florida. "We felt we had to do something drastic," Rolle said later in the *Los Angeles Times*, "we had lost the essence of the show."

Even with a newly fashioned (employed and mature-acting) J.J. character, ratings for *Good Times* plummeted. With some concessions, Rolle re-joined the cast in 1978 but the program failed and the series was canceled. The program went on to enjoy a decade of success in syndication.

*Good Times*, with its success and its criticism, remains an important program in television history. As the product of the highly successful Lear/Yorkin team, it stretched the boundaries of television comedy, while breaking the unspoken ban on a mostly black cast television show.

—Pamala S. Deane

#### CAST

*Florida Evans* (1974–77, 1978–79) . . . . . Esther Rolle  
*James Evans* (1974–76) . . . . . John Amos  
*James Evans, Jr. (J.J.)* . . . . . Jimmie Walker  
*Willona Woods* . . . . . Ja'net DuBois  
*Michael Evans* . . . . . Ralph Carter  
*Thelma Evans Anderson* . . . . . BernNadette Stanis  
*Carl Dixon* (1977) . . . . . Moses Gunn  
*Nathan Bookman* (1977–79) . . . . . Johnny Brown  
*Penny Gordon Woods* (1977–79) . . . . . Janet Jackson  
*Keith Anderson* (1976–79) . . . . . Ben Powers  
*Sweet Daddy* (1978–79) . . . . . Theodore Wilson

**PRODUCERS** Norman Lear, Allan Mannings, Austin Kalish, Irma Kalish, Norman Paul, Gordon Mitchell, Lloyd Turner, Sid Dorfman, George Sunga, Bernie West, Dohn Nicholl, Viva Knight

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 120 Episodes

#### • CBS

February 1974–September 1974	Friday 8:30-9:00
September 1974–March 1976	Tuesday 8:00-8:30
March 1976–August 1976	Tuesday 8:30-9:00
September 1976–January 1978	Wednesday 8:00-8:30
January 1978–May 1978	Monday 8:00-8:30
June 1978–September 1978	Monday 8:30-9:00
September 1978–December 1978	Saturday 8:30-9:00
May 1979–August 1979	Wednesday 8:30-9:00

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See also *Maude*; Lear, Norman; Racism, Ethnicity, and Television

## GOODSON, MARK, AND BILL TODMAN

### U.S. Producers

Mark Goodson and Bill Todman were among television's most successful producers of game shows. They refined celebrity panel quizzes with *What's My Line?* and *I've Got a Secret*, and created games that lasted for years. Some, like *The Price Is Right*, became even more popular in revived versions. Many of their shows have been adapted for production in television systems outside the United States.

In 1939, Mark Goodson created his first game, *Pop the Question*, for San Francisco's radio station, KFRC. In *Pop the Question* players threw darts at balloons to collect prizes inside. Goodson left for New York City in 1941, with an introduction from Berkeley alumnus Ralph Edwards. While working several announcing and writing jobs, he met Bill Todman, a radio writer, director, and advertising copy-

writer. The two found a shared love of games, and set to work on their first quiz show. They developed the methods that would serve them throughout their careers: Goodson refined the format, while Todman tested possible flaws in the rules and worked out the financial angles. CBS Radio finally picked up the game *Winner Take All*, after World War II, and the two also partnered to create four local radio quizzes: *Hit the Jackpot*, *Spin to Win*, *Rate Your Mate*, and *Time's a Wastin'*. *Winner Take All* used a lockout buzzer system and was the first quiz to pit two contestants against each other, rather than against the quizmaster one at a time. It was also first to have winners return each week until they were defeated. *Winner Take All* became the first Goodson and Todman show on CBS' new television network, debuting 8 July 1948.

Quiz shows had been popular on radio through the 1940s, and they were equally popular with TV executives: they cost little to produce, and merchandise prizes, so scarce during the war, were furnished free by manufacturers in return for plugs. An oft-repeated story had the partners carrying prizes for *Winner Take All* from their office to the studio. Todman slipped, sending small appliances clattering to the sidewalk. Writer Goodman Ace witnessed the accident and shouted, "Hey, Todman, you dropped your script!"

Most popular radio quizzes did not survive on television. Straight quizzes proved visually dull, and failed to involve the audience. Before the rise and fall of the big-money shows, Goodson and Todman found their success by going in two different directions: celebrity panel shows and celebrations of ordinary people.

Their first panel show began in 1949 with Bob Bach, a staffer who had bet the partners that he could deduce the occupations of total strangers. This inspired a proposal called "Occupation Unknown," which CBS bought in 1950 and renamed *What's My Line?* Bach became its associate producer as a reward for creating the basic concept for the program, a custom that continued at Goodson-Todman. *What's My Line?* put tuxedoed bon vivants into viewers' homes for parlor games. These wits seemed amazed and amused by the occupations of ordinary working people. There was also a chance to be suggestive: for a guest whose "line" was "sells mattresses," Arlene Francis innocently provoked gales of laughter by asking, "If Bennett Cerf and I had your product, could we use it together?"

*Beat the Clock*, meanwhile, let ordinary folk attempt difficult, wacky stunts, which often involved whipped cream, mashed potatoes or water balloons. This was the only Goodson-Todman show to join the trend in "big money" games, as the prize for completing the stunts rose from \$100 to \$5,000 by 1958.

In 1950, CBS gave Goodson and Todman a shot at live drama when the producers of the popular anthology *Suspense* abruptly announced they were taking a summer hiatus. With just four weeks to the first air date, their studio put together *The Web*, an anthology of stories focused on people caught in a "web" of situations beyond their control. The show stayed on the air until 1954, and, like many New York-produced dramas, featured several future Hollywood stars. James Dean made his television debut on *The Web*, and later worked as a "stunt tester" for *Beat the Clock*. He proved so well-coordinated, however, that his times at completing stunts could not be used to gauge average contestants. Dean was obliged to seek his fortune elsewhere. Goodson and Todman made a few other forays into drama, with the Westerns *Jefferson Drum*, *The Rebel* and *Branded*. They also produced *Philip Marlowe*, and a repertory anthology, *The Richard Boone Show*.

In its second season, *What's My Line?*'s format and panelists jelled, and CBS had a hit that would last for 18 seasons, the longest running game show in prime time.



Bill Todman (right) and Mark Goodson  
Photo courtesy of Mark Goodson Productions

Goodson and Todman continued to prepare more panel shows such as *The Name's the Same* (ABC, 1951-55), in which celebrity panelists met ordinary people with famous or unusual names (e.g. George Washington, Mona Lisa, A. Garter).

Two unemployed comedy writers, Allan Sherman and Howard Merrill, created *I've Got a Secret* for Goodson-Todman, and when it debuted in 1952, Sherman became its producer. He managed prodigious booking feats such as locating the nearest phone to Mt. Everest in order to be the first to contact Edmund Hillary following his historic ascent. He requested the U.S. Air Force to attempt to break the flight speed record from Los Angeles to New York on a Wednesday so the pilot could be a guest that evening; that stunt gave audiences their first look at John Glenn.

*I've Got a Secret* caught a whiff of the quiz scandals with its celebrity segment: since few celebrities in those days wanted to admit their real secrets, the writing staff created some of them. Thus Boris Karloff's "secret" was that he was afraid of mice, or Monty Wooley's that "I sleep with my beard under the covers." Asked by Henry Morgan whether that was really true, Wooley shot back, "Of course not, you bloody idiot! Some damn fool named Allan Sherman told me to say so." (Sherman later became famous for his song parodies, especially "Hello Muddah, Hello Fadduh!")

The third of Goodson and Todman's long-running panel shows, *To Tell the Truth*, was created in December 1956 by Bob Stewart, a former ad agency man, who later packaged game shows on his own, including *The \$10,000 Pyramid*. Stewart also contributed *Password* in 1961, the first quiz in which "civilians" teamed up with celebrities. But in total air time, Stewart's most enduring creation has been *The Price Is Right*. When *Price* debuted in 1956, it was a sponsor's dream. Contestants won fabulous prizes as rewards for knowing their retail prices, a skill prized in the 1950s consumption oriented society. During the quiz show probes, it was revealed that contestants were sometimes furnished with ceiling prices over which they should not bid, but all the contestants had shared the information. *The Price Is Right* continued in daytime until 1965, and ran in prime time from 1957 to 1964. When the show was revived in 1972, it put contestants through several flashy games, but with the same object of guessing prices. *The New Price Is Right* continues to this day, an hour each weekday, and has spun off two syndicated versions.

Goodson-Todman Productions was America's biggest producer of game shows by 1956, but after the quiz scandals, the thirst for new games cooled considerably, and they were coasting on earlier successes. Their last winner in that period was another celebrity panel show, *The Match Game*. The prime-time audiences for *What's My Line?*, *I've Got a Secret*, and *To Tell the Truth* had grown older, and CBS retired the shows in 1967. By 1970, the networks swept nearly all their game shows from their daytime lineups as well.

A new window opened in 1971 with the implementation of the Prime-Time Access rule, and Goodson-Todman produced new syndicated versions of nearly all their old shows. They even purchased *Concentration* from Barry and Enright after NBC canceled it in 1973, and issued a syndicated edition.

*The New Price Is Right* was part of the networks' attempt to return to daytime game shows in the early 1970s. Most shows of the period used more lights, flashy scoreboards and high-tech, moving sets, but substance was lacking and the shows had short runs. Goodson-Todman had its share of gadget-filled failures, but they also struck gold with *Family Feud* and *Card Sharks*.

Goodson and Todman sold *What's My Line?* to CBS in 1958, and *I've Got a Secret* to CBS and program host Garry Moore in 1959. The sales helped reduce their capital gains tax burden, and netted \$3 million. They established the Ingersoll Newspaper Group, a chain of 8 dailies and 25 weeklies, and served as vice-presidents.

The partnership continued until Todman's death in 1979, after which it was renamed Mark Goodson Productions. Goodson's son Jonathan succeeded him as president and chief executive officer of Mark Goodson Productions, while Howard Todman serves as treasurer. In December 1994, the company joined with Merv Griffin Enterprises to launch the Game Show Channel. The cable outlet offers old game shows from a library of 41,000 episodes, and new

shows allowing home viewers to play along for prizes via interactive controllers. Its growth, though, is currently stymied by the lack of available channels on most cable systems, and has been awaiting the expansion of direct satellite and expanded cable capacity.

—Mark R. McDermott

MARK GOODSON. Born in Sacramento, California, U.S.A., 24 January 1915. Educated at the University of California at Berkeley, B.A. 1937. Married: 1) Bluma Neveleff, 1941, children: Jill and Jonathan; 2) Virginia McDavid, children: Marjorie; 3) Suzanne Waddell. Acted in small amateur theater productions as a child; worked in the Lincoln Fish Market, Berkeley, mid-1930s; disc jockey, KJBS in San Francisco, 1937–39; announcer, newscaster, and station director, Mutual Broadcasting System's KFRC station in San Francisco, 1939–41; freelance radio announcer, New York City, 1941–43; created the ABC dramatic series *Appointment with Life*, 1943; directed the U. S. Treasury Department's war bond-selling show *The Treasury Salute*, 1944–45; co-founder, Goodson-Todman Productions (renamed Mark Goodson Productions after Todman's death, 1979), 1946; with partner, William Todman, created and marketed radio shows, 1946–1950; served as producer on television series, including *The Rebel* and *Branded*. Trustee, Museum of Broadcasting (now Museum of Television and Radio), from 1985. Member, board of directors, American Film Institute from 1975. Member, Academy of TV Arts and Sciences. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1951 and 1952; Great Britain's National TV Award, 1951. Died in New York City, 18 December 1992.

WILLIAM S. TODMAN. Born in New York City, New York, U.S.A., 31 July 1918. Graduated from Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, 1938. Married: Frances Holmes Burson; one daughter and one son. Freelance radio writer following college; writer and producer, radio station WABC, New York; co-founder, with Mark Goodson, Goodson-Todman Productions, 1946, which produced game shows for television; expanded Goodson-Todman enterprises to form Capital City Publishing, which included Ingersoll newspaper group and other publishing holdings. Died in New York, 29 July 1979.

#### TELEVISION SERIES (selection)

1948–50	<i>Winner Take All</i>
1950–54	<i>The Web</i>
1950–67	<i>What's My Line?</i>
1951–54	<i>It's News to Me</i>
1951–55	<i>The Name's the Same</i>
1952–67	<i>I've Got a Secret</i>
1953–54	<i>Judge for Yourself</i>
1953–57	<i>Two for the Money</i>
1956–67	<i>To Tell the Truth</i>
1956–72, 1974	<i>The Price Is Right</i>
1958–59	<i>Jefferson Drum</i>
1958–63	<i>Play Your Hunch</i>
1958–73	<i>Concentration</i>

- 1959–60      *Phillip Marlowe*  
 1959–61, 1962 *The Rebel*  
 1962–67      *Password*  
 1963–64      *The Richard Boone Show*  
 1965–66      *Branded*  
 1972–75      *The New Price Is Right*  
 1973–79      *The Match Game*  
 1974–78  
     1982–84      *Tattletales*  
 1977–85,  
     1988–      *Family Feud*  
 1984–85      *Now You See It*

**RADIO** (Goodson)

*Pop the Question*, 1939–40; *The Jack Dempsey Sports Quiz*, 1941; *The Answer Man*, 1942; *Appointment with Life*; *Battle of the Boroughs*, 1945–46; *Stop the Music*.

**RADIO** (Todman)

*Connie Boswell Presents*; *Anita Ellis Sings*; *Treasury Salute Dramas*.

**RADIO** (Goodson and Todman)

*Winner Take All*, 1946; *Time's a Wastin'*, 1948; *Spin to Win*, 1949.

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## GOODYEAR PLAYHOUSE

### U.S. Dramatic Anthology

**G**oodyear Playhouse, a highly prestigious American program of live, one-hour plays, appeared on NBC from 1951 to 1957. Its original title, *Goodyear TV Playhouse*, was changed in 1955. The program shared its time slot in alternating weeks with *Philco Television Playhouse* and later with *The Alcoa Hour*. The varying titles referred to specific corporate sponsorship from week to week, but all three series were produced by the same people, and at times all three series were referred to simply as NBC's "Television Playhouse."

*Goodyear Playhouse* was among several anthology dramas which many television critics associate with television's "golden age." Like other anthology programs, each show featured different actors and stories, many of which were developed from Broadway plays and short stories. New stories were also written especially for *Goodyear Playhouse* by writers who had little or no previous television experience. Because programs were produced live, on small sets, and for nine-inch television screens, they tended to rely upon close-ups and dialogue for dramatic impact. Stories necessarily took place indoors so that sets would seem more realistic. Partly because of such constraints, the plays usually had a strong psychological emphasis, concentrating upon characters rather than action.

During its brightest years (1951–55), *Goodyear Playhouse* was produced by Fred Coe who had made a name for

himself in experimental television productions in the late 1940s. Coe encouraged several young authors to write for the series, allowing them an unusual amount of freedom in their scripts. The writers included Paddy Chayefsky, Tad Mosel, Robert Alan Arthur, Horton Foote, David Shaw, and Gore Vidal, each of whom continued to write for other media as well as television. Similarly, because the series was performed in New York, Coe made ample use of stage actors who later became well-known television and screen stars, Grace Kelly, Rod Steiger, and Leslie Nielsen among them. Though neither actors nor writers were paid much for performing on *Goodyear Playhouse*, many enjoyed the excitement of live television and the national exposure the series offered. Coe also trained many directors, including Delbert Mann, Arthur Penn, and Sidney Lumet, who would later make names for themselves in television and film.

Although *Goodyear Playhouse* and other anthology dramas received more critical praise than most television fare of the day, they—like all commercial television productions—were constrained in their content and production styles by desires of advertisers who were careful not to sponsor anything that might offend consumers. Hence, rather than suggest that the source of postwar problems was found in social inequities, television plays rooted problems within individual characters who usually managed to overcome their problems by the denouement. Further-

more, television plays were bound by temporal limitations inherent in commercial television. While Coe argued that two commercial breaks were beneficial in that they allowed actors to rest and also simulated stage theater's three-act structure, the sixty-minute format meant that the timing of productions was to a large extent predetermined.

Despite their limitations, *Goodyear Playhouse* often presented impressive stories, acting, and direction. The most famous of its plays was Paddy Chayefsky's *Marty* (24 May 1953), starring Rod Steiger as a middle-aged, lonely butcher and Nancy Marchand as an unattractive school teacher whom he meets at a dance. *Marty* was perfectly attuned to the limitations placed upon live television drama, subtly and sensitively exploring the emotions of a man torn between family commitments and his need for personal maturation. *Marty* was later made into a Oscar-winning film starring Ernest Borgnine. Besides *Marty*, other notable *Goodyear Playhouse* premiers include Chayefsky's *The Bachelor Party* (1955) and Gore Vidal's *Visit to Small Planet* (1955).

In 1954 and 1955, anthology sponsors began to demand more control of their programs. Gloomy personal problems faced by anthology characters did not seem to mesh with bright, optimistic commercials. Sponsors were increasingly turning to series television productions filmed in Hollywood. These factors signaled the demise of anthology programs including *Goodyear Playhouse*. Fred Coe left NBC when his ideas no longer generated sponsor interest.

When Coe left the series in 1955, ratings dropped, and *Goodyear Playhouse* was canceled two years later. The series was reprised somewhat from 1957 to 1960 by a half-hour, taped program called the *Goodyear Theater*. *Goodyear Theater* was similar in content to its predecessor and again alternated with *Alcoa Theater* on NBC.

*Goodyear Playhouse*, along with other live anthology series such as *Omnibus* and *Playhouse 90*, set a standard for excellence in television production despite industrial limitations placed upon them. Just a few years after the end of

*Goodyear Playhouse*, television writers, directors, and critics lamented the loss of the creative freedom that anthology dramas offered in contrast to series television. Today, complaints continue to be made by television reformers who contrast present programming with television's "golden age."

—Warren Bareiss

## PROGRAMMING HISTORY

### • NBC

October 1951–September 1957      Sunday 9:00–10:00  
September 1957–September 1960      Monday 9:30–10:00

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See also Anthology Drama; Chayefsky, Paddy; Coe, Fred; "Golden Age" of Television; *Philco Television Playhouse*

# GRANDSTAND

## British Sports Programme

The BBC's flagship sports programme, *Grandstand* has been broadcast in Britain since the autumn of 1958. This enduring and resourceful programme runs for approximately five hours every Saturday afternoon, pulling together discrete sporting events under one programme heading.

*Grandstand* was conceived by Bryan Cargill, then a sports producer within the BBC, with the idea of unifying the corporation's live Outside Broadcasts within a single sports omnibus. The sports magazine format had its precedents in both BBC radio and television, and *Grandstand* joined its sister programs *Sportview* (a midweek sports magazine which was presented by Peter Dimmock from 1954 and latterly became known as *Sportnight*) and *Sports Special* (a Saturday evening

programme of filmed highlights, presented by Kenneth Wolstenholme which aired from 1955 to 1964 when it was replaced by *Match of the Day* a program exclusively dedicated to soccer). These provided a comprehensive sports portfolio without comparison among the ITV companies.

It was Dimmock, then the head of BBC Television Outside Broadcasts, who presented the initial two programmes. He was soon replaced by the sports journalist David Coleman, who from 1958 to 1968 brought a vibrant style and meticulous sporting knowledge to the programme in a decade which saw televised sport in Britain come of age. The role of the anchor has been central to the success of *Grandstand*, whose structure changes from week to week



and, on occasion, hour to hour, or even minute by minute. As the public end of a finely tuned production team, the anchor knits together and makes coherent the live and recorded material which alternates between various sports and locations. Since Coleman left the programme in 1968, it is a role only a few broadcasters have been privileged to undertake: Frank Bough (1968–83); Desmond Lynam (1983–93) and Steve Ryder (1993–96).

One of the guiding principles of *Grandstand* has been to appeal to a family audience, despite being male dominated in terms of its selection of presenters, commentators and sports covered. Indeed, it is between the dichotomy of the sports fan (viewed as predominantly male) and the casual viewer (the family audience) that the presenters and commentators seek to appeal and has given the aforementioned anchors of the programme recognition as talented broadcasters beyond the genre of televised sport. Similarly, the sports commentators, many of whom joined the BBC in the 1950s and 1960s, have become household names in Britain: Peter O'Sullivan (Horse Racing), Murray Walker (Motor Racing), Bill McLaren (Rugby Union), Peter Allis (Golf), Richie Benaud (Cricket), John Motson (Soccer), David Coleman (Athletics), Ted Lowe (Snooker), Dan Maskell (Tennis) and Harry Carpenter (Boxing). These commentators are among the most enduring names in British broadcasting, and although the latter three practitioners of the lip microphone retired from broadcasting in the early 1990s, all remain familiar to the armchair sports fan.

The individuals who have taken on the challenge of presenting the programme have been aware of the need to produce the illusion of a seamless flow of sports entertainment; continuity and slickness being key production values. Without any definitive script, without knowing what is going to happen next, the fronting of *Grandstand* is recognised as one of the toughest jobs in British television. Yet the complexity of directing several Outside Broadcasts in one afternoon, mixing events and making sure everything significant is captured, has been made to look easy.

Although soccer does not feature as one of the alternating live Outside Broadcasts, due to a historical fear on the part of the soccer authorities that live coverage would affect actual attendance on Saturday afternoons, the sport does figure strongly within the overall news values of the programme. Starting with "Football Focus", a review and analysis of the previous week's games and an outlook towards the afternoon's matches, *Grandstand* provides a continual update of the latest scores for its viewers. "Final Score", which concludes the programme, provides a soccer results service which emphasises the up-to-the-minute production values, formatively utilizing the technology of what affectionately became known as the "teleprinter" (later replaced by the "videprinter"). "Final Score" was introduced to the programme not only as a means of informing soccer fans of their teams' success or failure on a particular Saturday afternoon, but also to provide news of success or failure to the hundreds of thousands of British people who gamble on the football pools. In this respect, *Grandstand* was the first television programme to take the sports gambler seriously, specifically with regard to horse racing, which

is a staple diet of the programme. It combines the coverage of racing events with analysis of race form, betting odds and results.

Between 1965 and 1985 *Grandstand* had to compete with ITV's sports magazine programme *World of Sport*. Initially launched in a joint operation between ATV and ABC, and subsequently produced by LWT, *World of Sport* took up the same scheduling time as *Grandstand*. Instead of alternating between Outside Broadcasts it televised sports within a far more structured approach. Its demise was due to the problem of overcoming the regional system of the ITV Network and its failure to encroach on the BBC's stranglehold on the television rights to the main sporting events. Of central importance, here, has been the BBC's predominance in the coverage of the "Listed Events"; a set of sporting occasions which have been sidelined since 1954 by the Postmaster General to maintain non-exclusivity in the broadcasting of Wimbledon tennis, the F.A. Cup Final, the Scottish Cup Final, the Grand National, the Derby, Test Cricket in England, the Boat Race, soccer's World Cup Final, the Olympic Games and the Commonwealth Games. *Grandstand* has been the vehicle for the coverage of all these events. Therefore, not only has the programme established Saturday as a day of televised sport, but also has created a seasonally shifting, broadcasting calendar of sport, ubiquitously known and familiar throughout the nation.

With the introduction of satellite and cable delivery systems in Britain, and the emergence of sports narrowcasting (most notably Sky Sports), the BBC has found it increasingly difficult to compete for television rights to sport as prices inflate. However, the BBC has maintained its commitment to sport, and introduced *Sunday Grandstand* (formerly *Summer Grandstand* when it began in 1981) as a means of extending its scheduled hours of sport, under a title which has become synonymous with quality sports programming.

—Richard Haynes

#### ANCHORS

David Coleman (1958–68)  
Frank Bough (1968–83)  
Desmond Lynam (1983–93)  
Steve Ryder (1993–)

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

##### • BBC

1958–                      Saturday Afternoons, Non-Primetime

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## GRANGE HILL

### British Children's Serial Drama

*Grange Hill* is a successful children's soap opera set in a fictional East London comprehensive school. More controversial than traditional BBC children's dramas, *Grange Hill* examines how social and political pressures directly affect Britain's school children, rupturing cherished and long held images of sheltered youth and innocence.

The first two seasons concentrated on the lives of a group of dominantly working-class eleven-year-old students who started at Grange Hill Comprehensive in 1978. Bad boy Tucker Jenkins (Todd Carty) was the show's working-class anti-hero. His best friend Benny Green (Terry Sue Patt), a sweet-tempered black boy, battled with the dual problems of racial prejudice and poverty (his father was unemployed as a result of an industrial injury). Although he was a skilled footballer, he was stigmatized by poverty as teachers constantly reprimanded him for wearing the wrong school uniform or the old gym shoes.

When Tucker and friends reached their third year in school, a new generation of children entered Grange Hill. Every two years after this, a new class of younger students would share the limelight with their veteran classmates. The second group of Grange Hill pupils included another anti-hero, Zammo, the Tucker of his generation. A few years later, in the midst of national panic about drug abuse in schools, Zammo became addicted to drugs and glue sniffing. This narrative was conceived in conjunction with a national anti-drugs awareness scheme and was featured on other BBC children's programs like *Blue Peter* to educate children on the dangers of illegal drugs.

Generally, *Grange Hill* was not well received by parents and critics who condemned its images of worldly, disrespectful and disillusioned students. Children, on the other hand, found the series a little too idealistic. After the first season, producer Phil Redmond changed the tone of the show in



Grange Hill  
Photo courtesy of BBC

response to children who complained that "things weren't tough enough." In all probability, the show would have been controversial as it engaged with an issue at the forefront of public debate—comprehensive schools. Labour Government policy mandated that these mixed ability schools would replace the two tier system of grammar and secondary modern schools by 1980. Comprehensive schools came to represent both utopian and dystopian visions of the nation's future. At the center of it all were the children, a disenfranchised group unable to participate in the molding of their future. Throughout the years, *Grange Hill* has explored this theme, the idea that children engage with and are affected by politics even though the public tries to protect them or deny their interest in social matters.

Phil Redmond's *Grange Hill* spinoffs continued to explore how government policy affected Britain's youth. *Tucker's Luck* (BBC 2, 1983–85) was aimed at slightly older children and teenagers and dealt with the problems facing working-class youth with few academic qualifications (like Tucker and his friends) in a world of growing unemployment. This series was neither as popular as nor as controversial as *Grange Hill* largely because it was shown against the early evening news on both BBC 1 and ITV.

—Moya Luckett

#### CAST

<i>Justin Bennett</i> . . . . .	Robert Craig-Morgan
<i>Alan Hargreaves</i> . . . . .	George Armstrong
<i>Benny Green</i> . . . . .	Terry Sue Patt
<i>Tucker Jenkins</i> . . . . .	Todd Carty
<i>Penny Lewis</i> . . . . .	Ruth Davies
<i>Trisha Yates</i> . . . . .	Michelle Herbert
<i>Mr. Sutcliffe</i> . . . . .	James Wynn
<i>Mr. Baxter</i> . . . . .	Michael Cronin
<i>Andrew Stanton</i> . . . . .	Mark Chapman
<i>Cathy Hargreaves</i> . . . . .	Lindy Brill
<i>Mr. Hopwood</i> . . . . .	Brian Capron
<i>Pogo Patterson</i> . . . . .	Peter Moran
<i>Michael Doyle</i> . . . . .	Vincent Hall
<i>Mrs. McClusky</i> . . . . .	Gwyneth Powell
<i>Gripper Stebson</i> . . . . .	Mark Savage
<i>Duane Orpington</i> . . . . .	Mark Baxter
<i>Stewpot Stewart</i> . . . . .	Mark Burdis

## GREECE

In Greece, television appeared in 1966, surprisingly late compared to Ireland (1960) and Portugal (1955), two of the European countries with whom Greece has a more or less equal living standard and a few other social affinities. The first national network was EPT, a state monopoly which owned the three national radio stations. A second network (YENEΔ) was created in 1968 and operated under military control. Since Greece was under a junta regime from 1967

<i>Pamela Cartwright</i> . . . . .	Rene Alperstein
<i>Annette Firman</i> . . . . .	Nadia Chambers
<i>Zammo McGuire</i> . . . . .	Lee MacDonald
<i>Roland Browning</i> . . . . .	Erkan Mustafa
<i>Suzanne Ross</i> . . . . .	Susan Tully
<i>Miss Mooney</i> . . . . .	Lucinda Gane
<i>Lucinda</i> . . . . .	Letitia Dean
<i>Scruffy McGuffy</i> . . . . .	Fraser Cains
<i>Mr. Bronson</i> . . . . .	Michael Sheard
<i>Ant Jones</i> . . . . .	Ricky Simmons
<i>Mr. Griffiths</i> . . . . .	George Cooper
<i>Ziggy Greaves</i> . . . . .	George Christopher
<i>Mr. Hankin</i> . . . . .	Lee Cornes
<i>Chrissy Mainwaring</i> . . . . .	Sonya Kearns

**PRODUCERS** Anna Home, Colin Cant, Susi Hush, Kenny McBain, Ben Rea, Ronald Smedley, David Leonard, Albert Barber

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 300 c. 30-minute episodes

#### • BBC

8 February 1978–5 April 1978  
 2 February 1979–2 March 1979  
 8 January 1980–29 February 1980  
 30 December 1980–27 February 1981  
 28 December 1981  
 5 January 1982–5 March 1982  
 4 January 1983–4 March 1983  
 3 January 1984–2 March 1984  
 18 February 1985–22 April 1985  
 7 January 1986–1 April 1986  
 6 January 1987–27 March 1987  
 5 January 1988–11 March 1988  
 3 January 1989–10 March 1989  
 2 January 1990–9 March 1990  
 8 January 1991–15 March 1991  
 7 January 1991–13 March 1992  
 5 January 1993–12 March 1993

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to 1974, this second network served as the official organ of the military government. During this first period, the two channels offered a program of about seven hours a day, beginning about 5:00 or 6:00 P.M. with rather inexpensive American children's shows, usually cartoons. The program schedule continued with "family shows" (*Dennis The Menace*, *Hazel*) which normally had been hits in the United States during the late 1950s and early 1960s and belonged

to the kiddy hour. For the first three or four years the networks were supplied with popular, if somewhat old, American sitcoms (such as *I Love Lucy*), series (such as *Peyton Place*, *Combat*, *Bonanza*, *Mannix*, *Hawaii 5-0*, *The Fugitive*), and crooner shows (Tom Jones, Shirley Bassey, Andy Williams, Diahann Carroll). This description of television hardly changed radically in the following years. In the late 1960s and early 1970s Greece was isolated from Europe (it did not become a member of the Common Market until May 1979), and lived under American influence. Nevertheless, around 1970 Greek series started to be made and were shown with enormous success. Perhaps the most successful ever were the bluntly propagandistic *Unknown War*—a purely military product, financed by the army—and *The Strange Voyager*, a pompous, pseudo-noir series with an incongruous plot.

The booming Greek movie industry, which had reached its peak in the 1967–68 season (118 films and four million moviegoers), started to decline soon after. Some 50% of the moviehouses closed in only five years and the local movie moguls (notably Philopoimin Finos, Spentzos and Zervos) provided the networks with countless innocuous old movies which became a considerable part of the program. From 1966 to 1974 Greek comedies (mostly farces but also comedies of manners), “urban” tear-jerkers, bucolic tear-jerkers and heroic war adventures were sold to the networks and shown in prime time. (The most popular of these movies were shown on Saturday evenings, the traditional movie time for Greeks.) In 1969 and 1970 a “new” movie genre emerged, a kind of grotesquely tasteless musical (in color), which made its way to the small screen. Thus, in the early 1970s, Greek cinema production and audiences tended to shrink pathetically while both networks thrived despite heavy censorship, poor taste and a low technical level.

Although the technical know-how was, not amazingly, deficient, early Greek television was not short of stars. People who had worked successfully for the radio and the stage revue excelled as television hosts although they grossly imitated their American counterparts and were too willing to collaborate with the military authorities. Nikos Mastorakis was the TV personality *sine qua non* of the dictatorship years.

The main income of EPT came from the so-called contribution of the citizens which was (and still is) incorporated into the bi-monthly bill of the ΔΕΗ (the National Electricity Company). This method of financing the state monopoly seems unique worldwide: the “contribution” is added automatically to the bill even if one does not possess a TV set. A supplementary income came from commercials but TV advertisement was by no means the colossal business it is today. Spots in the actual meaning of the term were unthinkable. Programs were never interrupted for the sake of a commercial, rather they just preceded programs in very modest quantities. Besides, 70 to 90% of the TV commercials were imported, as were the products they promoted.

There were a few differences between the two networks: for example, YENEA was better managed, had a very “populist” program, and its general expenses were covered by the Department of Defence; it also had higher ratings (two-thirds of the viewers) attracting the biggest portion of commercials. EPT was disorderly—the epitome of bureaucracy in the public sector—and its program was high-brow and pretentious: 80% of its income (10% of which came from commercials) hardly covered its general expenses (which included a sluggish crowd of civil servants mostly appointed in a debauch of favoritism). Only 10% of the income was conveyed to the program which was more or less a random matter.

Another emblematic feature of early Greek television was its fondness of sports which soon enough turned to an obsession. The junta years were clearly marked by a soccer-mania of Latin American style, a fact that television nurtured and exploited to the extreme. It took only six years for television to displace cinema (in the 1972–73 season, only 60 Greek movies were shot and there was a 30% decrease in the box-office sales) and to raise soccer to a matter of national pride.

In July 1974 after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, the Greek Junta collapsed. It was a time of jubilation. Greek life teemed with new plans and promises, and with new faces too, as many exiled intellectuals came back home carrying a European aura. For several years political discourses seemed to prevail; there was time and space for little else. Modern Greece was a country that had never enjoyed basic civil rights and it plunged into politics fervently. The TV networks were more or less delivered to the center-right wing government, elected by an unprecedented landslide in November 1974. Nevertheless, an equally phenomenal procedure of modernization was undertaken. Roviros Manthoulis, a Greek filmmaker who lived in France, was the main figure of this effort concerning EPT. As an executive manager of EPT he tried to alter structures and improve programs, in spite of state interventions, continual internal crisis and bad publicity from the ultra-conservative press.

From 1974 to 1981 (the year when the Social Democrats came into power), Greek television came of age. Although Roviros Manthoulis resigned in January 1977, he left a very useful legacy of honesty and competence. During this period the correlation between EPT and YENEA changed dramatically: in the last semester of 1974 YENEA lost millions of viewers while the ratings of EPT increased by 40%, which seems like a world record in the history of the media. In the mid-1970s there were six million viewers (in a total population of nine million). Approximately 2.4 million watched EPT in December 1975, while in April 1976 they reached 3.3 million. On the other hand, the ratings of YENEA fell by 25% partly because it obviously lagged behind in terms of modernization, partly because it was connected to the hateful colonels (a fact that had not prevented it from blossoming as it did throughout the junta years).

A tacit war—which at times became very explicit—broke out between the two networks. The military management of YENED accused EPT of illicit rivalry but the charge evaporated in a special meeting of both managements with the Prime Minister. This rivalry resulted in a palpable improvement of both channels although too many projects (the co-production of movies according to the French and British pattern, the shooting of 50 educational documentaries), were abandoned for reasons of idleness and indifference.

In October 1981 Andreas Papaandreu and the Social Democrats (PASOK) came to power and for a short spell Greeks enjoyed good will politics which were also applied to the television. Color television drew new young audiences who had been brought up with color movies, and video sales skyrocketed. The old black-and-white programs became an anachronism rerun in early afternoons. YENED was renamed EPT2 and together with the ex-EPT (now EPT1) formed the so-called Hellenic Television (ET); although they still were autonomous channels, they became barely distinguishable. It was a period of frantic television production: Greek series prevailed, ranging from downright trashy to first rate (as were the *Melody of the Dawn* and the *Lemon-tree Wood*) they were usually adapted from popular Greek novels. The sitcoms and soap operas persisted but they became chiefly Greek whereas the first early afternoon program *Good Afternoon* succeeded in securing unexpected ratings, making way for numerous early afternoon "live" programs. By 1987 several filmmakers and screenwriters (practically jobless, since only 10 to 15 films were made annually) worked on television. Also, the channels started to participate in the production of movies financed mainly by the Hellenic Film Center, a state organization founded in 1981.

It can be argued that from 1974 to 1987 Greek television tried to follow the European television model. In 1987, although the state monopoly was reaffirmed, it seemed threatened by the foundation of the first free radio station (the station of the City of Athens) which broke new ground and heralded the numerous private stations that eventually reduced the audience of the state stations. In 1988 the first local Thessaloniki-based television network was founded (ET3), a development that did little to save the national television industry from near bankruptcy and public dissatisfaction. At the same time, satellite television was made available through the industrial galaxy Matra, Ariane, Thomson. Yet its impact was short-lived as the foreign language programs appealed to the meager minority familiar with European languages. Traditionally this minority watches little television, satellite or not. Thus, in the beginning, before the Greek networks came to look more like the satellite ones, large audiences went zapping through REL (which showed soft porn and love strip-tease live shows), RAI (with its typical glamorous and flashy shows), MTV (which remains wildly popular among the young), and Junior (which has a sizable audience of preschoolers). The French TV5, although relatively more interesting than the rest, attracted only the French-speaking part of the Greek intelligentsia as well as journalists who use it as an additional

source of political comment. As for CNN, it used to be reasonably favoured among satellite channels, but after the rush of the private national networks it was almost forgotten.

In 1988, the Social Democrat government was accused of corruption. ET1, ET2, and ET3 were savagely criticized and the private channels flourished abruptly, almost overnight. They simply appeared, without soliciting any licence whatsoever. The first was *Mega Channel*, which belonged to the group "Teletypos," an association of Athenian newspapers. The *New Channel* followed, hardly threatening *Mega's* supremacy. Despite the existing legislation, they both obtained a "temporary permit". In 1990 there were already seven private networks: *Antenna TV* (associated with a group of private investors), *Kanali 29* (of the Press group Kouris, an unreserved advocate of the Social Democrats), *Tele City*, *TV Plus* (Pireus based), and *TV100* (Thessaloniki based). Before long the confusion evoked the "Italian anarchy" of the 1970s; the legislation of 1989 did not define clearly the organization of the Greek televisual landscape. The National Council for Radio-Television, created in 1989 in order to supervise this new industry and formulate opinions on the issuing of licenses, is not independent (as one would assume) from the Department of Communications.

In 1991 the national networks reached their nadir. They employed more than 6,300 civil servants while there was an undefinable number of people who worked at the EPT1 and EPT2 "under contract." The deficit reached 4 billion drachmas (\$172 million U.S.) and the national networks lost the bulk of their viewers; ratings fell under 5% before the sudden prosperity of *Mega* and *Antenna TV*. In the same year, a promising new channel began to operate. *Seven X* was a youth-oriented network that showed choice films, hilarious no-nonsense series (avant-garde American and British) and video-clips (French initially, American later on). For several months it was the alternative to quiz shows, disruptive commercials and action movies; but it soon became heavily indebted and for the last two years it has been showing the same programs endlessly hoping that some entrepreneur will take over. On the other side of the spectrum, several petty political channels sprang up, half ludicrous, half exasperating (like *Teletora* held by a group of royalists). Nonetheless, in the framework of restraining the galloping television chaos, 26 channels which operated illegally were prosecuted.

*Mega Channel* and *Athena TV*, which control 33% and 30% of the market respectively, have imitated the dubious aesthetics of the Italian *RAI Uno* and *RAI Due* regarding the "live" everyday programs (that is gaudy song, chorus line dance, and chat shows with some audience "participation.") They have also undertaken a huge production of soap operas of the *Dynasty* and *The Bold and the Beautiful* style, but have added more sex and violence. Despite their slight differences, these two dominant channels, as well as the two younger ones, *Sky* and *Superstar*, materialized quite a few changes that had been brewing in the Greek society for a while. They fomented an outrageously sensationalist sort of journalism which had already dominated the tabloids since 1981. They

managed to impose sexy and bloody shows (films, reportages, etc.), as well as racy language on a traditionally prudish spectatorship. It should be noted that private channels show hard-core porn late at night (though not *very* late), and that Greek soap-operas involve, inevitably, nudity, sex deviances, violence, and a deluge of four-letter words. They also imposed an enormous number of commercials that take up more than 30% of television time (time which has also become extravagantly overpriced). They fashioned a new generation of TV stars—talk-show hosts, news reporters of the alleged muck-raker type, voluptuous quiz-show hostesses—who rose to sex-symbol or jet-set status. As a result, an increasing number of young people aspire to media careers. They provided the viewers with a large amount of movies, which caused a slump in video rentals and led to limited success of the cable TV network (*Filmnet*) which offers a variety of mainstream American movies which can be seen on video with a delay of two or three months. They contributed greatly to relatively new behavior patterns which are also introduced by the glossy magazines of the *Face*, *Max*, *Penthouse*, *Marie Claire*, *Top Models* generation, attracting large young audiences with lots of pocket money to spend. *Peyton Place* ethics have been replaced by *Melrose Place* gloss and a Beverly Hills image of affluence. They turned to markets other than U.S. and Western Europe, buying soap operas from South America and Australia (usually weepies). They established 24-hour television, responding to an apparently keen, long-standing demand. They

multiplied and expanded lavish quiz-shows which have become an obsession among lower-middle class audiences. They fueled a profusion of TV and gossip magazines. They established morning programs, such as *The Morning Coffee*, which replaced morning radio zones. They applied high technology, particularly sophisticated computer technology extensively, if not abusively.

On the other hand, the state networks were compelled to polish their public image (which they have yet to do), and to improve their programs (which they have done to some extent) in order to increase their portion of the market, which now stands at about 12.5%, and preserve whatever remains of their prestige. Although they dwell on out-of-date structures they have begun to show signs of recovery. This is partly due to a kind of satiation and weariness caused by the private networks. As a result, total television audiences diminished by 250,000 in 1994 and show a fairly downward tendency.

—Soti Triantafillou

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 Venizelos, Evangelos. *The Radio-Television Explosion: Constitutional Framework and Legislative Choices*. Thessaloniki: Paratiritis, 1989.

## GREEN ACRES

### U.S. Situation Comedy

**G**reen Acres (1965-71, CBS), in the words of author David Marc, is "as utterly self-reflexive as any program ever aired on network TV." The gifted product of television mastermind Paul Henning, who made his name and fortune on *The Beverly Hillbillies*, *Green Acres* was a spin-off created in conjunction with Jay Sommers, based on his original radio series *Granby's Green Acres*. Despite its folksy origins, and in an age which routinely produced garrulous nags, crusty aliens, flying nuns, suburban witches, maternal jalopies, and coconut-powered shortwaves, *Green Acres* stands proudly as the furthest point on the edge of television's psychedelic era.

Reversing the narrative hook of *The Beverly Hillbillies* (city folks come to the country), *Green Acres* simultaneously managed to nosedive off the edge of the known world. Prestigious lawyer Oliver Wendell Douglas (Eddie Albert) and his socialite wife Lisa (Eva Gabor) trade in their exhausting Park Avenue existence for the simple country pleasures, which they imagine await them wrapped in a cloak of Jeffersonian idealism, glorious sunrises, and the smell of new-mown hay. What they find instead is a consensus reality which flies in the face of Cartesian logic, Newtonian physics,

and Harvard-sanctioned positivism. Albert, who made his film debut in *Brother Rat* opposite Ronald Reagan, takes refuge in the same reductionist platitudes his former co-star eventually learned to trade on quite deftly, but they ultimately prove no match. Meanwhile, Gabor (who with her sisters Zsa Zsa and Magda had by this time been dubbed "mythological" by Dorothy Parker) embraces this new order with a circular instinct worthy of Gracie Allen herself (Henning's long-time employer). Against all odds, Lisa flourishes—coaxing the chickens to lay square eggs, bringing a world-class symphony conductor to Hooterville, establishing a state-of-the-art beauty salon in Sam Drucker's General Store, and of course, perfecting her signature biological weapons-grade hotcakes.

Also populating this wrinkle in critical reason are a healthy cross-section of supporting eccentrics. These include: Mr. Haney (Pat Buttram), the hornswagging con man whose bargains invariably cost the Douglasses several times their face value. Buttram once served as Gene Autrey's sidekick, and claims he based his character loosely on Col. Tom Parker, Elvis Presley's legendary shadowy manager, whom he had known as a carnival entrepreneur in the 1940s,

where he ran a booth featuring dancing chickens. County Agent Hank Kimball (Alvy Moore) "discourses on plant and animal husbandry rival those of a semiotics professor" (according to Marc), and personifies a kind of infinite regress, where every empirical statement branches into multiple statements that in turn preclude it, spiraling each new observation back and away from itself like an inductive Escherism. Fred and Doris Ziffel (Hank Patterson and Barbara Pepper; later Fran Ryan) are the beaming parents of Arnold, a 250-pound adolescent pig who watches television, is writing a book, visits Washington on scholarship, and ultimately falls in love with Mr. Haney's pet basset hound.

*Green Acres* was canceled in 1971 when CBS consciously targeted a younger demographic audience and purged its so-called "rural comedies." Its user-friendly absurdism became one of the cornerstones of the mock-patriotic revivalism of the Nickelodeon Channel's "Nick at Nite" lineup in the early 1990s.

—Paul Cullum

#### CAST

*Oliver Wendell Douglas* . . . . . Eddie Albert  
*Lisa Douglas* . . . . . Eva Gabor  
*Mr. Haney* . . . . . Pat Buttram  
*Eb Dawson* . . . . . Tom Lester  
*Hank Kimball* . . . . . Alvy Moore  
*Fred Ziffel* . . . . . Hank Patterson  
*Doris Ziffel* (1965–69) . . . . . Barbara Pepper  
*Dorris Ziffel* (1969–70) . . . . . Fran Ryan

## GREENBERG, HAROLD

Canadian Media Executive

**H**arold Greenberg is one of Canada's leading television and film entrepreneurs. As chief executive officer and majority owner of Montreal-based Astral Communications, a leading provider of specialty television services, he has been responsible for some of Canada's most significant successes in television and film production, processing and delivery.

Starting in the photofinishing business, Greenberg moved into film processing and sound production through an acquisition of Canada's largest motion picture laboratory in 1968. The processing laboratories, Astral Bellevue-Pathe, established strong ties to major U.S. studios. This purchase represents the beginnings of the current diversified structure of Greenberg's operations as well as its links to Hollywood. First forays into film production range from the faux-American *The Neptune Factor* (Daniel Petrie, 1973) to the critically-acclaimed *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz* (Ted Kotcheff, 1974). Greenberg also produced *Porky's* (Bob Clark, 1981), still Canada's highest-grossing film of all time. After producing over 30 motion pictures, Greenberg became interested in developing a Canadian pay-tv movie channel. In this way, Greenberg came to television via photo and film

*Sam Drucker* . . . . . Frank Cady  
*Newt Kiley* (1965–70) . . . . . Kay E. Kuter  
*Alf Monroe* (1966–69) . . . . . Sid Melton  
*Ralph Monroe* (1966–71) . . . . . Mary Grace Canfield  
*Darlene Wheeler* (1970–71) . . . . . Judy McConnell

**PRODUCERS** Paul Henning, Jay Sommers

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 170 Episodes

#### • CBS

September 1965–September 1968    Wednesday 9:00-9:30  
 September 1968–September 1969    Wednesday 9:30-10:00  
 September 1969–September 1970    Saturday 9:00-9:30  
 September 1970–September 1971    Tuesday 8:00-8:30

#### FURTHER READING

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———. *Comic Visions: Television Comedy and American Culture*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989.

Marc, David, and Robert J. Thompson. *Prime Time, Prime Movers: From I Love Lucy to L.A. Law, America's Greatest TV Shows and the People Who Created Them*. Boston: Little Brown, 1992.

Story, David. *America on the Rerun: TV Shows That Never Die*. Secaucus, New Jersey: Carol, 1993.

processing and production, all of which still play a central role in Astral's diversified interests.

Astral Communications is a vertically integrated corporation, involved in production, processing, duplication, and distribution of film, television and video. It plays a leading role in Canadian specialty channels. Its first were two premium film channels, the Movie Network (formerly First Choice) and the French-language Super Ecran in 1983. Since then, Astral's English-language broadcasting ventures in Canada include Viewer's Choice Canada Pay Per View, the Family Channel, and MoviePix, which is a pay-tv venue featuring films of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. French-language broadcasting includes Le Canal Famille and Canal D, which offers arts and entertainment programming. Astral continues to provide an array of post-production and technical services including dubbing, processing, and printing of film, video and compact disks. In 1994, Astral opened a compact disk and video replication plant in Florida. They have duplication and distribution agreements with Buena Vista, HBO and Barney Home Video for Canada and French-language markets. Distribution deals with U.S. majors have made Astral the Canadian distributor for some

popular American programs. For instance, a joint venture between 20th Century-Fox and Astral controls distribution for *NYPD Blue* and *The Simpsons*, as well as some Canadian programming. Astral has historically used its Montreal location as a way to bridge both English and French-language markets, eventually giving the company a credible foothold in European ventures (e.g., co-production agreements with TF-1, France 3 and Canal Plus in France, RAI-2 in Italy, Europool in Germany, in addition to a minority holding in France's Canal Enfants).

Despite his internationalist outlook, and Astral's frequent role as a provider of U.S. programming to Canadian audiences, Greenberg has been chair of the Canadian Communications and Cultural Industries Committee, a lobby group of industry leaders who see their operations as fundamental to Canadian cultural sovereignty. In this capacity, Greenberg has repeatedly supported the cultural exemption clause for Canada in the North American Free Trade Agreement. This has brought him into conflict with some U.S. industry figures, including Jack Valenti, president of the Motion Picture Association of America. Astral's current interest in ExpressVu, a Canadian direct-to-home satellite service, echoes Greenberg's corporate nationalism. Greenberg claims that support for the Canadian service over offerings from Power DirectTV, a subsidiary of the U.S. DirectTV service, is fundamental to the protection of Canadian cultural interests. After a brief period of monopoly for ExpressVu, granted by the federal regulator, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), parliament overturned the decision in April 1995, and opened the way for competition in the direct-to-home market, in particular from U.S.-controlled services.

Greenberg has received numerous awards and honours, including the Order of Canada and la Legion d'honneur of France. His Astral Communications is a distinct example of contemporary convergence in the film and television sectors, as well as the synergy developing between broadcasting, theatrical and home distribution and production in Canada.

—Charles Acland

## GREENE, LORNE

### Canadian Actor

Long before millions of Americans knew Lorne Greene on the popular western series *Bonanza*, he was known to Canadians as the "Voice of Doom," an epithet he acquired as the chief radio announcer for CBC radio from 1939 to 1942, the height of Canada's darkest days of World War II.

Greene's interest in acting and media had begun in his hometown of Ottawa, and gained further impetus when he joined a drama club while studying engineering at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario. Always seeking a challenge, he joined the CBC radio where his distinctive

HAROLD GREENBERG. Born in Montreal, Quebec, Canada, 1930. Quit school at 13 to work in uncle's camera store; purchased half of Pathé Humphries Laboratory, 1966; took over Astral Films with help from the Bronfmans and merged them into Astral Bellevue Humphries, a communications empire of production, distribution and Pay TV, 1973; producer and executive producer, Pay TV and films; chair of the board, First Choice Canadian Communications Corp. and Premier Choix TVEC. Recipient: Presidential Proclamation Award, SMPTE, 1985; International Achievement Award, World Film Festival, 1989; Air Canada Award, Academy of Canadian Cinema and Television, 1990; Golden Reel Award.

### TELEVISION SERIES (selection)

- 1982 *Mary and Joseph* (co-executive producer)
- 1983 *Pygmalion* (co-executive producer)
- 1983 *Draw!* (co-executive producer)

### TELEVISION MINISERIES

- 1978 *A Man Called Intrepid* (co-executive producer)

### FILMS

*City on Fire* (co-executive producer), 1978; *Terror Train* (producer), 1979; *Death Ship* (co-producer), 1979; *Tulips* (co-executive producer), 1980; *Hard Feelings* (co-executive producer/producer), 1980; *Hot Touch* (co-executive producer/producer), 1980; *Porky's* (executive producer), 1981; *Tell Me That You Love Me* (co-executive producer), 1982; *Porky's II* (co-executive producer), 1982; *Porky's Revenge* (executive producer), 1984.

### FURTHER READING

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- Magder, Ted. *Canada's Hollywood: The Canadian State and Feature Films*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.

voice soon propelled him into newscasting. After finishing his military service in 1945, he decided not to return to his job as chief announcer at CBC radio and pursued other interests which eventually led him to co-found the Academy of Radio Arts in Canada and the Jupiter Theatre.

In 1953, like many of his contemporaries, Greene migrated south to pursue his acting career in the burgeoning television industry. He made numerous appearances on various U.S. telecasts such as *Studio One*, *Climax* and *Playhouse 90*. He also made two movies, *The Silver Chalice* and



*Tight Spot*. After a role in the Broadway production of *The Prescott Proposals*, he was offered the part in *The Hard Man* in 1957. In spite of his friends' concerns that a western would limit his appeal, he accepted the role as a way of exploring the genre. It quickly led to another western, *The Last of the Fast Guns*, and eventually to the small screen and *Wagon Train*. It was after seeing him in *Wagon Train* that the producers selected him to play Ben Cartwright in the pilot episode of *Bonanza*.

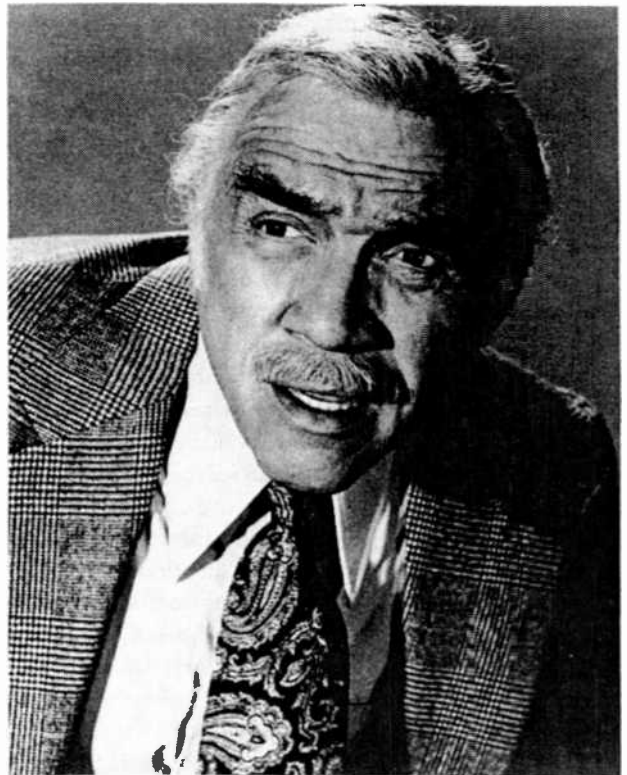
The show became a hit despite formidable competition. A Sunday night standout on NBC for fourteen years, from 1959 to 1973, *Bonanza* rode the television western's biggest wave of popularity. Its stories focused on the lives of widower Ben Cartwright (Greene) and his three sons—all from different mothers—Adam (Pernell Roberts), Hoss (Dan Blocker), and Little Joe (Michael Landon). Each week the family would defend the Ponderosa, the most prosperous ranch outside Virginia City, or some helpless person against unscrupulous outsiders. The formula was common in U.S. television westerns, though *Bonanza* did differ somewhat from its competitors. Indeed, many critics consider the series to be more a "western soap opera" since it downplayed the violent action and moral ambiguity which characterized "adult westerns" such as *Gunsmoke* or *Cheyenne*.

But *Bonanza* was still engaging and had a large following, particularly among women, who could perhaps find among the Cartwrights a man to appeal to all types. Ben Cartwright was a tough yet wise father who exuded a balance between ruggedness and compassion. Adam was a suave lady's man. The huge Hoss was dim-witted but lovable. All three kept an ever watchful eye on the fresh-faced and hot tempered Little Joe. It was a successful pattern that outdrew audiences for dozens of competing shows. Its "family-oriented" themes also made it popular when the medium was under criticism during congressional hearings on TV violence.

After the end of *Bonanza* and the collapse of the Western's television popularity, Greene starred briefly in 1978 in the ill-fated *Battlestar Galactica*, a science-fiction television series about a flotilla of human refugees voyaging to Earth while hunted by the evil Cylons. Despite the interest generated by *Star Wars*, the series failed to catch on. In the 1980s Greene devoted his energies to wildlife and environmental issues. He collaborated with his son, Charles, and a television series, *Lorne Greene's New Wilderness*, to promote environmental awareness.

—Manon Lamontagne

**LORNE GREENE.** Born in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, 12 February 1915. Educated at Queen's University, Canada; studied on fellowship at Neighbourhood Playhouse, New York, U.S.A. Married: 1) Rita Hands, 1940 (divorced, 1960); two children; 2) Nancy Deale, 1961. Joined Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1939; principle radio news reader, 1939–42; established the Academy of Radio Arts and the Jupiter Theatre; actor, U.S. television series, from 1950s. Recipient: NBC Radio Award, 1942; Canadian Man of the



Lorne Greene

Year, 1965; Order of Canada, 1969; Outstanding Service Award, International Fund for Animal Welfare, 1983. Died in Santa Monica, California, 11 September 1987.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1953–81	<i>Newsmagazine</i> (host)
1957	<i>Sailor of Fortune</i>
1959–73	<i>Bonanza</i>
1973–74	<i>Griff</i>
1978–79	<i>Battlestar Galactica</i>
1981–82	<i>Code Red</i>
1981–86	<i>Lorne Greene's New Wilderness</i> (executive producer and host)

#### TELEVISION MINISERIES

1976	<i>The Moneychangers</i>
1977	<i>Roots</i>
1977	<i>The Trial of Lee Harvey Oswald</i>

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

1969	<i>Destiny of a Spy</i>
1971	<i>The Harness</i>
1975	<i>Nevada Smith</i>
1977	<i>SST-Death Flight</i>
1980	<i>A Time for Miracles</i>
1980	<i>Conquest of the Earth</i>
1981	<i>Code Red</i>
1987	<i>Alamo: Thirteen Days to Glory</i>



**TELEVISION DOCUMENTARY**

1974-79 *Lorne Greene's Last of the Wild* (host)

**FILMS**

*The Silver Chalice*, 1954; *Tight Spot*, 1955; *Autumn Leaves*, 1956; *Peyton Place*, 1957; *The Last of the Fast Guns*, 1958; *The Gift of Love*, 1958; *The Buccaneer*, 1958; *The Trap*, 1959; *Nippon Chinbotsu (Japan Sinks)*, 1973; *Earthquake*, 1974; *Klondike Fever*, 1980; *Ozu no Mabotsukai (The Wizard, U.S. version only)*, voice; *Vasectomy: A Delicate Matter*, 1986.

**STAGE (selection)**

*The Prescott Proposals*, *Julius Caesar*, *Othello*.

**FURTHER READING**

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Yoggy, Gary A. *Riding the Video Range: The Rise and Fall of the Western on Television*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1994.

See also *Bonanza*; Westerns

## GRIFFIN, MERV

U.S. Talk Show Host/Producer

Merv Griffin had a series of overlapping careers in show business as a singer and band leader, then as a talk-show host and developer of game shows for television. Griffin's career as a television talk-show host was associated from the beginning with that of Johnny Carson, the reigning "king of late-night talk" from the 1960s through the 1980s. Griffin's first daytime talk show on NBC began the same day as Carson's reign on *The Tonight Show*, and if Carson was consistently rated number one as national talk-show host, Griffin was for significant periods of time clearly number two.

Carson's approach to the television talk show had been forged in the entertainment community of Los Angeles in the mid-1950s. Griffin, who came to New York to sign a record contract with RCA in the early 1950s, was subject to a series of other influences. He watched shows like Mike Wallace's *Night Beat* and David Susskind's *Open End* and socialized with New York's theater crowd. On his own first ventures into network talk in the mid- and late 1960s, he was interested in capitalizing on the ferment of the era. As surprising as it might be to those who knew him only from



The Merv Griffin Show

his later tepid shows on Metromedia, the Merv Griffin of the 1960s and early 1970s thrived on controversy. Broadcast historian Hal Erickson credits Griffin with using his "aw-shucks style to accommodate more controversy and makers of controversy than most of the would-be Susskind's combined." Griffin booked guests like journalist Adele Rogers St. John, futurist Buckminster Fuller, writer Norman Mailer, critic Malcolm Muggeridge, and controversial new comedians like Dick Gregory, Lily Tomlin, Richard Pryor and George Carlin. In 1965, in a Merv Griffin special aired from London, English philosopher Bertrand Russell issued the strongest indictment up to that time of the growing U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

As the late-night television talk show wars heated up between Carson, Joey Bishop, Dick Cavett, and David Frost, Griffin entered the fray in 1969 as CBS's candidate to take on Carson in his own time slot. He immediately ran afoul of network censors with controversial guests and topics. Concerned with the number of statements being made against the war in Vietnam in 1969, CBS lawyers sent Griffin a memo: "In the past six weeks 34 antiwar statements have been made and only one pro-war statement, by John Wayne." Griffin shot back: "Find me someone as famous as Mr. Wayne to speak in favor the war and we'll book him." As Griffin recalls in his autobiography, "The irony of the situation wasn't wasted on me; in 1965 I'm called a traitor by the press for presenting Bertrand Russell, and four years later we are hard-pressed to find anybody to speak in favor of the Vietnam war." In March 1970 antiwar activist Abbie Hoffman visited the show wearing a red, white and blue shirt that resembled an American flag. Network censors aired the tape but blurred Hoffman's image electronically so that his voice emanated from a "jumble of lines." The censors interfered in other ways as well, insisting Griffin fire sidekick Arthur Treacher because he was too old, or that he not use eighteen-year-old Desi Arnaz, Jr., as a guest host because he was too young.

By the beginning of 1972, Griffin had had enough. He secretly negotiated a new syndication deal with Metromedia which gave him a daytime talk show on the syndicated network the first Monday after any day he was fired. A penalty clause in his contract with CBS would give him a million dollars as well. With his ratings sagging, CBS predictably lowered the boom and Griffin went immediately to Metromedia where his daytime talk show ran for another 13 years. In 1986 he retired from the show to devote his time to highly profitable game shows.

It was in this second arena of the daytime game show that Merv Griffin again influenced commercial television. A self-proclaimed "puzzle freak" since childhood, he began to establish his reputation as a game-show developer at about the same time he launched his talk-show career. *Jeopardy!*, produced by Griffin's company for NBC in March 1964, became the second most successful game show on television. The most successful game show on television, with international editions licensed by Merv Griffin in France, Taiwan, Norway, Peru and other countries by the early 1990s, was *Wheel of Fortune*.

*Wheel* premiered in January 1975. It was a game show in which three contestants took turns spinning a large wheel for the chance to guess the letters of a mystery word or phrase. The show's first host was Chuck Woolery. Pat Sajak took over in 1982, assisted by Vanna White. Sajak and White went on to become household names in the world of television game shows.

In a largely unflattering portrait, biographer Marshall Blonsky describes Griffin as a financially successful but artistically limited individual. The key to Griffin's character, according to Blonsky, was a desperate drive to be accepted by the rich and powerful, and much of his financial success he owed to his financial manager, Murray Schwartz, who he never credited and with whom he parted ways in the late 1980s. However that may be, Merv Griffin did provide controversy and significant competition for Johnny Carson and other talk-show hosts during his long career on television, and possessed what even Blonsky acknowledges to be a genius for creating game shows for television.

—Bernard M. Timberg

MERV GRIFFIN. Born in San Mateo, California, U.S.A., 6 July 1925. Educated at San Mateo Junior College and the University of San Francisco, 1942–44; honorary L.H.D. from Emerson College, 1981. Married Julann Elizabeth Wright, 1958 (divorced, 1976); child: Anthony Patrick. Singer, San Francisco radio station KFRC, 1945–48; vocalist, Freddy Martin's Orchestra, 1948–51; appeared in motion pictures for Warner Brothers, 1953–54; headlined quarter-hour twice-weekly musical segments, CBS, 1954–55; hosted CBS' *Look Up and Live*, 1953; radio show host, ABC, 1957; host of daytime game show *Play Your Hunch*, 1958–61, host of *Merv Griffin Show*, 1962–63; founded Merv Griffin Productions which began producing *Jeopardy!*, 1964, and the Griffin-hosted *Word for Word*, 1963; hosted the *Merv Griffin Show* for Westinghouse, 1965–69, CBS, 1969–72, and syndication, 1972–86; chair of the board of Merv Griffin Productions; continues to produce *Wheel of Fortune* and *Jeopardy!*. Recipient: numerous Emmy Awards. Address: Merv Griffin Enterprises, 9860 Wilshire Blvd., Beverly Hills, California 90210, U.S.A.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1951	<i>The Freddy Martin Show</i>
1953	<i>Look Up and Live</i>
1954	<i>Summer Holiday</i> (regular)
1958–61	<i>Play Your Hunch</i>
1959–60	<i>Keep Talking</i>
1962–63	<i>Merv Griffin Show</i>
1963	<i>Word for Word</i>
1963	<i>Talent Scouts</i>
1964–75, 1978–79,	
1984–	<i>Jeopardy!</i> (producer)
1965–69	<i>Merv Griffin Show</i>
1969–72	<i>Merv Griffin Show</i>
1972–86	<i>Merv Griffin Show</i>

1975— *Wheel of Fortune* (producer)  
 1979–87 *Dance Fever* (producer)  
 1990 *Monopoly* (producer)

#### TELEVISION SPECIALS

1960 *Biography of a Boy*  
 1968 *Merv Griffin's Sidewalks of New England*  
 1968 *Merv Griffin's St. Patrick's Day Special*  
 1973 *Merv Griffin and the Christmas Kids*  
 1989 *The 75th Anniversary of Beverly Hills*  
 1991 *Merv Griffin's New Year's Eve Special*

#### FILMS

*By the Light of the Silvery Moon*, 1953; *So This Is Love*, 1953;  
*Boy from Oklahoma*, 1953; *Phantom of the Rue Morgue*,

1954; *Hello Down There*, 1968; *Two Minute Warning*, 1976;  
*Seduction of Joe Tynan*, 1979; *The Man with Two Brains*,  
 1983; *The Lonely Guy*, 1984; *Slapstick of Another Kind*,  
 1982.

#### PUBLICATION

*Merv, An Autobiography*, with Peter Barsocchini. New York:  
 Simon and Schuster, 1980.

#### FURTHER READING

Blonsky, Marshall. *American Mythologies*. New York: Ox-  
 ford University Press, 1992.

See also Format Sales; Quiz and Game Shows; Talk  
 Shows

## GRIFFITH, ANDY

### U.S. Actor

Andy Griffith is one of television's most personable and enduring of star performers. He is perhaps best known as Andy Taylor, the central character in *The Andy Griffith Show*, which aired on CBS from 1960 to 1968 and consistently ranked among the top ten shows in each of its eight seasons. As a "down home" attorney in the even longer running *Matlock* (since 1986), Griffith continues to make a unique contribution to television Americana.

*The Andy Griffith Show* began as a "star vehicle" for Griffith, who had achieved his initial success with recordings of humorous monologues based on a "hillbilly" persona ("What It Was Was Football," "Romeo and Juliet"), which led to an appearance on *The Ed Sullivan Show*. He next played the leading role in the Broadway production of *No Time for Sergeants*, as well as in the film and TV versions. His film debut was in the critically-acclaimed *A Face in the Crowd* (1957), directed by Elia Kazan, followed by *Onionhead* and the film version of *Sergeants* (both in 1958).

Having informed the William Morris Agency that he was ready to try television, Griffith was put in contact with Sheldon Leonard, producer of *The Danny Thomas Show*. A *Danny Thomas* episode was built around Thomas getting stopped for speeding by Griffith, and this show served as the pilot episode for the *Griffith* show. Astutely, Griffith negotiated for 50% ownership of the new program, which enabled him to be a major player in the program's creative development. Griffith's creative vision took a very different approach to TV comedy, in which place, pace and character were equal and essential contributors to the overall effect. Scenes were allowed to play out with almost leisurely timing, with character development occurring alongside the humor. Another key element to the program's success was the casting of Don Knotts as Deputy Barney Fife. As the inept but lovable sidekick, Knotts took on the key comic role, enabling Griffith to play a more interesting and useful "straight-man"

role. In this capacity Griffith's "Lincolnesque" character was allowed to develop—a character more appropriate to the role of single-parent father, and by extension, father to the small town of Mayberry. The Griffith-Knotts team became the driving comic relationship of the show, and the writers built most of the humorous situations around it.



Andy Griffith

Photo courtesy of the Academy of Motion Pictures Arts and Sciences

Griffith left the show in 1968, feeling that he had contributed all he could to the character of Andy Taylor. Ironically, the program reached the number one position that year. The show's sponsor, General Foods, was not ready to relinquish the successful vehicle, however, and a transitional program aired introducing a new lead character and a new name: *Mayberry, RFD*. Griffith remained as a producer, and the ratings strength continued as several of the supporting characters stayed on. The program was canceled in 1971, when CBS decided to abandon its rural programming for more "relevant" shows targeted at younger viewers.

Griffith's career subsequently stalled. Two series attempts, *The Headmaster* and *The New Andy Griffith Show*, did not make it past their initial runs. A number of made-for-TV movies followed, many of which involved crime scenarios (and some in which he even played the villain). In 1981 Griffith received an Emmy nomination for *Murder in Texas*, in which he played a father who presses a court case against the son-in-law accused of murdering his daughter. Griffith played a prosecuting attorney in the miniseries *Fatal Vision* (1984), a performance which so impressed NBC's Brandon Tartikoff that a series was proposed utilizing an attorney as the main character. A pilot film for the show, *Diary of a Perfect Murder*, aired on NBC on 3 March 1986, and *Matlock* began airing in September 1986. Griffith plays Ben Matlock in the hour crime drama, a criminal defense lawyer whose folksy demeanor belies his considerable investigative and courtroom abilities. Many of the regulars from *The Andy Griffith Show* make appearances on *Matlock*, continuing a Mayberry legacy spanning over thirty years.

—Jerry Hagins

**ANDY GRIFFITH.** Born Andrew Samuel Griffith in Mount Airy, North Carolina, U.S.A., 1 June 1926. University of North Carolina, B.A. in music 1949. Married: 1) Barbara Edwards, 1949 (divorced); children: Sam and Dixie Nan; 2) Cindi Knight, 1983. Teacher and variety performer, 1949–51; recorded hit comedy monologue *What It Was Was Football*, 1953; debuted as monologist on television's *Ed Sullivan Show*, 1954; debuted on Broadway in *No Time for Sergeants*, 1955; also in the television version and the film version, 1958; films debut *A Face in the Crowd*, 1957; appeared in commercials for Ritz Crackers and AT and T; various television series, guest appearances, since 1960, including star, *The Andy Griffith Show*, 1960–68; *Matlock*, series and made-for-television movies, since 1986. Recipient: Theater World Award; Tarheel Award, 1961; Distinguished Salesman's Award, 1962; Advertising Club of Baltimore's Outstanding TV Personality of the Year, 1968. Address: William Morris Agency, 151 El Camino, Beverly Hills, California 90212, U.S.A.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

- |         |  |
|---------|--|
| 1960–68 | <i>The Andy Griffith Show</i>                |
| 1968–71 | <i>Mayberry, R.F.D.</i> (executive producer) |
| 1970–71 | <i>The Headmaster</i>                        |
| 1970    | <i>The New Andy Griffith Show</i>            |

- |       |                    |
|-------|--------------------|
| 1979  | <i>Salvage One</i> |
| 1986– | <i>Matlock</i>     |

#### TELEVISION MINISERIES

- |      |                                       |
|------|---------------------------------------|
| 1977 | <i>Washington Behind Closed Doors</i> |
| 1978 | <i>Centennial</i>                     |
| 1979 | <i>From Here to Eternity</i>          |
| 1979 | <i>Roots: The Next Generations</i>    |
| 1984 | <i>Fatal Vision</i>                   |

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

- |      |                                  |
|------|----------------------------------|
| 1972 | <i>Strangers in 7A</i>           |
| 1973 | <i>Go Ask Alice</i>              |
| 1974 | <i>Pray For the Wildcats</i>     |
| 1974 | <i>Savages</i>                   |
| 1974 | <i>Winter Kill</i>               |
| 1976 | <i>Street Killing</i>            |
| 1977 | <i>Deadly Game</i>               |
| 1979 | <i>Salvage</i>                   |
| 1981 | <i>Murder in Texas</i>           |
| 1982 | <i>For Lovers Only</i>           |
| 1983 | <i>Murder in Coweta County</i>   |
| 1983 | <i>The Demon Murder Case</i>     |
| 1985 | <i>Crime of Innocence</i>        |
| 1986 | <i>Diary of a Perfect Murder</i> |
| 1986 | <i>Return to Mayberry</i>        |
| 1986 | <i>Under the Influence</i>       |
| 1992 | <i>Matlock: The Vacation</i>     |
| 1994 | <i>Gift of Love</i>              |
| 1995 | <i>Gramps</i>                    |

#### TELEVISION SPECIALS

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| 1965 | <i>The Andy Griffith-Don Knotts-Jim Nabors Show</i> |
| 1993 | <i>The Andy Griffith Show Reunion</i>               |

#### FILMS

*A Face in the Crowd*, 1957; *No Time for Sergeants*, 1958; *Onionhead*, 1958; *Second Time Around*, 1961; *Angel in my Pocket*, 1969; *Adams of Eagle Lake*, 1975; *The Treasure Chest Murder*, 1975; *Hearts of the West*, 1975; *The Girl in the Empty Grave*, 1977; *Rustler's Rhapsody*, 1985; *Spy Hard*, 1996.

#### STAGE (selection)

*No Time for Sergeants*, 1955; *Destry Rides Again*, 1959–60.

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See also *Andy Griffith Show*; Comedy, Domestic Settings; Family on Television

## GRIFFITHS, TREVOR

### British Writer

Trevor Griffiths is one of Britain's most politically incisive television dramatists. He has combined television and film writing with a highly regarded theatre career because he has wanted to reach the maximum possible audience with his Socialist values.

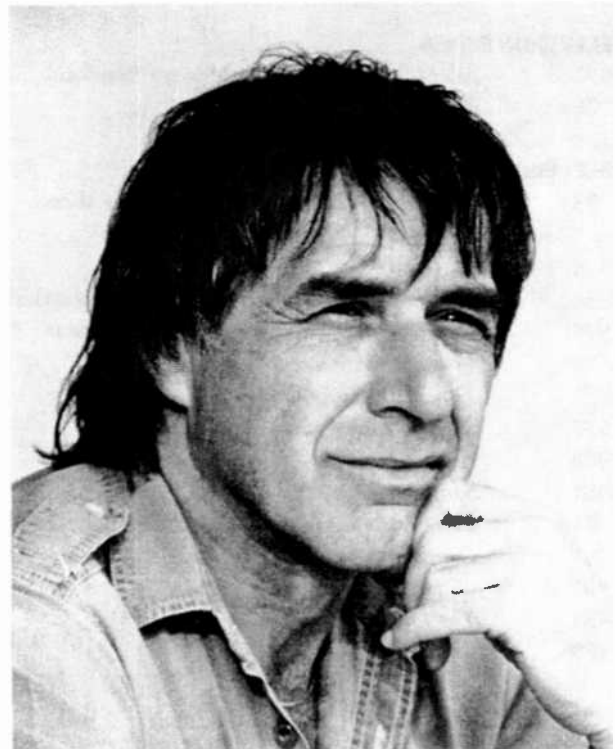
Never a political propagandist or polemicist, Griffiths has been the leading international television proponent of "critical realism". This distinguishes between what Griffiths calls the "materialism of detail" (the surface appearance of the world) and the "materialism of forces" (the dynamic structure of a world determined by differences of power between genders, classes and ethnicities). Thus, for example, in his miniseries *The Last Place On Earth* (or *Scott of the Antarctic*, screened on commercial television in Britain) Griffiths incorporated the familiar surface details of the Scott/Amundsen competitive quest within the deep structure of what his script calls the "historical conjuncture" of 1910. On the one hand, Griffiths imagines Scott's journey as among the dying throes of a failing British Empire (with parallels between the "heroic defeats" of Scott and the World War I fields of Flanders and Gallipoli). On the other hand, Amundsen's journey is related to the nationalism of a newly independent nation constructing its identity out of its successful explorers.

Griffiths' commitment has always been to reinventing form (the country house, hospital, and "high art" genres, for example), at the same time revealing the real agencies and structures of history. This genuinely creative radicalism has led to many conflicts with Hollywood (he came close to taking his name off *Reds* after disagreements with Warren Beatty), as well as to differences of view with other Socialist television workers (Ken Loach). But in a group of extraordinarily and critically creative British television dramatists who began work in the 1960s, Trevor Griffiths is unquestionably paramount in the systematic intelligence with which he has blended critical theory and popular television.

The intellectual clarity of his work has also offered the television scholar the unusual opportunity of tracing the quite specific transformations his work undergoes as it encounters the generally more conservative and conventional work practices of set and costume designers, directors, producers, and so on. The analysis of the production of Griffiths' *Sons and Lovers* by Poole and Wyver, for example, indicates the way in which his counterreading of Lawrence's classism was itself subverted by the unthinkingly naturalistic

assumptions of costume design, as well as the "high art" visual flourishes of directors making "BBC classics." Similarly, Tulloch, Burvill, and Hood have explored the problematic path of Griffiths' *The Cherry Orchard* through conventions of acting, lighting, and set design.

During the late 1980s and 1990s, an increasingly conservative British institutional establishment made it harder for Griffiths to bring his projects to air. Also, the fragmentation of television through pay-TV and the proliferation of channels led to some change in his view that television was the vehicle of mass public education. In response, Griffiths worked less for television and made important returns to the theatre (with formally innovative plays about the Gulf War and Thatcher's Britain). However, he continued to work in television, with a play on Danton, *Hope in the Year Two*, using the moment of the play's production (the breakdown of Communism) as a stimulus to rethink issues of Socialism



Trevor Griffiths

Photo courtesy of Trevor Griffiths

by going back beyond "one revolutionary wave" (the Russian, where he focused some of his earlier works) to another, the French Revolution. This resistance to the stale "common sense" conventions of the media via new historical and formal exploration is typical of Griffiths. Like his unflinchingly tough lead character of *Comedians*, Gethin Price, Trevor Griffiths retains an undiminished energy for investing any interstices within popular culture with new and unsettling forms. As such he continues to be a master of "strategic penetration" as politics, media institutions, and television genres continuously change their historical forms.

—John Tulloch

**TREVOR GRIFFITHS.** Born in Manchester, Lancashire, England, 4 April 1935. Attended St. Bede's College, Manchester, 1945–52; Manchester University, 1952–55, B.A. in English and literature 1955; studied for external M.A. from 1961. Served in the Manchester Regiment, British Army, 1955–57. Married: Janice Elaine Stansfield, 1960 (died, 1977); one son and two daughters. Taught English and games at private school in Oldham, Lancashire, 1957–61; lectured in liberal studies at Stockport Technical College, Cheshire, 1962–65; co-editor, *Labour's Northern Voice*, 1962–65, and series editor, Workers Northern Publishing Society; further education officer, BBC, Leeds, 1965–72; debut as writer for stage, 1969; television debut, 1972. Recipient: British Academy of Film and Television Arts Writer's Award, 1981. Address: Peters, Fraser and Dunlop, 503/4, The Chambers, Chelsea Harbour, Lots Road, London SW10 0XF, England.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

- 1972      *Adam Smith* (under pseudonym Ben Rae)  
1976      *Bill Brand*

#### TELEVISION PLAYS

- 1973      *The Silver Mask* (part of *Between the Wars* series)  
1974      *All Good Men*  
1974      *Absolute Beginners* (part of *Fall of Eagles* series)  
1975      *Don't Make Waves* (part of *Eleventh Hour* series, with Snoo Wilson)  
1975      *Through the Night*  
1977      *Such Impossibilities*  
1979      *Comedians*  
1981      *Sons and Lovers*  
1981      *The Cherry Orchard* (adapted from Chekhov)  
1981      *Country: A Tory Story*  
1982      *Oi for England*  
1985      *The Last Place on Earth*  
1988      *The Party*

#### FILMS

*Reds*, with Warren Beatty, 1981; *Fatherland*, 1987.

#### RADIO

*The Big House*, 1969; *Jake's Brigade*, 1971.

#### STAGE

*The Wages of Thin*, 1969; *The Big House*, 1975; *Occupations*, 1970; *Apricots*, 1971; *Thermidor*, 1971; *Lay By* (with others), 1971; *Sam, Sam*, 1972; *Gun*, 1973; *The Party*, 1973; *Comedians*, 1975; *All Good Men*, 1975; *The Cherry Orchard*, 1977; *Deeds* (with others), 1978; *Oi for England*, 1982; *Real Dreams*, 1984; *Piano*, 1990; *The Gulf Between Us: The Truth and Other Fictions*, 1992.

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*Thatcher's Children*. London: Faber and Faber, 1994.

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## GRUNDY, REG

Australian Media Executive

Australia has produced few media moguls and even fewer who are known outside the country. The most remarkable has undoubtedly been Rupert Murdoch but not far behind is the figure of Reg Grundy. And like Murdoch, Grundy's path has been ever upward.

Grundy was born in Sydney, where for ten years he worked in radio as a sporting commentator and personality. He developed a radio game show, *Wheel of Fortune*, which he transferred to television in 1959. He had earlier realised the importance of having several programs in production at any one point in order to stay in business. Appearing as compere as well as producing *Wheel*, and realising that U.S. network television was a ready source of program ideas in the area of game shows, he began to adapt programs such as *Concentration* and *Say When* for Australian television. He suffered two lean periods over the next decade when all his shows were canceled, but by 1970 his business empire was starting to take shape.

The foundation of this enterprise was game shows and by 1970 his company was starting to turn a handsome profit. For Grundy, the economies of television game shows were such that it was possible to sell variants of a game show on a regional or state basis as well as selling on a national basis. By this stage he was displaying the two qualities that made him unique among Australian television packagers. The first was a capacity to spot and hire talented workers who would serve him well as managers and producers. As his company grew, he turned much of the running of things to these employees. The second element of his genius lay in his ability to quickly recognise the value of particular program formats so far as programming and audience appeal were concerned. Increasingly Grundy was to concentrate on searching for new formats, paying particular attention to game shows on American television. By the late 1970s trade in program formats was becoming more formalised with the adaptation of licensing arrangements. By then Grundy had established a firm relationship with the Goodson-Todman group in the United States and had first call on their many television game show formats for adaptation in Australia and the Pacific.

In the late 1970s Grundy's company, now known as the Grundy Organisation, began to purchase game show formats in its own right. Among the first was *Sale of the Century*. In the meantime the company had also become established in the area of drama production, beginning in 1974 with *Class of '74* and continuing into such serials as *The Young Doctors*, *The Restless Years*, *Prisoner*, *Sons and Daughters* and *Neighbours*. Having a second economic anchor in drama has made the company enormously secure so far as its finances was concerned.

Several elements now combined into a logic of off-shore development. Having long outgrown its Sydney base



Reg Grundy

Photo courtesy of Grundy Television

and produced game shows for broadcasters both nationally and in other regions, there seemed to be no reason why the company should not expand its productions into other territories. The fact that many of its game shows had come from elsewhere in the first place meant that the company always had an implicit "internationalism". The large cash flow from the game shows and the dramas meant that the company had the resources to establish offices elsewhere. In addition, after 1980, the company also benefited from the expanding overseas market for Australian television drama. To facilitate this trade, the company appointed an independent agent to handle the distribution of its programs and later set up its own distribution arm. Finally, the company was also building up its catalogue of formats, both through purchase from elsewhere as well as those it had developed itself.

The 1980s and the 1990s outline the story of the Grundy company as an increasingly transnational organisation. The company set up a production office in Los Angeles in 1979 and by 1982 had programs in production



in the United States, Hong Kong, and Brunei. The establishment of permanent offices in multiple territories, however, is not part of its long-term goal. After all, in Australia, the company had opened and closed offices in particular state capitals as the demands of production had dictated. The same logic has tended to operate internationally. The key to the transnational operation of Grundy transnationally has lain in the ownership and control of formats both in game shows and drama serials. Grundy has typically sought a local production partner in a particular national territory and this co-production strategy has had three important consequences so far as the company is concerned. It allows Grundy to act in a quality-control role in relation to production; it guarantees that the local production company will establish and maintain the "indigenisation" of the program format; and it enables Grundy to retain control of the format for other territories. Distributing its large packages of drama serials, especially those produced in Australia, ensures that the company has a "calling card" when it seeks to enter new territories.

Nevertheless the company has found it important to establish offices in particular regions. In 1983 the company was re-structured with Grundy World Wide, headquartered in Bermuda, as the parent company. To serve its European operation, the most important sector of its activities, the company has an office in London. It also has permanent offices in Chile to anchor its Latin American operation and an office in Singapore that services Asia. Its Los Angeles office has had a major function in developing new game show formats both for the United States and also for other territories, most especially those in Western Europe.

Where is Reg Grundy in all of this? The answer is that until very recently he was the driving figure behind the very highest executives in his organisation, always aware that good executives and new, attractive formats were the lifeline of his organisation. Unlike a Rupert Murdoch, however, he had no offspring to groom as successors. In 1995 he sold Grundy World Wide to the Pearson International for \$386 million (U.S.). The sale saw his executives remain in place, continuing to expand the company. This was likely to accelerate, given that Pearson Television already held the

format catalogue of Thames Television. Grundy meanwhile, from his home in Bermuda, through his private investment company, RG Capital, was reported to be seeking shares in several Australian television and radio stations.

—Albert Moran

**REG GRUNDY.** Born in Sydney, Australia, 1923. Educated at St. Peter's College. Married: Joy Chalmers. Sports commentator and time salesman, Sydney radio station 2CH; host, radio quiz show, 1957, which he subsequently took to television TCN 9, 1959; founder, Reg Grundy Enterprises, 1960; leading producer of game shows in Australian television; expanded into production of drama serials, from 1973, including *The Young Doctors*, *The Restless Years*, *Prisoner* and *Neighbours*; company reorganized as Grundy Organisation, 1978; opened its first overseas office in Los Angeles, 1979; Grundy re-located company to Bermuda, 1982; sold the television company to Pearson Television, United Kingdom, 1995.

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## GUNSMOKE

### U.S. Western

**G***unsmoke*, America's longest running television Western, aired on CBS from 1955 to 1975. In 1956, its second season on the air, the series entered the list of top ten programs on U.S. television and moved quickly to number one. It remained in that position until 1961 and in the top twenty until 1964. Following a shift in its programming time in 1967, *Gunsmoke* returned to prominence within the top twenty for the next seven years, dropping out only in its final year. From 1987 to the present there have been four

*Gunsmoke* "reunion" programs, presented as two-hour, made-for-television movies.

This exceptionally successful program is often referred to as the medium's first "adult Western." The term is used to indicate differences between the Hollywood "B" Westerns and versions of the genre designed for the small screen in the 1950s and 1960s. Without recourse to panoramic vistas, thundering herds of cattle, and massed charges by "Indians" or the United States Cavalry, the television West-



ern often concentrated on character relationships and tense psychological drama. *Gunsmoke* set the style and tone for many of these shows.

Set in Dodge City, Kansas, in the 1890s, the series focused on the character of United States Marshall, Matt Dillon, played by James Arness. The part was designed for John Wayne, who chose not to complicate his still-successful film career with commitment to a long-term television contract. Wayne, who appeared on air to introduce the first episode of *Gunsmoke*, suggested the younger actor for the lead role. The tall, rugged-looking Arness, who until this time had played minor film roles, became synonymous with his character during the next twenty years.

Surrounding Dillon were characters who became one of television's best known "work-place families." Kitty Russell (Amanda Blake) owned and managed a local saloon, The Longbranch, and over the years developed a deep friendship with Dillon that always seemed to border on something more intimate. Doc Adams (Milburn Stone) represented science, rationality and crusty wisdom. His medical skills were never questioned and he patched up everyone on the show, often more than once. Dennis Weaver portrayed tender-hearted and gullible Chester Goode, Deputy Marshall. Chester's openness and honesty were often played against frontier villainy, and his loyalty to Dillon was unquestionable. When Weaver left the show in 1964 he was replaced by Ken Curtis as Festus Hagen, a character equally adept at providing humor in the often grim world of Dodge and a foil to the taciturn and sometimes obsessive professionalism of Dillon. Burt Reynolds appeared on *Gunsmoke* from 1962 to 1965 in the role of Quint Asper.

While *Gunsmoke* had its share of shoot-outs, bank robberies, cattle rustlings, and the like, the great strength of the program was the ongoing exploration of life in this community, with these people, in this place, at this time. In *Gunsmoke*, Dodge City stands as an outpost of civilization, the edge of America at the end of a century. It is one of the central images of the Western in any of its media creations—a small town, a group of professionals, perhaps a school and a church, surrounded by the dangers of the frontier, its values of peace, harmony, and justice always under threat from untamed forces. Such a setting becomes a magnified experiment for the exploration of fundamental ideas about American culture and society. Issues faced by the characters and community in *Gunsmoke* ranged from questions of legitimate violence to the treatment of minority groups, from the meaning of family to the power of religious commitment. Even topics drawn from American life in the 1950s and 1960s were examined in this setting. The historical frame of the Western, and television's reliance on well-known, continuing characters allowed a sense of distance and gave producers the freedom to treat almost any topic.

The dramatic formula for the series, particularly in later years, was simple. Some type of "outsider"—a family separated from a wagon train, an ex-Confederate officer, a



*Gunsmoke*

wandering theatre troupe—entered the world of the regular characters. With the outsiders came conflict. With the conflict came the need for decision and action. If violence was called for, it was applied reluctantly. If compassion was the answer, it was available. Often, no solution so simple solved the problems. Many sides of the same issue could be presented, especially when moral problems, not action and adventure, were the central concerns. In such cases *Gunsmoke* often ended in ambiguity, requiring the ideas and issues to be pondered by viewers. As the series progressed into its last seasons, it became highly self-conscious of its own history. Characters explored their own motivations with some frequency, and memories became plot devices.

In the history of American popular culture, *Gunsmoke* has claimed a position of prominence. Innovative within traditional trappings, it testified to the breadth and resilience of the Western genre and to television's ability to interweave character, idea and action into narratives that could attract and compel audiences for decades.

—Horace Newcomb

#### CAST

<i>Marshal Matt Dillon</i>	James Arness
<i>Dr. Galen (Doc) Adams</i>	Milburn Stone
<i>Kitty Russell (1955–74)</i>	Amanda Blake
<i>Chester Goode (1955–64)</i>	Dennis Weaver
<i>Festus Hagen (1964–75)</i>	Ken Curtis
<i>Quint Asper (1962–65)</i>	Burt Reynolds
<i>Sam, the bartender (1962–74)</i>	Glenn Strange

*Clayton Thaddeus (Thad) Greenwood* (1965–67)

. . . . . Roger Ewing  
*Newly O'Brien* (1967–75) . . . . . Buck Taylor  
*Mr. Jones* (1955–60) . . . . . Dabbs Greer  
*Louie Pheeters* . . . . . James Nusser  
*Barney* . . . . . Charles Seel  
*Howie* . . . . . Howard Culver  
*Ed O'Connor* . . . . . Tom Brown  
*Percy Crump* . . . . . John Harper  
*Hank* (1957–75) . . . . . Hank Patterson  
*Ma Smalley* (1962–75) . . . . . Sarah Selby  
*Nathan Burke* (1964–75) . . . . . Ted Jordan  
*Mr. Bodkin* (1965–75) . . . . . Roy Roberts  
*Mr. Lashrop* (1966–75) . . . . . Woody Chamblis  
*Halligan* (1967–75) . . . . . Charles Wagenheim  
*Miss Hannah* (1974–75) . . . . . Fran Ryan

**PRODUCERS** Charles Warren, John Mantley, Phillip Leacock, Norman MacDonald, Joseph Drackow, Leonard Katzman

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 233 half-hour episodes; 400 one-hour episodes

## • CBS

September 1955–September 1961	Saturday 10:00–10:30
September 1961–September 1967	Saturday 10:00–11:00
October 1961–June 1964	Tuesday 7:30–8:00
September 1967–September 1971	Monday 7:30–8:30
September 1971–September 1975	Monday 8:00–9:00

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See also Gender and Television; Westerns

**GYNGELL, BRUCE**

## Australian Media Executive

Bruce Gyngell is best known by the general public in Australia for being the first face on television. When the commercial station Channel 9 in Sydney made the first broadcast in September 1956, Gyngell was the announcer who appeared to report the fact that television had arrived. His career has been a remarkable and unique one in that he trained in the United States, has operated in all spheres of the industry in Australia and has also played a significant role in television in the United Kingdom.

Gyngell's remarkable career cannot be understood without understanding the structure of television in Australia. From 1956 until 1980 when the national multi-cultural network SBS (Special Broadcasting Service) was established, the Australian television system was divided into two sectors. The ABC (Australian Broadcasting Commission, later Corporation) was modeled loosely on the BBC.

A commercial sector, first consisted of two networks (Nine and Seven) and later, in a controversial move, was joined by a third, the Ten Network. Because Australia had a small population (then around 15 million) spread over a very large land mass, three commercial networks were thought to be too many to be viable. Two of the commercial systems were owned by print media barons from their beginnings, and in 1980 the third, Network Ten, also fell into the hands of a print media owner, Rupert Murdoch. While there was fierce competition among the three commercial networks, there was also collusion. Programs were acquired from U.S. suppliers, for example, in a manner that would not drive up prices for any individual broadcaster. Ultimately, Australia has been able to maintain all three commercial networks because traditionally there has been a high level—until recently, more than 50%—of imported programming. But

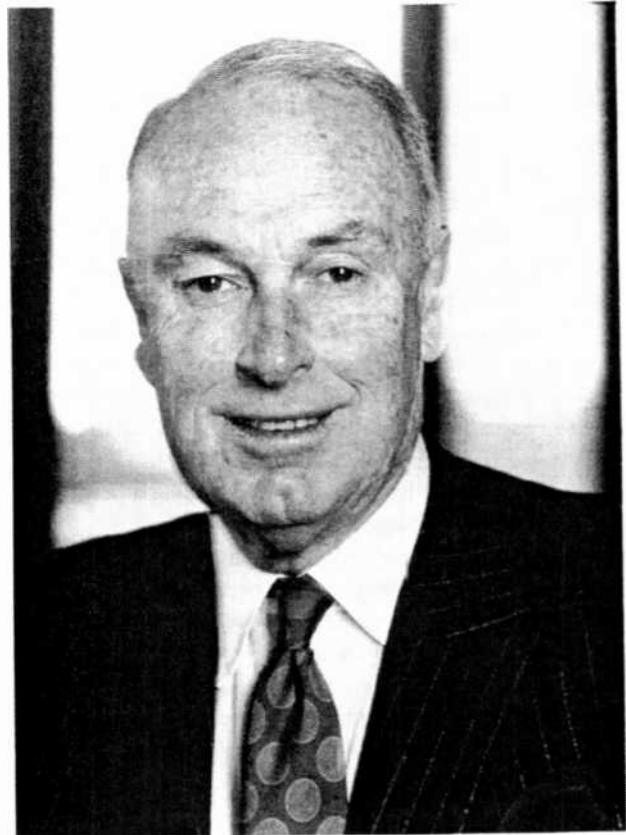
foreign programming does not by itself make for popularity. It has been the mix of local and overseas material which has led to strong ratings, and Gyngell's skill as a programmer contributed to the successes of the stations with which he was involved.

Having trained in the United States in the mid-1950s, Gyngell became programming director at Channel 9 Sydney in November 1956. Always the showman, he helped to make the Nine Network the dominant force in Australian commercial television. Gyngell's contribution was built upon a keen sense of audience tastes and an enthusiasm for catering to them. He scheduled a judicious mix of hit American shows such as *I Love Lucy*, *The Mickey Mouse Club* and *Father Knows Best* alongside popular and long-running Australian-made programs like *Bandstand* and *In Melbourne Tonight*. Gyngell developed very strong links with American program suppliers in those years and his U.S. contacts and his strong commercial instincts remained strong assets throughout his television career.

Gyngell became managing director of Channel 9 in 1966 and remained until 1969, when a programming dispute with the owner, Sir Frank Packer, drove him to Network Seven. There he became managing director and led the so-called "Seven Revolution", a programming strategy successfully designed to put his new network ahead of Nine in the ratings. In 1971, after three years at Seven and at the age of 42, he moved to the United Kingdom and became involved with Sir Lew Grade's ATV, then a leading U.K. company holding the lucrative Midlands franchise. Gyngell was also deputy managing director of ITC Entertainment, Grade's production company. From this position Gyngell supported the production of the first episodes of *The Muppet Show*, which the U.S. network CBS was unwilling to wholly finance. Between 1975 and 1977 Gyngell was a free-lance producer, working between the United States and Australia.

In 1977 in a move that was extremely controversial, Gyngell was appointed to be the first chair of a new broadcasting regulatory authority, the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal, established as a result of an inquiry organized by the conservative Fraser government. The former regulator, the Australian Broadcasting Control Board, had itself been replaced because it was seen to have been captured by the industry. Thus, Gyngell's complete identification with commercial television resulted in a great deal of criticism from observers worried about media concentration, the amount of Australian content and the need for quality on television.

Gyngell was a controversial and high profile chairman. Under his tenure the promotion of children's television improved—a committee to advise the Tribunal on programs suitable for children was established and quotas for such programming reinforced. But Gyngell also presided over the award of the Ten Network to Rupert Murdoch, a bitterly contested decision. Because of Murdoch's already substantial media holdings there was fear of his domination of both print and broadcasting media. Gyngell argues the legislation



Bruce Gyngell

Photo courtesy of TCN Channel Nine

did not permit him to refuse approval of Murdoch's acquisition, but other commentators saw the incident as affirming Gyngell's closeness to commercial broadcasters and disregard for the public interest. At the present time there has been no sober reassessment of this period of Australian broadcasting history; the jury is thus still out on Gyngell's tenure as chair of the Tribunal.

In 1980 Gyngell moved yet again to a new sector of the Australian broadcasting scene. Responding to determined "ethnic" lobbying the Fraser government had established multicultural broadcasting in Australia in the late 1970s. When the first television station dedicated to this service was established in 1980, Bruce Gyngell was called upon to be its managing director. Given his lack of experience with either multicultural policy or public service broadcasting, this was another controversial appointment.

The beginnings of the SBS, as the new service was called, were naturally fraught with difficulty. The ethnic communities and the government probably expected that the television station would be like the multi-ethnic radio station—an access channel for which ethnic groups could make their own programs. Gyngell had quite a different idea. Instead of a low-grade, well-meaning but amateurish channel, he envisioned a top-class station which would show the best of television from around the world. With programming skills well-honed from watching hundreds of programs

at the annual Los Angeles buying sprees, Gyngell set out to acquire programs mainly from European sources. He programmed SBS with quality programs from Italy, France, Germany, and Spain as well as from the Middle East and Asia. And he attempted as far as possible to match the nationality of the programs with the composition of the ethnic audience in Australia.

SBS television is generally deemed a success story although its audience has never topped 2-3%. In its early days its appeal was limited by its poor transmission conditions (a weak signal on UHF whereas all other television was on VHF) making it accessible only to part of the population. Although it has remained controversial over the years, and though the very late advent of pay television in Australia in 1995 is likely to change its role considerably, the direction generally set by Gyngell has been adhered to and has led to SBS occupying a permanent place in Australia's broadcasting mix.

Bruce Gyngell's next big career move was to become managing director of Britain's first breakfast television service, TV-AM. The franchise was awarded to TV-AM in 1984 and at the end of its first year of operation, when Gyngell arrived, it had accumulated losses of £20 million. He applied the experience he had gained in the more competitive environment of Australian television and began trimming costs, which had the desired effect of turning around the financial fortunes of the service. However, Gyngell's tenure at TV-AM was as controversial as his ventures in Australia. Many observers saw the service's profitability being won at the expense of quality. There was no doubt that TV-AM was the most tabloid-like of any of the British franchises but the material found a willing audience.

The controversy surrounding Gyngell deepened when in 1987 he took on the broadcasting unions in much the same manner as his compatriot, Rupert Murdoch, had challenged the print unions. Needing to trim the coast of his regional studios, Gyngell wanted to replace workers with automated studios. The unions went on strike and for many months Gyngell and other managers ran the service, replacing local programming with a high dose of repeat imported programs. Gyngell eventually broke the strike by installing automated equipment and recruiting new, untrained staff whom he trained quickly, winning in the process a Department of Industry Award for innovations in staff development. No doubt these maneuvers were the basis of his reputed high standing with then British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. When TV-AM failed to bid successfully for the breakfast franchise in the 1992 round of allocations, Thatcher sent Gyngell a personal letter of commiseration.

After TV-AM's removal from the British broadcasting scene, Gyngell returned to Australia to become executive chair of his old company, Network Nine. This position was largely ceremonial, however, and he returned to the United

Kingdom in 1995 to become chair of the newly merged Yorkshire Tyne Tees service in Britain.

Bruce Gyngell is a consummate television executive who has played a significant role in television in both Australia and Britain. He has worked in both the commercial and public service sectors and as a regulator. He has been an influential figure in Australian television since its foundation and has brought to it a showman's flair, a deep love of the medium and a keen sense of how to please audiences. It is no accident that when pay television finally arrived in Australia in 1995, his was once again the first face to be seen. He was recalled from Britain to announce the arrival of a new era of television.

—Elizabeth Jacka

**BRUCE GYNGELL.** Born in Melbourne, Australia, 8 July 1929. Educated at Sydney Grammar School; studied medicine at Sydney University. Married: 1) Ann, two children; 2) Kathryn, 1986, children: Adam and Jamie. Pilot with the Citizen's Air Force. Trainee radio announcer, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 1950; radio announcer, ABC, United States, 1950-55; in television at NBC and KGMB Hawaii, 1955-56; joined Sydney's TCN9 as program manager, opening first commercial television broadcast in Australia, 1956; general manager, 1966-69; managing director, Seven Network, 1969-71; producer and programmer, ATV Network, 1971, deputy chairman and director, ATV Network, from 1973; manager of ITC Films U.K., from 1974; free-lance producer, 1975-77; the first chair of the new regulatory body, the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal, 1977-80; chief executive of the new fifth Australian television channel, SBS Television, 1980-84; returned to London as managing director of TV-AM, 1984-92; returned to Australia as chief executive, TCN 9, from 1993 to 1995; director of Yorkshire Tynetees Television, England, from 1995. Member: Federation of Australian Commercial Television Stations. Address: c/o Yorkshire Television, The Television Centre, Leeds, LS31JS, England.

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See also Australia; Australian Production Companies; Australian Programming; Murdoch, Rupert

# H

## HAGMAN, LARRY

U.S. Actor

Larry Hagman is best known—throughout the world—for his role as J.R. Ewing, the unscrupulous heir to a Texas oil fortune, on the long-running *Dallas*, the blockbuster night-time soap opera which still defines the genre. Less well-known is the actor's earlier work in a variety of media.

The son of musical star Mary Martin, Hagman moved to England as a member of the cast of his mother's stage hit *South Pacific* after a variety of early theatrical experiences. He remained in England for five years, producing and directing shows for U.S. servicemen, before returning to the United States and appearing in a series of Broadway and off-Broadway plays.

Hagman's first television experience began with various guest appearances on such shows as *Playhouse 90*. He was then cast in the daytime soap opera *The Edge of Night*, in which he appeared for several years. In 1965, he became a television star playing Major Tony Nelson, astronaut and "master" to a beautiful blonde genie, in the comedy series *I Dream of Jeannie*, which ran from 1965 to 1970. He subsequently appeared in *The Good Life* and *Here We Go Again* and was a frequent guest star on a variety of television programs, until undertaking the career-making role of the crafty, silkily charming villain J.R. Ewing in 1978.

Hagman's role as the ruthless good old boy of Southfork would be indelibly associated with American cultural and economic life in the early 1980s. Over the course of 330 episodes, *Dallas* featured an American family beset by internal problems, many originating in the duplicitous schemes of its central figure, J.R. Ewing, who was a far cry from television's previous patriarchs. Viewers who tuned in could expect a weekly dose of greed, family feuds, deceptions, bribery, blackmail, alcoholism, adultery, and nervous breakdowns in the program that became, for a time, the second longest-running dramatic hour in prime-time history (after *Gunsmoke*). The show's blended themes of sex, power and money also sold well worldwide. When J.R. was shot in March 1980, the audience totaled 300 million in 57 countries.

Particularly noteworthy was the way in which *Dallas* made use of the cliffhanger ending. In its "Who shot J.R.?" season-end cliffhanger (the first ever in prime time), fans were left to speculate all summer over the fate of the man they loved to hate and ponder the question of which one of

his many enemies might have pulled the trigger. The speculation grew to become an international cause celebre, with the first show of the 1981 season generating Nielsen ratings comparable to *M\*A\*S\*H's* season finale, and pointing to the overlooked profitability of high-stakes serial narratives in prime time. Hagman's J.R. was influential in making greed and self-interest seem seductive, and the characterization inspired countless other portrayals (both male and female) on spin-off shows such as *Knots Landing*, and recent night-time soap operas such as *Melrose Place*.

More recently, Hagman has been active in anti-smoking campaigns, producing a videotape entitled *Larry Hagman's Stop Smoking for Life*, whose proceeds went to the American Cancer Society. In 1995, the actor was diagnosed with a liver tumor and later underwent a successful liver transplant.

—Diane M. Negra



Larry Hagman

LARRY HAGMAN. Born in Weatherford, Texas, U.S.A., 21 September 1931. Attended Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York. Married: Maj Axelsson, 1954; children: Heidi and Preston. Began career acting in Margo Jones Theatre in the Round, Dallas, Texas; later acted off-Broadway, then Broadway; motion picture debut in *Ensign Pulver*, 1964; starred in TV series *I Dream of Jeannie*, 1965–70, and *Dallas*, 1978–91.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1956–84 *The Edge of Night*  
 1965–70 *I Dream of Jeannie*  
 1971–72 *The Good Life*  
 1973 *Here We Go Again*  
 1978–91 *Dallas*  
 1993 *Staying Afloat*

#### TELEVISION MINISERIES

1977 *The Rhinemann Exchange*

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

1969 *Three's a Crowd*  
 1971 *Vanished*  
 1971 *A Howling in the Woods*  
 1971 *Getting Away from It All*  
 1972 *No Place to Run*  
 1973 *What Are Best Friends For?*  
 1973 *Blood Sport*  
 1973 *The Alpha Capers*  
 1974 *Sidekicks*  
 1974 *Hurricane*  
 1974 *The Big Rip-Off*  
 1975 *Sarah T—Portrait of a Teenage Alcoholic*  
 1976 *Return of the World's Greatest Detective*  
 1977 *Intimate Strangers*

1978 *The President's Mistress*  
 1978 *Last of the Good Guys*  
 1982 *Deadly Encounter*  
 1986 *Dallas: The Early Years*  
 1993 *Staying Afloat*

#### FILMS

*Ensign Pulver*, 1964; *Fail Safe*, 1964; *In Harm's Way*, 1965; *The Group*, 1966; *The Cavern*, 1965; *Up in the Cellar*, 1970; *Beware! The Blob* (also director), 1972; *Antonio*, 1973; *Harry and Tonto*, 1974; *Stardust*, 1975; *Mother Jugs and Speed*, 1976; *The Big Bus*, 1976; *Checkered Flag or Crash*, 1977; *The Eagle Has Landed*, 1977; *Superman*, 1978; *S.O.B.*, 1981.

#### STAGE

*God and Kate Murphy*, 1959; *The Nervous Set*, 1959; *The Warm Peninsula*, 1959–60; *The Beauty Part*, 1962–63.

#### PUBLICATION

"Hats Off to 10 Years of *Dallas*!" *People* (New York), 4 April 1988.

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See also *Dallas*

## HALEY, ALEX

U.S. Writer

Alex Haley, an African-American writer, is best known as the author of the novel *Roots: The Saga of an American Family*, from which two television miniseries, *Roots* and *Roots: The Next Generation*, were adapted. The novels, loosely based on Haley's own family, presented an interpretation of the journey of African Americans from their homeland to the United States and their subsequent search for freedom and dignity. The novel was published in 1976, when the United States was celebrating its bicentennial.

During the last week of January 1977 the first *Roots* miniseries was aired by the American Broadcasting Company (ABC). Its phenomenal success surprised everyone, including Haley and the network executives who had "dumped" the program into one week, fearing the subject matter would not attract an audience. Instead *Roots* garnered

one of the largest audiences for dramatic television in the U.S. history of the medium, averaging a 44.9 rating and a 66 share.

The success of *Roots* went far beyond attracting a large audience, however. The miniseries, and Alex Haley, became a *cause célèbre*. In a cover story, *Time* magazine reported that restaurant and shop owners saw profits decline when the series was on the air. The report noted that bartenders were able to keep customers only by turning the channel selector away from basketball and hockey and tuning instead to those stations carrying *Roots*. Parents named their children after characters in the series, especially the lead character, Kunta Kinte.

The airing of *Roots* raised issues about the effects of television. There were debates about whether the television miniseries would ease race relations or exacerbate them. A

*Time* magazine article explained that "many observers feel that the TV series left whites with a more sympathetic view of blacks by giving them a greater appreciation of black history." The same article reported that white junior-high-school students were harrassing African Americans and that black youths assaulted four white youths in Detroit while chanting, "Roots, roots, roots."

Haley began his writing career through assignments from *Reader's Digest* and *Playboy* magazine, where he conducted interviews. During this time he met Malcolm X, then one of the followers of Eijja Mohamad, leader of the Nation of Islam. Later Haley was asked by Malcom X to write his life's story. The result of that collaboration, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, was published in 1965 and sold six million copies.

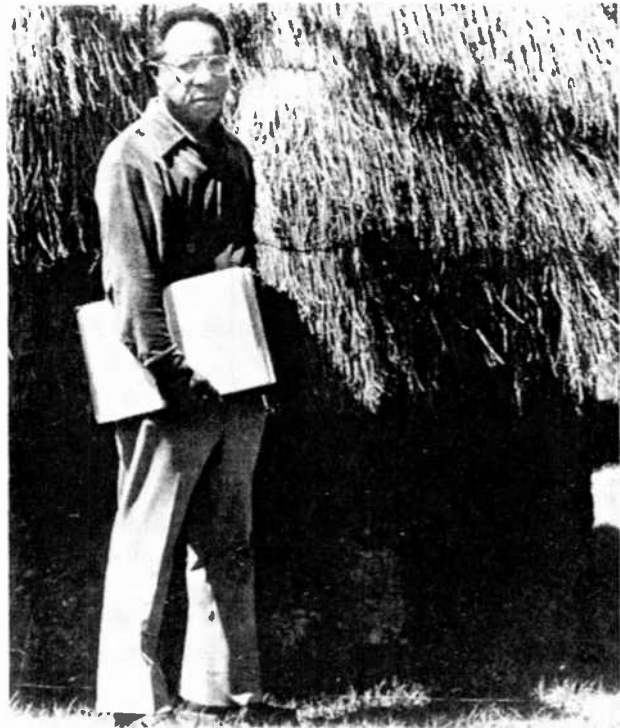
*Roots*, Haley's next bestseller, was a fictionalized version of his own search for his ancestral past, which led him to the African village of Juffure, in Gambia. Haley described *Roots* as "faction," a combination of fact and fiction. Although criticized by some for taking too many liberties in the telling of his journey into his ancestral past, Haley maintained that "*Roots* is intended to convey a symbolic history of a people."

In the 1980s Leslie Fishbein reviewed previous studies concerned with the inaccuracies found in both the book and television series and noted that Haley glossed over the complicity of Africans in the slave trade. Fishbein also analyzed an inherent contradiction in Haley's work—it centers on the family as an independent unit that isolates itself from the rest of the community and is thus unable effectively to fight the forces of slavery and racism.

Debates about *Roots* continued into the 1990s. Researchers Tucker and Shah have argued that the production of *Roots* by a predominantly white group led to decisions that resulted in an interpretation of race in the United States reflecting an Anglo-American rather than an African-American perspective. They also criticized the television version of *Roots* for transforming the African-American experience in the United States into an "immigrant" story, a narrative model in which slavery becomes a hardship, much like the hardships of other immigrant groups, which a people must experience before taking their place along side full-fledged citizens. When slavery is simplified in this fashion and stripped of its context as a creation of social, economic and political forces, those who experience slavery are also stripped of their humanity.

The tremendous success of *Roots* can only be appreciated within its social context. The United States was moving away from what have come to be known as the "turbulent 60s" into a era when threats from outside forces, both real and imagined, such as the Middle Eastern Oil Cartel, and instability in Central America, especially Nicaragua, contributed to the need for a closing of ranks.

On one level, then, the program served as a symbolic ritual that helped bring African Americans into the national community. At another, more practical level, it represents the recognition on the part of television executives that the African American community had become a significant and



Alex Haley

integral part of the larger mass audience. As Wilson and Gutierrez have written, "In the 1970s, mass-audience advertising in the United States became more racially integrated than in any time in the nation's history." These writers point out that during this time blacks could be seen much more frequently in television commercials.

The importance of Alex Haley and the impact of his work on television history should not be underestimated. To fully appreciate the contribution he made to medium, the African-American community and the country, his work must be examined within a context of changing demographics, historical events at home and abroad and, most important, the centuries-long struggle of a people to be recognized as full-fledged members of the national community.

—Raul D. Tovaes

ALEX (PALMER) HALEY. Born in Ithaca, New York, U.S.A., 11 August 1921. Attended Elizabeth City Teachers College, North Carolina, 1936–37. Married: 1) Nannie Branch, 1941 (divorced, 1964); child: Lydia Ann and William Alexander; 2) Juliette Collins, 1964; children: Cynthia Gertrude. Served in the U.S. Coast Guard 1939–59, ship's cook during World War II, and chief journalist. On retirement from the Coast Guard, became fulltime writer, contributing stories, articles, and interviews to *Playboy*, *Harper's*, *Atlantic*, and *Reader's Digest*; based on interviews, wrote *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, 1965; author, *Roots: The Saga of an American Family*, 1976, which was adapted as television miniseries, 1977. Recipient: Pulitzer Prize, 1977. Died in Seattle, Washington, 10 February 1992.



## TELEVISION

- 1977 *Roots*  
 1980 *Palmerstown, U.S.A.* (producer)  
 1993 *Alex Haley's Queen*

## PUBLICATIONS

- The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, with Malcolm X. New York: Ballantine, 1965.  
*Roots*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1976.  
*A Different Kind of Christmas*. New York: Doubleday, 1988.  
*Alex Haley's Queen: The Story of an American Family*. New York: Morrow, 1993.  
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See also Miniseries; *Roots*

## HALLMARK HALL OF FAME

## U.S. Anthology Drama

Created by Hallmark Cards to be a showcase around which to market its greeting cards, *Hallmark Hall of Fame* has become one of the most valued treasures in the history of quality television programming. *Hallmark Hall of Fame* made its debut on NBC on 24 December 1951, with *Amahl and the Night Visitors*, the first opera commissioned for television, and continued as a weekly series until 1955. The half-hour series was called *Hallmark Television Playhouse* during its first two years. Sarah Churchill served as the host of the program during this early period.

Beginning in 1955, *Hallmark Hall of Fame* has been a series of specials (appearing four to eight times a year throughout the 1960s, two to three times a year thereafter). *Hallmark Hall of Fame* usually aired around holiday times, in order to coincide with the sale of greeting cards. These specials were usually in 90-minute or 120-minute form, and were adaptations of works by major playwrights and authors (e.g., William Shakespeare, Charles Dickens, George Bernard Shaw, and Rod Serling). *Hallmark Hall of Fame* specials often featured the leading stage actors and actresses from Great Britain and the United States (e.g., Maurice Evans, Dame Judith Anderson, Alfred Lunt, and Jessica Tandy).

*Hallmark Hall of Fame* ran exclusively on NBC from 1951 until 1979. The parting was a mutual one for NBC and Hallmark—NBC was disappointed with the low ratings the specials routinely received, and Hallmark was disap-

pointed with poor time slots allotted to it. With the promise of better time periods, *Hallmark Hall of Fame* moved to CBS for the 1979–80 season. Despite a brief switch to PBS in



Amahl and the Night Visitors





Sarah, Plain and Tall



Macbeth

1981, *Hallmark Hall of Fame* continues to air twice a year on CBS. In the 1988–89 season, *Hallmark Hall of Fame* made its appearance on ABC for the first time, thereby having appeared on all three of the major television networks, as well as PBS.

*Hallmark Hall of Fame* is one of the most honored programs in the history of television, having won over 50 Emmy Awards, including 10 Emmys for best dramatic program of the year: *Little Moon of Alban* (1958–59), *Macbeth* (1960–61), *Victoria Regina* (1961–62), *The Magnificent Yankee* (1964–65), *Elizabeth the Queen* (1967–68), *Teacher, Teacher* (1968–69), *A Storm in Summer* (1969–70), *Love Is Never Silent* (1985–86), *Promise* (1986–87), and *Caroline* (1989–90). In addition, Hallmark Cards has won the Trustees Award in 1960–61 and the ATAS Governors Award in 1981–82. Judith Anderson won her first Emmy for her portrayal of Lady Macbeth in the *Hallmark Hall of Fame* presentation of *Macbeth* in 1954, and would win again for the same role when *Hall* remade *Macbeth* in 1960–61. Also of note, in 1971, one month after he refused to accept his Academy Award for his portrayal of Patton, George C. Scott accepted his Emmy for his performance in Arthur Miller's *The Price*.

Some other notable *Hallmark Hall of Fame* productions included *Hamlet* (1953) with Maurice Evans, *Moby Dick* (1954) with Victor Jory, *Alice in Wonderland* (1955) with Elsa Lanchester, *Man and Superman* (1956) with Maurice Evans, *Twelfth Night* (1957) with Maurice Evans and Rose-

mary Harris, *Cyrano de Bergerac* (1962) with Christopher Plummer and Hope Lange, *Inherit the Wind* (1966) with Ed Begley and Melvyn Douglas, *Anastasia* (1967) with Julie Harris, *The Man Who Came to Dinner* (1972) with Orson Welles and Lee Remick, *Beauty and the Beast* (1976) with George C. Scott and Trish Van Devere, *The Last Hurrah* (1977) with Carroll O'Connor, *Return Engagement* (1978) with Elizabeth Taylor, *Gideon's Trumpet* (1980) with Henry Fonda, *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1981) with Anthony Hopkins, *The Marva Collins Story* (1982) with Cicely Tyson, *My Name Is Bill W.* (1989) with James Garner and James Woods, *Decoration Day* (1990) with James Garner and Ruby Dee, and *Sarah, Plain and Tall* (1991) with Glenn Close and Christopher Walkin.

—Mitchell E. Shapiro

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See also Anthology Drama; Rees, Marian

## HANCOCK'S HALF HOUR

### British Comedy

Tony Hancock became the premier radio and TV comic of his generation, due mainly to the long running radio and TV series that both bore the name, *Hancock's Half Hour*. Hancock's career as a comedian began with performances when he was 16 and continued on radio the following year, before he joined the Royal Air Force in 1942. Following the war he returned to the stage and eventually worked as resident comedian at the Windmill, a famous London comedy and striptease club in which many of Britain's favourite comedians of the period worked. He reappeared on radio in 1950 in a famous variety series *Variety Bandbox*, but it was the following year when he joined the cast of radio's *Educating Archie* that he really came to public notice. His success on the show eventually led to him being offered his own starring series on radio, from 1954, on *Hancock's Half Hour*.

For *Hancock's Half Hour*, Hancock was paired with the script-writing team Ray Galton and Alan Simpson; with the comedian they created one of Britain's best-loved and enduring comic characters. The Tony Hancock of the series was a slightly snobbish type with delusions of grandeur and a talent for self deception. The sharp scripts were complemented by the contribution of the supporting cast (Hattie Jacques, Kenneth Williams, Bill Kerr and Sid James) and immeasurably from Hancock himself. Hancock proved a master of comic timing, instinctively knowing how long to hold a pause for maximum effect (similar to Jack Benny in the United States). In 1956, the show transferred to BBC Television and Hancock went on to even greater success.

The television *Hancock's Half Hour* was a landmark in British television and became the yardstick by which all subsequent sitcoms were measured. On TV, many of the episodes were virtual double handers between Tony Hancock and co-star Sid James, who appeared as a down-to-earth type but still a shady character always with an eye on the main chance. Their partnership proved enormously popular with viewers and critics alike. On TV, Hancock displayed a marvelous talent for facial comedy; by rolling his eyes, creasing his brow in deep concentration, sucking on his lips or puffing out his cheeks, he could suggest any number of internal wranglings. When these expressions were combined with his superb timing, he managed to wring big laughs from the thinnest of lines. But the lines were rarely thin; Galton and Simpson's writing was constantly improving and the series, unlike many in the genre, continued to grow from strength to strength. After making 57 TV episodes of the series from 6 July 1956 to 6 May 1960, Hancock decided he wanted a change in the format. Always convinced he could do better, Hancock was rarely happy with the work he was doing. Against the advice of his writers and producer (Duncan Wood), he insisted that James be written out of the series because he thought they had fully explored the double-act potential. Finally it was agreed and the series returned, now simply called *Hancock*, for six more episodes.

To emphasise the change in format, the first episode featured Hancock alone in his room delivering a desperate rambling monologue as he struggles to pass the time.

Against all the odds *Hancock* was a roaring success and those six episodes stand out as the highlight of Hancock's career. One episode in particular, "The Blood Donor", is unquestionably the best-remembered episode of any British sitcom. Hancock, however, remained unimpressed and finally split with his writers Galton and Simpson, complaining they were writing him too poor, too hopeless. (Intriguingly for their next major project the writers went even further "down market" with the rag-and-bone man sitcom *Steptoe and Son*.)

Hancock never found the perfection he was seeking, and often sought solace in alcohol. After struggling to make his mark in films and other TV series, his bouts of depression deepened and eventually he committed suicide in Australia on 25 June 1968.

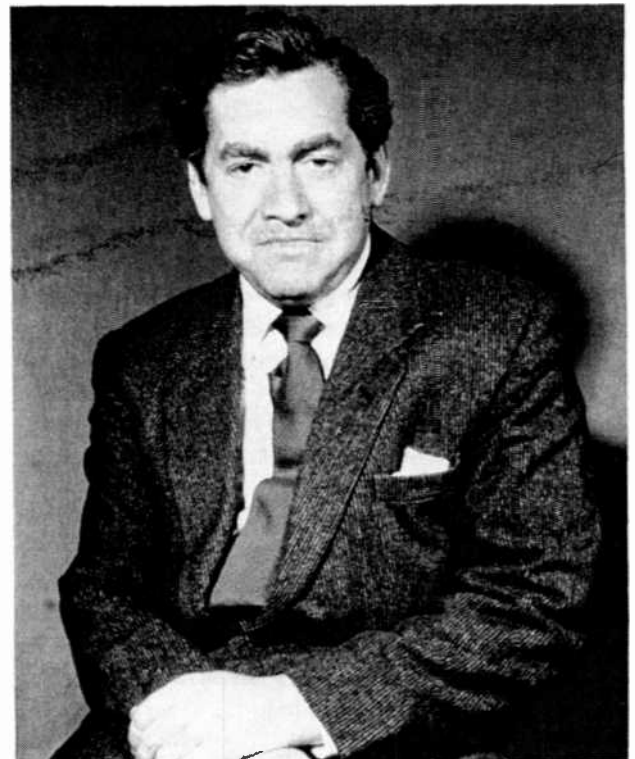
—Dick Fiddy

#### REGULAR PERFORMERS

Tony Hancock  
Sid James

#### SUPPORTING PERFORMERS

Irene Handl



Tony Hancock

Warren Mitchell  
 Kenneth Williams  
 Hattie Jacques  
 Hugh Lloyd  
 Arthur Mullard  
 John Le Mesurier  
 Mario Fabrizi  
 Johnny Vyvyan  
 Frank Thornton  
 Patricia Hayes  
 June Whitfield  
 Patrick Cargill  
 Pat Coombes  
 Terence Alexander  
 Dick Emery

**PRODUCERS** Duncan Wood, BBC; Tony Hancock, Alan Tarrant, ATV

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

##### • BBC

July 1956–September 1956	6 Episodes
April 1957–June 1957	6 Episodes

September 1957–December 1957	12 Episodes
December 1958–March 1959	13 Episodes
September 1959–November 1959	10 Episodes
March 1960–May 1960	10 Episodes
May 1961–June 1961	6 Episodes

##### • ATV

January 1963–April 1963	13 Episodes
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See also British Programming

## HANNA, WILLIAM, AND JOSEPH BARBERA

### U.S. Television Animators

The joint efforts of William Hanna and Joseph Barbera have had a powerful and lasting impact on television animation. Since the late 1950s, Hanna-Barbera programs have been a staple of television entertainment. Furthermore, a great many of the characters originally created by Hanna and Barbera for the small screen have crossed the boundaries into film, books, toys, and all manner of other media, becoming virtually ubiquitous as cultural icons.

The careers of comedy writer Bill Hanna and cartoonist Joe Barbera merged in 1940, when both were working in the Cartoon Department at MGM Studios. Their first joint effort was a Tom and Jerry cartoon entitled, *Puss Gets the Boot* (1940). Dozens of *Tom and Jerry* episodes were to follow. When the studio closed its cartoon unit, nearly two decades after Hanna and Barbera began working at MGM, the two decided to try their collaborative hand at creating material for television. In 1957, already having gained a solid reputation as animators working in film, the pair successfully approached Columbia's Screen Gems television studio with a storyboard for *Ruff and Reddy*, a cartoon tale about two pals—a dog and a cat.

The ensuing success of *Ruff and Reddy* as wrap-around segments for recycled movie cartoons (including *Tom and Jerry*) proved to be the beginning of a lengthy career in television animation. In late 1958, Hanna and Barbera launched *Huckleberry Hound*, the first cartoon series to



William Hanna (left) and Joseph Barbera

receive an Emmy Award. This half-hour syndicated program featured, in addition to the title character, such cartoon favorites as Yogi Bear, Pixie and Dixie, Augie Doggie, and Quick Draw McGraw. This latter character, like numerous others who began their "careers" in one Hanna-Barbera creation, went on to an enormously successful series of his own.

In 1960, when a survey revealed that more than half of *Huckleberry Hound's* audience was comprised of adults, Hanna and Barbera turned their efforts toward creating a cartoon for prime time. The result was *The Flintstones*, a series that drew on and parodied conventions of popular live-action domestic sitcoms—most specifically in this case Jackie Gleason's *The Honeymooners*. The comical premise of a "typical" suburban family living in a cartoon "Stone Age," with home appliances represented as talking animals and frequent celebrity guest stars (authentic voices with caricatured bodies) enabled *The Flintstones* to attract both child and adult audiences during its initial run on ABC (1960-66). *The Jetsons*, a "space-age" counterpart to *The Flintstones*, joined its predecessor in prime time in 1962.

Unlike *The Flintstones*, *The Jetsons* would last only one season in ABC's evening schedule. However, in the late 1960s both programs became extremely popular in Saturday morning cartoon line-ups and subsequently in syndication. The programs were so successful as reruns that in the 1980s, 51 new episodes of *The Jetsons* were produced, as were TV specials and movies based on both *The Flintstones* and *The Jetsons*. *Flintstones* spin-off series for children—including *Pebbles and Bamm-Bamm* (1971-72 and 1975-76), *The Flintstones Comedy Hour* (1972-74), and *The Flintstones Kids* (1986-90)—also have appeared since the original series ceased production.

Other popular Hanna-Barbera series have included children's cartoons such as *Scooby-Doo, Where Are You?* (1969, plus a number of subsequent *Scooby-Doo* series), *The Smurfs*—a concept based on a Belgian cartoon series and first brought to Hanna-Barbera by network executive Fred Silverman (1981), *Pac-Man* (1982), *Pound Puppies* (1986), and *Captain Planet* (1994). As of the 1990s, Hanna-Barbera Productions, now a subsidiary of Turner Broadcasting System, boasts a library of several thousand cartoon episodes. Hanna-Barbera fare accounts for the bulk of the programming on Turner's Cartoon Network cable service. Since the 1970s Hanna-Barbera has produced, in addition to the cartoons, a number of films and specials for television, including *The Gathering* (1977), *The Stone Fox* (1987), and *Going Bananas* (1984), as well as live-action feature films, including *The Jetsons: The Movie* (1990), *The Pagemaster* (1994) and *The Flintstones* (1994).

The long and productive partnership between William Hanna and Joseph Barbera has yielded some of television's most successful and enduring programs. Cartoon series such as *The Flintstones*, *The Jetsons*, and *Huckleberry Hound* are as popular with audiences today as they were when first shown. While this is evidence of the timeless entertainment value of

animated programming, it also reflects the astute business sense of Hanna and Barbera and their ability to recognize trends in the entertainment industry.

After decades of exposure to audiences worldwide, many individual Hanna-Barbera animated characters have become so familiar to audiences that they have transcended their original program contexts to some extent. An obvious example is the *Flintstones* characters—which have achieved international recognition through television series, specials, theatrical film, and their display on every imaginable consumer product (most licensed by Hanna-Barbera).

—Megan Mullen

**WILLIAM DENBY HANNA.** Born in Melrose, New Mexico, U.S.A., 14 July 1910. Studied journalism and engineering. Married: Violet Wogatzke, 1936; children: David William and Bonnie Jean. Engineer, California, 1931; story editor and assistant to Harman-Ising unit, Warner Brothers, 1933-37; director and story editor (Joseph Barbera was hired a few weeks later), MGM Studios, 1937; director, first animated film *Blue Monday*, 1938; began collaborating with Barbera as directors of animated shorts for Warners, making primarily Tom and Jerry shorts, 1940; co-head, with Barbera, Animation Department, 1955-57; co-founded Hanna-Barbera Productions, 1957, which, in 1960, produced the first-ever animated prime-time show, with half-hour storyline, *The Flintstones*, which aired from 1960-66; executive producer, *Once Upon a Forest*, a 20th Century-Fox release, 1993; directed the ABC specials *I Yabba Dabba Do* and *Hollyrock-A-Bye Baby*; executive producer, *The Flintstones* movie, 1994; director (his first solo directorial effort since 1941), Cartoon Network's *World Premiere Toons* project of the original cartoon short *Hard Luck Duck*, 1995. Charter member, Boy Scouts of America. Recipient: seven Oscars; eight Emmy Awards; Governor's Award, Television Arts and Sciences; Hollywood Walk of Fame Star, 1976; Golden IKE Award, Pacific Pioneers in Broadcasting, 1983; Pioneer Award, BMI (Broadcast Music Inc.), 1987; Iris Award-NATPE Men of the Year, 1988; Licensing Industry Merchandisers' Association Award for Lifetime Achievement, 1988; Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Governors Award, 1988; Jackie Coogan Award for Outstanding Contribution to Youth through Entertainment Youth in Film, 1988; Frederic W. Ziv Award for Outstanding Achievement in Telecommunications, Broadcasting Division, College—Conservatory of Music, University of Cincinnati, 1989; named to Television Academy Hall of Fame, 1991. Address: Hanna-Barbera, Inc., 3400 Cahuenga Boulevard, Hollywood, California 90068-1376, U.S.A.

**JOSEPH BARBERA.** Born in New York City, New York, U.S.A., 1911. Attended American Institute of Banking. Children from first marriage: Jayne, Neal, and Lynn; married: Sheila. Banker, Irving Trust, New York City; changed

career path after he sold drawing to *Collier's* magazine to earn extra money; sketch artist and storyboard writer, Van Buren Studio; animator, Terrytoons; moved from New York to Hollywood, 1937, and worked in animation department, MGM Studios, where he met William Hanna; started working with Hanna on their first collaboration, the cartoon *Puss Gets the Boot*, which led to the Tom and Jerry shorts; continued collaborating with Hanna as directors of animated shorts for Warners; co-head, MGM cartoon department, 1955–57; co-founded Hanna-Barbera Productions, 1957, which began to make cartoons directly for the small screen, launched its first production, *Ruff and Reddy*, 1957, and produced the first-ever animated prime-time family sitcom show, with half-hour storyline, *The Flintstones*, which aired from 1960–66; creative consultant for animated feature film *Tom and Jerry—The Movie*; producer and executive producer for the syndicated Hanna-Barbera/Fox Children's Network show *Tom and Jerry Kids*; directed the Flintstones snorkassaurus Dino in two shorts, *Stay Out* and *The Great Egg-Scape*, for the World Premier Toons project (48 seven-minute cartoon shorts), which began airing on Cartoon Network in 1995. Recipient: seven Oscars; eight Emmy Awards; Hollywood Walk of Fame Star, 1976; Golden IKE Award, Pacific Pioneers in Broadcasting, 1983; Pioneer Award, BMI (Broadcast Music, Inc.), 1987; Iris Award–NATPE Men of the Year, 1988; Licensing Industry Merchandisers' Association Award for Lifetime Achievement, 1988; Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Governors Award, 1988; Jackie Coogan Award for Outstanding Contribution to Youth through Entertainment Youth in Film, 1988; Frederic W. Ziv Award for Outstanding Achievement in Telecommunications, Broadcasting Division, College—Conservatory of Music, University of Cincinnati, 1989; named to Television Academy Hall of Fame, 1991. Address: Hanna-Barbera, Inc., 3400 Cahuenga Boulevard, Hollywood, California 90068-1376, U.S.A.

#### TELEVISION SERIES (selection)

1957–60 *Ruff and Reddy*  
 1958–62 *Huckleberry Hound*  
 1959–62 *Quick Draw McGraw*  
 1960–66 *The Flintstones*  
 1960–62 *Snagglepuss*  
 1961–63 *The Yogi Bear Show*  
 1961–72 *Top Cat*  
 1962–63 *The Jetsons*  
 1964–65 *Jonny Quest*  
 1967–70 *Fantastic Four*  
 1969–93 *Scooby Doo*  
 1971–72,  
 1975–76 *Pebbles and Bamm-Bamm*  
 1972–75 *The Flintstones Comedy Hour*  
 1973–75 *Yogi's Gang*  
 1973–86 *Superfriends*  
 1978–79 *The New Fantastic Four*  
 1981–90 *The Smurfs* (co-production with Sepp Int.)

1982–84 *Pac-Man*  
 1985 *The Jetsons*  
 1985 *Funtastic World of Hanna Barbera*  
 1986 *Foofur*  
 1986 *Pound Puppies*  
 1986–90 *The Flintstone Kids*  
 1986 *Wildfire*  
 1987 *Snorks*  
 1987 *Sky Commanders*  
 1987 *Popeye and Son*  
 1993 *Captain Planet*  
 1994 *The New Adventures of Captain Planet*

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

1977 *The Gathering*  
 1979 *The Gathering, Part II*  
 1984 *Going Bananas*  
 1987 *The Stone Fox*

#### TELEVISION ANIMATED SPECIALS (selection)

1966 *Alice in Wonderland*  
 1967 *Jack and the Beanstalk*  
 1972 *The Last of the Curlews*  
 1974 *The Runaways*  
 1974 *Cyrano*  
 1979 *Caspar's First Christmas*  
 1979 *The Popeye Valentine Special: Sweethearts at Sea*  
 1982 *My Smurfy Valentine*  
 1982 *Yogi Bear's All-Star Comedy Christmas Caper*  
 1985 *Smurfily-Ever-After*  
 1986 *The Flintstones' 25th Anniversary Celebration*  
 1989 *Hagar the Horrible*  
 1993 *I Yabba-Dabba Do!*

#### TELEVISION SPECIALS

1974 *The Crazy Comedy Concert*  
 1975 *Yabaa Dabba Doo! The Happy World of Hanna-Barbera* (documentary, with Marshall Flaum)  
 1979 *Yabba Dabba Doo!* (documentary, with Robert Guenette)

#### FILMS

*Blue Monday*, 1938; *Anchors Aweigh*, 1945; *Holiday in Mexico*, 1946; *Neptune's Daughter*, 1949; *Dangerous When Wet*, 1952; *Invitation to Dance*, 1956; *Hey There, It's Yogi Bear*, 1964; *A Man Called Flintstone*, 1966; *Project X*, 1967; *Charlotte's Web*, 1973; *Heidi's Song*, 1982; *Gobots: Battle of the Rock Lords*, 1986; *Jetsons: The Movie*, 1990; *The Pagemaster*, 1994; *The Flintstones*, 1994.

#### FURTHER READING

Barbera, Joseph. *My Life in "Toons": From Flatbush to Bedrock in Under a Century*. Atlanta, Georgia: Turner Publishing, 1994.

Cawley, John, and Jim Korkis. *Cartoon Superstars*. Las Vegas, Nevada: Pioneer, 1990.

Erickson, Hal. *Television Cartoon Shows: An Illustrated Encyclopedia, 1949-1993*. Jefferson City, North Carolina: McFarland, 1995.

Gelman, Morrie. "Hanna and Barbera: After 50 Years, Opposites Still Attract." *Variety* (Los Angeles), 12 July 1989.

Hanna, William. *A Cast of Friends*. Dallas, Texas: Taylor, 1996.

Hanna, William, and Joseph Barbera, with Ted Sennett. *The Art of Hanna-Barbera: Fifty Years of Creativity*. New York: Viking Studio Books, 1989.

Maltin, Leonard. *Of Mice and Magic: A History of American Animated Cartoons*. New York: New American Library, 1987.

See also Cartoons; Children and Television; *Flintstones*; *Honeymooners*

## HAPPY DAYS

### U.S. Comedy

**H**appy Days originated in 1974 as a nostalgic teen-populated situation comedy centered on the life of Ritchie Cunningham (Ron Howard) and his best friend Potsie (Anson Williams), both students at Jefferson High School in 1950s Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The character, of Arthur Fonzarelli, Fonzie, with whom the show is now most associated was originally only fifth-billed. But his leather jacketed, "great with the girls," biker profile unexpectedly captured the imagination of viewers. Fonzie increased the popularity of the show and actor, who portrayed him, Henry Winkler, and by 1980, "the Fonz" had achieved top billing.

The show presented a saccharine perspective on American youth culture of the 1950s. With rock and roll confined to the jukebox of Al's Diner, the kids worried over first loves, homecoming parades, and the occasional innocuous rumble. The Cunninghams represented the middle class family values of the era. Minor skirmishes erupted between parents and children, but dinner together was never missed—prepared and served by mother, Marion (Marion Ross), or daughter, Joanie (Erin Moran). There was no inkling of the "generation gap" discourse which was beginning to differentiate youth from their parents in the 1950s, and which was still active in the mid-1970s when the show was created.

One episode pits Ritchie and his friends against Ritchie's father, Howard (Tom Bosley), by virtue of his support of a business plan that would send a freeway through the teen make-out spot, Inspiration Point. Civil disobedience is suggested by the teenagers' organization of petitions and picket signs to protest the plan. Fonzie even chains himself to a tree at the site. Yet generational harmony is restored when Ritchie makes Howard realize that he, too, participated in the culture of Inspiration Point when he was young.

Fonzie's lower-class status, his black leather clothes, and motorcycle, propensity to get into fights, and apparent sexual exploits with multiple women takes advantage of the code of delinquency which social scientists of the period fashioned under the rubric of deviancy studies. But again, Fonzie's representation had none of the hard edge or angst of a James Dean or Marlon Brandon character and was played more for laughs than social critique. Yet his popular-

ity on the show may have tapped into deeper audience identifications.

His image of an impervious, highly-testosteroned male, albeit with modicums of vulnerability and hyperbole as acted by Winkler, was overtly rewarded in the show. It only took a snap of his fingers to have women do his bidding or grown men cower in fear of being pummeled by an out-of-control Fonzarelli. So male-identified was his character that



Happy Days

the men's restroom in Al's Diner was referred to as his "office." The Fonz's courting of many women at once meant he was never subject to the kind of romantic involvement and inevitable heartbreak which characterized Ritchie's relationships with women.

The Fonz's style, "my way" bravado, working-class ethos, and loner sensibility differed from the mainstream Cunninghams and was in direct opposition to the upwardly mobile, college-bound, leadership-quality Ritchie. Ritchie, audiences knew, would someday outgrow Milwaukee and leave it behind, but Fonzie had fewer choices, and would stay behind. And perhaps the tension between these two worlds, these two life directions kept audiences watching through the show's ten year run during which time Ritchie and his pals go to college, the army, and even get married.

Despite these contrasts, however, Fonzie and the Cunningham family were never involved in overt conflict. Indeed, by the end of the show, Fonzie had moved into the Cunningham's garage apartment, and though the bemused Howard Cunningham often wondered what was happening "up there," Fonzie was, by this time, a thoroughly domesticated character. His role not only paralleled that of Mr. Cunningham, but those of countless sitcom fathers before him, and he was as likely to dispense careful, family-oriented wisdom, as to suggest rebellion of the slightest sort. But it was always proffered with Winkler's parody-delinquent sense of style, a style that continues to appeal to youngsters in syndicated rerun throughout the world.

*Happy Days* stands as the first of a string of extremely successful spinoff comedies from producer Garry Marshall. *Laverne and Shirley*, *Mork and Mindy*, and others shows helped propel the ABC television network into first place in the ratings battles, and enabled Marshall to move from television to feature film direction.

—Lisa Anne Lewis

#### CAST

*Richie Cunningham* (1974–80) . . . . . Ron Howard  
*Arthur "Fonzie" Fonzairelli* . . . . . Henry Winkler  
*Howard Cunningham* . . . . . Tom Bosley  
*Marion Cunningham* . . . . . Marion Ross

*Warren "Possie" Webber* (1974–83) . . . . . Anson Williams  
*Ralph Malph* (1974–80) . . . . . Donny Most  
*Joanie Cunningham* . . . . . Erin Moran  
*Chuck Cunningham* (1974) . . . . . Gavan O'Herlihy  
*Chuck Cunningham* (1974–75) . . . . . Randolph Roberts  
*Bag Zombroski* (1974–75) . . . . . Neil J. Schwartz  
*Marsha Simms* (1974–76) . . . . . Beatrice Colen  
*Gloria* (1974–75) . . . . . Linda Purl  
*Wendy* (1974–75) . . . . . Misty Rowe  
*Trudy* (1974–75) . . . . . Tira Bell  
*Arnold (Masuo Takahashi)* 1975–76,  
 1982–83) . . . . . Pat Morita  
*Charles "Chachi" Arcola* (1977–84) . . . . . Scott Baio  
*Lori Beth Allen Cunningham* (1977–82) Lynda Goodfriend  
*Eugene Belvin* (1980–82) . . . . . Denis Mandel  
*Bobby* (1980–84) . . . . . Harris Kal  
*Jenny Piccalo* (1980–83) . . . . . Cathy Silvers  
*Roger Phillips* (1980–84) . . . . . Ted McGinley  
*Flip Phillips* (1982–83) . . . . . Billy Warlock  
*K.C. Cunningham* (1982–83) . . . . . Crystal Bernard  
*Ashley Pfister* (1982–83) . . . . . Linda Purl  
*Heather Pfister* (1982–83) . . . . . Heather O'Rourke  
*Officer Kirk* . . . . . Ed Peck

**PRODUCERS** Garry Marshall, Thomas Miller, Edward Milkis, Lowell Ganz, Brian Levant, Fred Fox Jr., Tony Marshall, Jerry Paris, William S. Bickley, Gary Menteer, Walter Kempley, Ronny Hallin

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

##### • ABC

256 Episodes	
January 1974–September 1983	Tuesday 8:00–8:30
September 1983–January 1984	Tuesday 8:30–9:00
April 1984–May 1984	Tuesday 8:30–9:00
June 1984–July 1984	Thursday 8:00–8:30

See also Comedy, Domestic Settings; *Laverne and Shirley*; Marshall, Garry

## HARDING, GILBERT

### British Television Personality

Gilbert Harding was an outspoken English panellist, quiz master and broadcaster, known as "the rudest man in Britain." A former teacher, police constable, and journalist, he began working with the BBC's Monitoring Service in 1939 as a sub-editor. In 1944, he went to Canada for three years to work with the BBC's Toronto office. On returning to Britain in 1947, he began making appearances as a question master in the popular BBC radio-panel game show *Round Britain Quiz*. He also introduced BBC radio's *The Brains Trust* and *Twenty Questions*. From 1951 he

became part of the post-war British way of life with his appearances as a grumpy panellist in the highly-successful, long-running television-panel game show *What's My Line?* Every week he entertained and shocked viewers with his intellect, sharp wit, and rudeness. He often bullied innocent guests if they gave evasive answers, or didn't speak perfect English. After one clash between Harding and chair Eamonn Andrews, the BBC received over 175 phone calls and 6 telegrams from viewers complaining about Harding's appalling behaviour. For over a decade, *What's My Line?* was



an institution on British television, and Harding became a national celebrity.

In 1960 Harding agreed to be interrogated by journalist John Freeman on a live television-interview programme called *Face to Face*. Harding was reduced to tears in front of millions of viewers when Freeman asked about the recent death of his mother. This was, in fact, a deliberate and tactless attempt to "out" him as gay at a time when homosexuality was still illegal in Britain. Harding admitted nothing, but clearly the interview was a distressing experience for him. He confessed on-screen that "my bad manners and bad temper are quite indefensible...I'm almost unfit to live with...I'm profoundly lonely...I should be very glad to be dead." John Freeman later admitted his lack of sensitivity but Harding died shortly after the programme's September transmission on 16 November 1960. He was 53.

Owen Spencer Thomas described him on BBC Radio London's *Gilbert Harding* in 1979 as "that enigmatic man...was bad tempered and rude, yet his friends counted him as one of the kindest, and most generous."

—Stephen Bourne

**GILBERT(CHARLES) HARDING.** Born in Hereford, Herefordshire, England, 5 June 1907. Attended Cambridge University. Taught English in Canada and France and worked as a police officer in Bradford, West Yorkshire, before settling in Cyprus as a teacher and *Times* correspondent; returned to England, in 1936, and joined the BBC monitoring service in 1939, through his skills as a linguist; subsequently worked for BBC, Toronto; overseas director, after World War II; host of and regular guest on radio and television panel shows, 1950s. Died 16 November 1960.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1951–60      *What's My Line?*

#### RADIO (as host)

*Round Britain Quiz*, *The Brains Trust*, *Twenty Questions*.

#### PUBLICATION

*Along My Line* (autobiography). London: Putnam, 1953.



*Gilbert Harding*

*Photo courtesy of the British Film Institute*

#### FURTHER READING

Howes, Keith. *Broadcasting It: An Encyclopaedia of Homosexuality on Film, Radio and TV in the UK 1923–1993*. London: Cassell, 1993.

Medhurst, Andy. "Every Wart and Pustule: Gilbert Harding and Television Stardom." In, Corner, John, editor. *Popular Television in Britain: Studies in Cultural History*. London: British Film Institute, 1991.

Rayburn, Wallace. *Gilbert Harding: A Candid Portrayal*. Brighton, England: Argus and Robertson, 1978.

## HARRIS, SUSAN

U.S. Writer/Producer

Watching television as she grew up in the 1950s in New York, Susan Harris concluded, as do many viewers, that "anybody could write this." Unlike most who make the claim, however, she persisted in preparing work for television, and by 1969 found a way to present it to the creator of *Then Came Bronson*, a short lived NBC series. The show needed a script and she sold one. In 1970 Garry Marshall brought her to the anthology series, *Love, American*

*Style* for which she wrote ten scripts. There she met Norman Lear and ended up writing scripts for his breakthrough series, *All in the Family*, taking her son with her to the story meetings. Following the Supreme Court's 1973 decision in *Roe v. Wade*, Lear decided to address the highly charged abortion issue in one of his television programs. Susan Harris wrote the script for "Maude's Abortion," a sensitive and sensible examination of a married couple's choices in light



of the court's decision. She received the Humanitas Award for her efforts. The Catholic Church, expectedly, disapproved of the story, not the last time Harris would hear from that institution.

During those years she met producers Paul Junger Witt and Tony Thomas and with them formed an independent television production company, Witt/Thomas/Harris, in 1976. For the new company Harris created and wrote *Fay*, starring Lee Grant, a series essentially canceled by NBC before it aired. (Grant described the NBC executives as the mad programmers.) Harris' next effort was no less controversial, but far more successful. In 1977 she was the sole writer of the series *Soap*, which was attacked by *Newsweek* magazine, Southern Baptists, and Roman Catholics, none of whom had seen it. The butler in *Soap* was spun off in a new series, *Benson* and Harris then went on to create and write *I'm A Big Girl Now*, *Hail to the Chief*, *Golden Girls*, *Empty Nest*, and *Good and Evil*. After retiring from television she commented in 1995 that her favorite series was *Soap*.

Harris recalled that on most of the shows with which she was associated before creating her own company, men were writing about women. *Maude*, she noted, had an all male staff. By the time she received the Emmy Award for *Golden Girls* in 1987 Harris had literally changed the face of television comedy. Her female characters were well defined and represented an array of personality types. Working alone, she sparked a revolution as a woman writing about women while providing insight into male personalities as well. On the cutting edge, she drew the wrath of self-styled moralists even as she used wit, satire and farce to provide a new kind of television.

In the past 20 years Witt/Thomas/Harris has grown to become the largest independent producer of television comedy in the United States. Married to her partner, Paul Witt, Susan Harris is now active in community projects and an avid art collector. Her future writing, she believes, will be in feature films.

—Robert S. Alley

**SUSAN HARRIS.** Born in Mount Vernon, New York, U.S.A. Married: Paul Junger Witt. Writer for various television series, from 1969; co-founder, Witt/Thomas/Harris TV production company, 1976; creator, writer, and producer, various TV series from 1977; assistant producer of film *Heart and Souls*, 1993. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1986–87.



Susan Harris

Photo courtesy of Witt/Thomas/Harris Productions

Address: Witt/Thomas/Harris Productions, Building 45, 4th Floor, 1438 North Gower Street, Los Angeles, California 90028, U.S.A..

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1969–79	<i>Then Came Bronson</i> (selection; writer)
1969–74	<i>Love, American Style</i>
1971–79	<i>All in the Family</i>
1977–81	<i>Soap</i>
1985–92	<i>The Golden Girls</i> (also creator and producer)
1988–95	<i>Empty Nest</i>
1991	<i>Good and Evil</i> (also creator and producer)
1991–94	<i>Nurses</i> (also creator and producer)
1992–93	<i>The Golden Palace</i> (also creator and producer)

See also *Soap*; Thomas, Tony; Witt, Paul Junger

## HAVE GUN, WILL TRAVEL

U.S. Western

**H**ave Gun, Will Travel transplanted the chivalric myth to television's post-Civil War West. The hit CBS series aired from 1957 to 1963 and was centered on Paladin, an educated knight-errant gunslinger who, upon payment of \$1,000, would leave his well-appointed suite in San

Francisco's Hotel Carlton to pursue whatever mission of mercy or justice a well-heeled client commissioned. Paladin was played by Richard Boone, an actor who had risen to TV fame in 1954 with his intense portrayal of Dr. Konrad Styner, the host/narrator of the reality-based hospital drama, *Medic*.

*Have Gun* was created by Sam Rolfe and Herb Meadow, two innovative ex-radio writers who had been tipped that CBS was in the market for a cowboy show with a "different" twist. They thereupon fashioned the first truly adult TV Western—a story centered on a cultured gunfighter who had named himself Paladin after the legendary officers of Charlemagne's medieval court. A gourmet and connoisseur of fine wine, fine women, and Ming Dynasty artifacts, Paladin would quote Keats, Shelley, and Shakespeare with the same self-assurance that he brought to the subjugation of frontier evildoers.

Because the concept revolved entirely around Paladin, its success hinged on the ability of the actor portraying him, in creator Rolfe's words, "play a high-I.Q. gunslinger and get away with it" (Edson, 1960). When Western movie icon Randolph Scott (the first choice for the role) was unavailable, the producers turned to Richard Boone who, they were overjoyed to find, actually could ride a horse. Boone's intimidating growl, prominent nose, and pock-marked visage physically distanced him from the standard fresh-faced cowboy hero in the same way that his character's cultured background distinguished him from those prairie-tutored rustics. After watching Paladin muse about Pliny and Aristotle, one television critic marveled, "Where else can you see a gun fight and absorb a classical education at the same time?" (Edson, 1960).

The show's identifying graphic was Paladin's calling card—bearing an image of the white knight chess piece and the inscription, "Have Gun, Will Travel . . . Wire Paladin, San Francisco." The responses that these cards generated were brought to Paladin by the show's only other continuing character—an Oriental hotel minion named Hey Boy (Hey Girl in 1960-61 when actress Lisa Lu temporarily replaced actor Kam Tong who had moved to another series). Without an ensemble cast, the entire weight of the series rested on Richard Boone's shoulders. Paladin's mannerisms and motivations had to be what propelled and interlocked the show's episodes from week to week and season to season.

A genuine descendent of Kentucky frontiersman Daniel Boone, method actor Richard successfully met this challenge both on-camera and off, directing several dozen of the later episodes himself. The sophisticated elegance of his character also brought him more loyal feminine fan mail than was received by any of his more photogenic cowboy contemporaries. The show's off-beat quality was further enhanced by its practice of using mainly new writers who had not been drilled in conventional saddlesoap story lines. *Have Gun* became an immediate hit, ranking among the top five shows in its first season and was the consistent number three program from 1958-61. But by early 1962, Boone was growing weary of the project and felt it had run its course. "Every time you go to the well, it's a little further down," he lamented. "It's sad, like seeing a (Sugar) Ray Robinson after his best days are past. You wish he wouldn't fight any more, and you could just keep your memories" (*Newsweek*, 1962).

*Have Gun's* distinctive inverting of the television horse opera provided many memories to keep. In virtually every



Have Gun, Will Travel

episode, Paladin would be seen in ruffled shirt, sipping a brandy or smoking a fifty-eight-cent cigar before or after embarking on his latest paid-in-advance assignment to the hinterland. Like Captain Marlowe from Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, he was always the brooding observer as well as the valiant, if somewhat vexed, participant. Unlike the archetypal Western hero, Paladin wore black rather than white, complete with an ebony hat embellished by a band of silver conches and a holster embossed with a silver chess knight. He sported a villain's mustache and wasn't enamored of his horse, declining even to justify its existence with an appealing name. And he seemed to relish the adventures of the mind—his chess matches and library—far more than the frontier confrontations from which he drew his livelihood.

As articulator of *Have Gun's* central premise, its theme song, *The Ballad of Paladin*, became a success in its own right. Sung by the aptly-named Johnny Western and written jointly by Western, Boone, and series creator Rolfe, the tune was a hit single in the early 1960s. The first words of the lyric encapsulated both the show's motivating graphic and the chivalric roots of its central character:

*Have gun, will travel* reads the card of a man,  
A knight without armor in a savage land.

Occasionally, this unshielded self-sufficiency would cause Paladin (again like Conrad's Marlowe) to turn on his employers when he determined them to be the unjust party. For a nation that, in 1957, was just becoming politically aware of cowering conformity's injustices, this may have been *Have Gun's* most potent, if most understated, element.

—Peter B. Orlick

#### CAST

*Paladin* . . . . . Richard Boone  
*Hey Boy* (1957–60; 1961–63) . . . . . Kam Tong  
*Hey Girl* (1960–61) . . . . . Lisa Lu

**PRODUCERS** Frank Pierson, Don Ingalls, Robert Sparks, Julian Claman

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 156 Episodes

• CBS

September 1957–September 1963 Saturday 9:30–10:00

## HAZEL

U.S. Situation Comedy

**H**azel, starring Shirley Booth as Hazel Burke, the live-in housekeeper of the Baxter family, premiered on NBC in 1961. For the program's first four seasons, Hazel worked for lawyer George Baxter, his wife, Dorothy, and their son, Harold. In the fifth and final season, Hazel began to work for George's brother and his family (George and Dorothy were "transferred" to the Middle East for George's work), taking Harold with her from one household to another and from NBC to CBS.

Critics generally found *Hazel* mildly amusing, though they complained that it was often contrived and repetitive. Despite the mixed reviews, the program made it in the top 25 for the first three years of its five-year run. It ranked number 4 in 1961–62; number 15 in 1962–63; and number 22 in 1963–64. It also held some value with at least a few network producers in that after NBC dropped the show, CBS quickly picked it up. Perhaps CBS was relying too much on the capabilities of stage actress, Shirley Booth. Nevertheless, *Hazel* held the attention of the American public.

Based upon the popular *Saturday Evening Post* cartoon strip, *Hazel* presents stories of Hazel's humorous involvement in both the professional and household business of George Baxter. In the television version, Hazel becomes the figure that, though seemingly innocuous, ultimately holds the household together: the servant, though in a marginalized position, is at the same time, central to marking the well-being of the nuclear family. George, the father figure, competes with Hazel, who often ending up being "right." And Dorothy, described by one critic as "dressing like and striking the poses of a high fashion model," follows

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See also Boone, Richard; Westerns

in the tradition of glamorous TV moms whose work often gets done by the maid. Also keeping with television tradition is Harold, who plays the part of the "All-American" kid. Completing this family portrait is Hazel. She is characterized as "meddling" and as causing "misadventures" in her attempts to run the household but ultimately it is her job to keep order—both literal and ideological—in the house.

Following in the footsteps of *Leave It to Beaver* and *Father Knows Best*, *Hazel* also proffers an American tale of the suburban family. Furthermore, in the decade in which the most American families brought televisions into their homes, perhaps *Hazel* brought a sense of stability and appeasement, for this was also a decade of great civil and women's rights advancements.

Throughout television history (as well as the history of film), the representation of the American family is often made "complete" by the presence of the family housekeeper figure. Generally, the "American" family is specifically white American, although a few exceptions have existed such as *The Jeffersons* and *Fresh Prince of Bel Air*, in which African American families employ an African American maid and an African American butler, respectively. For the most part, however, "family" has been portrayed as white and therefore the ideology of the family has also been in terms of dominant, white social values. The presence of a household servant therefore, serves to reinforce the status (i.e., both economic and racial) of the family within society.

The significance of *Hazel*, then, is that it stands in a long history of television programs focused on American families and including their household servants. Beulah in



Hazel

Photo courtesy of API World Wide Photos

*Beulah*, Mrs. Livingston in *The Courtship of Eddie's Father*, Hop Sing in *Bonanza*, Florida in *Maude*, Alice in *The Brady Bunch*, Nell in *Gimme a Break*, Mr. Belvedere in *Mr. Belvedere*, Dora in *I Married Dora*, and Tony in *Who's the Boss?* are all characters who occupy the servant's role. Differences in connotation among the various television servants serves to mark the status of the family for whom they work. More specifically, there are differences between a British butler and an Oriental houseboy, between a Euro-American nanny and a woman of color working as a domestic, marking subtle lines of hierarchy within the family and ultimately, within the larger community. *Hazel* is yet another program in which the household servant demarcates the different roles played within the family according to such factors as gender, age, race, and class.

A current popular program, *The Nanny*, continues this tradition. Here a Jewish American woman works for a wealthy British man and his three children. Unlike maids of color or white maids who are older than their employers, this household servant is portrayed as fashionable, attractive

(though still a bit loud), and more significantly, as a potential mate for her employer. It will be interesting to observe and analyze the continuing representation of servants in American television, because, although shifting in form and style, the servant continues to mark the status of a house and the roles of the people working and living under its roof.

—Lahn S. Kim

#### CAST

<i>Hazel Burke</i>	Shirley Booth
<i>George Baxter</i> (1961–65)	Don DeFore
<i>Dorothy Baxter</i> (1961–65)	Whitney Blake
<i>Rosie</i>	Maudie Prickett
<i>Harvey Griffin</i>	Howard Smith
<i>Harold Baxter</i>	Bobby Buntrock
<i>Harriet Johnson</i> (1961–65)	Norma Varden
<i>Herbert Johnson</i> (1961–65)	Donald Foster
<i>Deidre Thompson</i> (1961–65)	Cathy Lewis
<i>Harry Thompson</i> (1961–65)	Robert P. Lieb
<i>Mona Williams</i> (1965–66)	Mala Powers

*Millie Ballard* (1965–1966) . . . . . Ann Jillian  
*Steve Baxter* (1965–1966) . . . . . Ray Fulmer  
*Barbara Baxter* (1965–1966) . . . . . Lynn Borden  
*Susie Baxter* (1965–1966) . . . . . Julia Benjamin

**PRODUCERS** Harry Ackerman, James Fonda

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 154 Episodes

• NBC

September 1961–July 1964 Thursday 9:30-10:00

September 1964–September 1965 Thursday 9:30-10:00

• CBS

September 1965–September 1966 Monday 9:30-10:00

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"It's Good-By, Mr. B. . . . As Hazel Adopts a new Family." *TV Guide* (Radnor, Pennsylvania), 14 August 1965.

## HEARTBREAK HIGH

### Australian Drama Series

**H**earbreak High is a new Australian drama series, aired on the Ten Network in Australia from 1994. It has also appeared on television systems in eleven other countries around the world, including Britain, France, Germany, the Scandinavian countries, South Africa, Indonesia, and Israel. Over a short time, the series has become highly successful, particularly in Europe.

*Heartbreak High* is notable for breaking with the established formula for successful Australian audiovisual exports. Unlike feature films such as *The Man from Snowy River* and *Crocodile Dundee*, or television dramas such as *A Country Practice* and *Neighbours*, the series does not work the themes of a perceived Australian innocence and harmonious community. It has emerged from an early 1990s development in Australian film and television which presents a grittier, urban, multicultural picture of contemporary Australian life.

The series is a television spin-off of the feature film *The Heartbreak Kid* (1993) by the same production company (Ben Gannon Productions). Like *The Heartbreak Kid*, *Heartbreak High* is set in an ethnically diverse inner city high school and thematises the pleasures and problems of young people growing up in such an environment. It is the first Australian television drama to make a central feature of multiculturalism and so extend to television a trend developed in films such as *Death in Brunswick*, *The Big Steal*, *Strictly Ballroom*, as well as *The Heartbreak Kid*.

Set in Hartley High, a fictional school in suburban Sydney, *Heartbreak High* interweaves narratives based on teen romance, conflicts of young people with teachers and parents, and social problems such as racism, teenage pregnancy, alcohol abuse, gay bashing, and abortion. A key character in early episodes is Nick (Alex Dimitriades), an impulsive teenage "heart-throb" from a Greek family background. Nick is a central romantic interest but he must also come to terms with problems such as grief over the loss of his mother in a car accident.

Other major characters are Jodie (Abi Tucker), who comes from a broken home, and is a talented singer and is ambitious to develop a career in the music industry; Rivers (Scott Major),

a "disruptive," anti-authority figure among the students; Con (Salvatore Coco), a "joker" who provides a comic focus; Steve (Corey Page), who finds that he has been adopted and sets out to find his birth mother; and Danielle (Emma Roche) who has an affair with Nick after he breaks up from a longer relationship with Jodie. Among the teachers, the key characters are Yola Futoush (Doris Younane), the school counselor, who has close involvement in helping the students overcome problems; and Bill Southgate (Tony Martin), a conservative authoritarian figure against whom the students rebel. In the second block of episodes, they are joined by Vic (Ernie Dingo), an Aboriginal teacher in media studies. Popular with the students, he teaches them about more than the content of the official curriculum.

Stylistically, *Heartbreak High* is a fast-paced, realist drama which employs naturalistic dialogue. While teenage romance is an important narrative element, it is structured into rapid sequences and frequently intercut with "harder" content which maintains a strong sense of immediacy and action. Similarly, the series' emphasis on contemporaneity and relevance to a youth audience is rarely openly stated or didactic. Its topicality rests more on capturing the texture of life of young people than a fictionalization of issues taken directly from news or current affairs.

In its rhythm and editing techniques, *Heartbreak High* takes its reference from American-produced action or situation comedy, while at the same time taking on more "serious" content generally associated with the slower-paced genres of British or more traditional Australian television drama. It might therefore be seen as a "hybrid" televisual product which has achieved commercial success while presenting a picture of an urban, multicultural Australia which has not previously had widespread international distribution.

—Mark Gibson

#### CAST

*Ruby* . . . . . Jan Adele  
*Graham* . . . . . Hugh Baldwin  
*Lucy* . . . . . Alexandra Brunning  
*Effie* . . . . . Despina Caldis



Heartbreak High  
Photo courtesy of Channel 10

Con	Salvadore Coco
Nick	Alex Dimitriadis
Helen	Barbara Gouskos
Chaka	Isabella Gutierrez
Rose	Katherine Halliday
Roberto	Ivor Kants
Christina Milano	Sarah Lambert
George	Nick Lathouris
Rivers	Scott Major
Southgate	Tony Martin
Jack	Tai Nguyen
Katerina	Ada Nicademou
Deloraine	Stephen O' Rourke
Steve	Corey Page
Matt	Vince Poletto
Danielle	Emma Roche
Stella	Peta Toppiano

Jodie	Abi Tucker
Irini	Elly Varrenti
Sam	Kym Wilson
Yola	Doris Younane
Vic	Ernie Dingo

**PRODUCERS** Ben Gannon, Michael Jenkins

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

##### • Ten Network

February 1994–May 1994	Sunday 6:30–7:30
June 1994–November 1994	Wednesday 7:30–8:30
May 1995–November 1995	Sunday 5:30–6:30

See also Australian Production Companies; Australian Programming; Dingo, Ernie

## HEMSLEY, SHERMAN

### U.S. Actor

African-American actor Sherman Hemsley is recognized mainly for his portrayal of the feisty George Jefferson character in the hit television show *The Jeffersons*, a program he starred in for ten years. Earlier in his life, he aspired to be an actor, but was too level-headed to quit his job as a postal worker to pursue his craft exclusively. Holding onto his job, he managed to maintain affiliations with local dramatic organizations, appearing in various children's theatre productions. Eventually, Hemsley obtained a transfer to a position with the post office in New

York. Here, he became a member of the famed Negro Ensemble Company. He began taking acting lessons, but was becoming discouraged at his lack of progress. In 1969, however, he earned the plum role of "Gitlow" in the highly successful, musical version of *Purlie Victorious*.

In 1973 Hemsley was "Cat" in the successful stage play *Don't Bother Me I Can't Cope*. It was during the run of this show that he was "discovered" by independent producer Norman Lear. Lear, along with his collaborator Bud Yorkin, produced a string of hit television shows during the 1970s,



including *Maude*, *Good Times*, and 1970s television's most notable sitcom, *All in the Family*.

In 1973, Lear cast Hemsley to play the part of Archie Bunker's upwardly mobile, and militantly black neighbor, George Jefferson. The response to this character was so favorable that two years later, Hemsley was cast in the spin-off series *The Jeffersons*. *The Jeffersons* became a top-rated television program which aired on prime-time television for ten years. The program focused on the lives of a successful African-American couple, George and Louise Jefferson. George Jefferson was a thriving businessman, a millionaire and owner of seven dry cleaning stores. He lived with his wife in a ritzy penthouse apartment on Manhattan's fashionable and moneyed East Side.

The George Jefferson character was conceptualized as a black equivalent of Archie Bunker. George was intolerant, rude, and stubborn; he referred to white people as "honkies." He was a short, mean, bigoted popinjay who balked at manners. Louise, his long-suffering wife, spent most of her time apologizing for her husband's behavior. Florence, the housekeeper and maid, contributed a great deal of comic relief with her continuous put-downs of George. She was not afraid of his angry outbursts; in fact she had little regard for him or his tirades. She referred to him as "Shorty", and never missed a chance to put George in his place.

*The Jeffersons* was one of three highly successful television sitcoms featuring African Americans in starring roles, in a mostly-black cast program—the first since *Amos 'n' Andy*; it was the first television program to feature an interracial married couple; it offered an uncommon, although comic, portrayal of a successful African-American family.

Hemsley as a person is quite unlike the high-strung character he has popularized on television. He is a private individual who has managed, even with success, to keep his life away from the glare of public scrutiny. During the height of *The Jeffersons* popularity, he spoke of his sudden fame, simply stating that he was, "just getting paid for what I did for free in Philadelphia."

When *The Jeffersons* was canceled in 1985, Hemsley went on to star in the 1986 sitcom *Amen*. In typical Hemsley style he portrayed a feisty Philadelphia church deacon, Ernest Frye. Like George Jefferson, the Frye character was loud, brash and conceited. *Amen* lasted five years on prime-time television and Hemsley's career continues to flourish. He has appeared as an occasional character or guest in several television programs, including the long-running *Family Matters*.

Although known mostly for his television work, Hemsley's acting credits include the motion picture *Love at First Bite* (1979) and the made-for-TV version of *Purlie* (1981). Years after its cancellation *The Jeffersons* still enjoys success in syndication.

—Pamala S. Deane



Sherman Hemsley

Photo courtesy of Sherman Hemsley

Academy of Dramatic Arts; studied with Lloyd Richards in New York. Served in the U.S. Air Force. Worked eight years for the U.S. Postal Service; active in the advanced workshop Negro Ensemble Company, New York City; appeared in various stage productions; starred in local television comedy series *Black Book*, Philadelphia; Broadway debut in *Purlie*, 1970; star, several television series, and motion pictures, since 1979; owner, Love Is, Inc., production company. Member: Screen Actors Guild; Actors' Equity Association; American Federation of Television and Radio Artists; Vinnette Carroll's Urban Arts Corps. Recipient: NAACP Image Award, 1976 and 1987; Golden Globe Award. Address: c/o Kenny Johnston, 6290 Sunset Boulevard, Suite 403, Hollywood, California 90028, U.S.A.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1973–75	<i>All in the Family</i>
1975–85	<i>The Jeffersons</i>
1986–91	<i>Amen</i>
1991–94	<i>Dinosaurs</i> (voice)
1996–	<i>Goode Behavior</i>

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

1981	<i>Purlie</i>
1985	<i>Alice in Wonderland</i>

#### FILMS

*Love at First Bite*, 1979; *Stewardess School*, 1987; *Ghost Fever*, 1987.

SHERMAN HEMSLEY. Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., 1 February 1938. Educated at the Philadelphia

**STAGE** (selection)

*The People vs. Ranchman*, 1968; *Alice and Wonderland*, 1969; *Purlie Victorious*, 1970; *Don't Bother Me, I Can't Cope*,

1973; *I'm Not Rappaport*, 1987.

See also *All in the Family*; *Amen*; *Jeffersons*

## HENNING, PAUL

U.S. Producer

Throughout the 1960s, Paul Henning was the creative mastermind behind three of the most successful sitcoms then on television: *The Beverly Hillbillies* (1962), *Petticoat Junction* (1963), and *Green Acres* (1965)—all of which were narratively interthreaded, and the first of which was perhaps the most successful network series ever. A perpetual Midwesterner who spent 30 years in Hollywood in both radio and television, his basic country mouse/city mouse formula never veered far from his rural roots. Once those roots were deemed passe by the demographics avatars, his exile from television was both sudden and emphatic.

When a radio spec script Henning had written on a whim was accepted by *Fibber McGee and Molly*, he began a 15-year career as a series staff writer, culminating with *Burns and Allen* on radio and then television, where he became a protege of future *Tonight Show* director Fred de Cordova. On TV, he launched both *The Bob Cummings Show* (1955–59, all three networks), wherein a pre-*Dobie Gillis* Dwayne Hickman assimilates the Southern California decadence of his starlet-addled bachelor uncle through a filter of Midwestern verities.

But it was *The Beverly Hillbillies* (1962–71, CBS) with which he made both his name and fortune. Equal parts Steinbeck and absurdism, the *nouveau riche*-out-of-water Clampetts populated the top-rated program of their premier season, remained in the top ten throughout the rest of the decade, and had regular weekly episode ratings which rivaled those of Super Bowls.

The Clampett clan initially hailed from an indeterminate backwoods locale somewhere along (in author David Marc's words) "the fertile crescent that stretches from Hooterville to Pixley and represents Henning's sitcom Yoknapatawpha." As explained in the opening montage and theme song, Lincoln-esque patriarch Jed (Buddy Ebsen) inadvertently stumbles onto an oil fortune languishing just beneath his worthless tract of scrub oak and brambles, and pursues his destiny westward to swank Beverly Hills, in the interest of suitable escorts for daughter Elly May (Donna Douglas) and employment prospects for wayward nephew Jethro (Max Baer, Jr.). In tow (in a sight gag from *The Grapes of Wrath*, no less) is Granny (Irene Ryan), carried out to the truck at the last second in her favorite rocker. In this way, the Clampetts inadvertently echoed the fascination of a rural population newly wired for television with the purveyors of TV's content—at least partially accounting for their corresponding popularity.

Meanwhile, Henning quickly moved to fashion several spinoffs with characters in common. *Petticoat Junction*

(1963–70, CBS) featured long-time Henning player Bea Benaderet as Kate Bradley, proprietress of the Shady Grove Hotel, a homey inn situated along a railroad spur between Hooterville and Pixley, with her three growing daughters providing ample latitude for farmer's daughter jokes. The show was canceled in 1970 following Benaderet's death.

Then into this homespun idyll, Henning dropped *Green Acres* (1965–71, CBS), a flat-out assault on Cartesian logic, Newtonian physics, and Harvard-centrist positivism. Lawyer Oliver Wendell Douglas (Eddie Albert) and his socialite wife Lisa (Eva Gabor) come to Hooterville in search of the greening of America and a lofty Jeffersonian idealism. What they discover instead is a virtual parallel universe of unfettered surrealism, rife with gifted pigs, square chicken eggs, and abiogenetic hotcakes—a universe which Lisa intuits immediately, and by which Oliver is constantly bewildered.



Paul Henning

Photo courtesy of Paul Henning



In their later stages, these three worlds were increasingly interwoven, so that by the time of the holiday episodes where the arriviste Clampetts return to Hooterville to visit kith and kin, including the laconic Bradleys, and intersect with the proto-revisionist Douglasses—using Sam Drucker's General Store as their narrative spindle—television had perhaps reached its self-reflexive pinnacle.

Despite high ratings, both *The Beverly Hillbillies* and *Green Acres* were canceled in 1971 by CBS President James Aubrey (once nicknamed "the smiling cobra") in the same purge which claimed *Mayberry RFD*, and shows starring Jackie Gleason, and Red Skelton (despite a final season on NBC). The push to cultivate a consumer base of advertising-friendly 18- to 34-year-olds was the same one which ushered in *M\*A\*S\*H*, *All in the Family*, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, and, ostensibly, political conscience.

Yet, viewed in retrospect, such shows perhaps perfectly mirrored the times. A pervasive argument against television has always been that its hermetic nature removes it from a social context: Idealized heroes or families and their better mousetrap worlds seem all but impervious to the greater ills of the day. Nowhere is this more evident or egregious (so the argument goes) than in 1960s sitcoms, where a watershed decade elicited programming which seemed downright extraordinary in its mindlessness. But who better than garrulous nags, crusty aliens, maternal jalopies, suburban witches, subservient genies, gay Marines or bungling Nazis to dramatize the rend in the social fabric, or typify the contradictions of the age? If so, no one was more adept at manipulating this conceit—nor pushed the envelope of casual surrealism further—than Henning. Not for nothing did button-down visionary Oliver Douglas, whose plans for Cornell School of Agriculture were dashed by his father's insistence on a Harvard Law degree, lose his first law office job for growing mushrooms in his desk drawer.

Special "Return of" TV movies were created for both *The Beverly Hillbillies* (1981) and *Green Acres* (1990), and a *Beverly Hillbillies* feature film followed in 1992, but none of these, charitably speaking, managed to rise to the challenge.

—Paul Cullum

## HENNOCK, FRIEDA BARKIN

U.S. Attorney/Media Regulator

Frieda Barkin Hennock served as a Federal Communications Commissioner from 1948 to 1955. Appointed by President Harry S Truman, she was the first woman to serve as a commissioner on the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). In this position she was instrumental in securing the reservation of channels for non-commercial television stations, an FCC decision that enabled the devel-

PAUL HENNING. Born in Independence, Missouri, U.S.A., 16 September 1911. Graduated Kansas City School of Law, 1932. Married: Ruth Margaret Barth, 1939, children: Carol Alice, Linda Kay, Paul Anthony. Began career as staff member at radio station KMBC Kansas City, 1933–37; writer and co-writer of radio programs 1937–50; writer-producer of television programs 1950–71; writer of feature films, 1961–88.

### TELEVISION (writer)

1950–58 *The George Burns and Gracie Allen Show*  
 1952 *The Dennis Day Show*  
 1953 *The Ray Bolger Show*  
 1955–59 *The Bob Cummings Show* (also producer)  
 1962–71 *The Beverly Hillbillies* (also creator and producer)  
 1963–70 *Petticoat Junction* (creator and producer)  
 1965–71 *Green Acres* (executive producer)

### FILMS (writer)

*Lover Come Back*, 1961; *Bedtime Story*, 1962; *Dirty Rotten Scoundrels* (co-writer), 1988.

### RADIO

*Fibber McGee and Molly* (writer), 1937–39; *The Joe E. Brown Show*, 1939; *The Rudy Vallee Show*, 1940–51; *The Burns and Allen Show* (writer).

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See also *Beverly Hillbillies*, Comedy, Domestic Settings; *Green Acres*

opment of the system of public broadcasting that exists in the United States today.

Before her nomination to serve on the FCC, Hennock had been practicing law in New York City. She had, as she told the Senate Committee during her confirmation hearings, no experience in broadcasting other than using radio to raise money for the political campaigns of Franklin

Roosevelt and other Democratic candidates. After her confirmation in 1948, she quickly began to study the technical questions and policy issues facing the FCC, issues that would shape the future of the broadcast industry. Several systems for broadcasting color television were vying for FCC approval. Plans to use UHF frequencies were under discussion. Interference was being reported between signals from the sixteen television stations already on the air. It was clear that more formal allocation plans were needed to assure that all parts of the country would have access to television broadcasts. To allow time to study these issues and others, the FCC announced a freeze on awarding television licenses.

In addition to the technical issues she faced as a commissioner, Hennock became convinced that television had the power to serve as an important educational tool. As the proposed table of television channel assignments was developed during the freeze, however, there were no reservations for educational stations. Hennock was determined that the opportunity to use television for educating the audience not be lost. She wrote a strong dissenting opinion and became an outspoken advocate for channel set-asides.

Anticipating that commercial interests would quickly file for all the available television licenses, Hennock understood the need to alert the public. She consulted with members of the Institute for Education by Radio and the National Association of Educational Broadcasters. She accepted invitations to speak to many civic groups and wrote articles for *The Saturday Review of Literature* and other publications. After she appeared on radio and television programs to discuss the importance of using television for educational purposes, listeners and readers responded with a flood of letters supporting her position. Educators formed the Joint Committee on Education Television and prepared to testify at the FCC hearings.

Hearings on the television allocation plan were held in the fall of 1950. Commercial broadcasters testified that reservations for non-commercial stations were not needed because their programs served the educational needs of the audience. Educators produced the results of studies monitoring those programs. The studies found few programs that could be considered educational except in superficial ways.

Hennock was able to use these monitoring studies and other evidence presented during the hearings to build a strong case for channel reservations. When the FCC published its notice of rule making in March 1951, it included channel reservations for education. Still, it was not clear that these were to be permanent. Hennock wrote a separate opinion urging that reservations for non-commercial stations should be permanent.

In June 1951, President Truman nominated Hennock for a federal judgeship in New York. The nomination proved to be controversial. In spite of strong support from her fellow FCC commissioners and several bar associations, confirmation by the Senate seemed unlikely and Hennock asked that her name be withdrawn.



*Frieda B. Hennock*

*Photo courtesy of the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College*

Back at the FCC, Hennock renewed her commitment to educational television. When the FCC issued the Sixth Report and Order in April 1952, the allocation plan included 242 specific channel reservations for non-commercial stations. Hennock encouraged universities and communities to apply for these non-commercial licenses. She provided guidance on procedural matters, suggested ways to gain the support of community leaders and organizations, and enlisted the cooperation of corporations in providing grants to help these new stations buy equipment. Her belief in educational broadcasting was being realized. In June 1953, the first educational television station began to broadcast. KUHT-TV in Houston, Texas, invited Hennock to speak during its inaugural program. By mid-1955, twelve educational stations were on the air and over fifty applications for non-commercial licenses had been filed.

Hennock was not surprised when her term as FCC commissioner was not renewed. Many of the positions she had taken were unpopular with powerful broadcasters. An outspoken critic of the practices of commercial networks, she criticized violence in television programming and warned about the growth of monopolies in the broadcast

industry. She wrote many dissenting opinions questioning FCC actions. But as her assistant Stanley Neustadt told oral historian Jim Robertson, when she took a position on an issue "she was ultimately—sometimes long after she left the Commission—ultimately shown to be right." At the end of her term as FCC commissioner, Hennock returned to private life and private law practice.

—Lucy A. Liggett

**FRIEDA BARKIN HENNOCK.** Born in Kovel, Poland, 27 December 1904. Educated at Brooklyn Law School, LL.B. 1924. Self-employed criminal lawyer, 1926–27; corporate lawyer, law firm of Silver and Hennock, 1927–34; independent lawyer and assistant counsel of the New York State Mortgage Commission, 1935–39; lawyer for Choate, Mitchell and Eli, 1941–48; served as first woman member of the Federal Communications Commission, 1948–1955; private practitioner in Washington, D.C., 1955–1960. Died 20 June 1960.

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See also Allocation; Federal Communications Commission; Educational Television; National Education Television

## HENRY, LENNY

British Comedian/Actor

In 1976, at the age of sixteen, Lenny Henry won the British television talent show *New Faces*, as a comic and impressionist, and he became one of Britain's best-known personalities. The transitions in his career are indicative both of his personal development and of the changing cultural climate in Britain over the past two decades. Henry began with stand-up comedy which often included racist jokes and impressions. Managed by Robert Luff, he entered the British variety circuit, touring with *The Black and White Minstrel Show* and the comedy duo *Cannon and Ball*. Although this was good show business experience, the press tended to focus more on the "novelty-value" of Henry's blackness rather than on his actual stage performances.

In 1976, Henry was offered a part in *The Fosters* (LWT 1976–77), British television's first black television situation

comedy. Working alongside established black actors such as Norman Beaton, Carmen Munroe and Isabelle Lucas, Henry learned more about acting and the dynamics of television. When Henry began to make regular appearances on the Saturday morning children's programme *Tiswas* and its adult equivalent *OTT (Over the Top)*, his anarchic, irreverent style of comedy gained popularity. Henry was recruited by BBC producer Paul Jackson, for a prime-time sketch show *Three of a Kind* (1981–83) in which he appeared with Tracey Ullman and David Copperfield.

By the 1980s, Henry's gift for creating comic characters and witty vignettes of West Indian life in Britain, was firmly established. The nuances of his comedy were gradually changing from straight jokes and blatant impressions to more farcical and chaotic comedy. This was partly influenced by other young rising comics of the time such

as Alexei Sayle, Adrian Edmondson, Rik Mayall, and Dawn French. At this time, however, Henry was best known for his caricatures such as the African television host Josh Arlog, the cartoonish Rastafarian Algernon, and black politician Fred Dread, all with widely-imitated catch phrases. Many of Henry's character creations caused controversy and raised the question of whether Henry, as a black comedian, was actually reinforcing already-existing stereotypes of black people. Henry admits that some of the material he was doing at the time "was very self-deprecating, very self-detrimental."

Henry created a myriad of familiar caricatures but the most popular one earned him his own series, *The Lenny Henry Show* (BBCTV 1984–88). Set in a pirate radio station, the series featured Delbert Wilkins, a Brixton wide-boy, a character created at the same time as the real-life Brixton riots. Henry was influenced by comedians from the United States such as Richard Pryor, Steve Martin and Bill Cosby, and became the first British comedian to make a live stand-up comic film, *Lenny Henry Live and Unleashed* (1989), in the tradition of U.S. comics such as Robin Williams and Eddie Murphy. His live tours are renowned for being chaotic, noisy, and daring, but also for relying on the same collective of characters such as the extravagant soul singer Theophilus P. Wildebeeste and the old West Indian man Grandpa Deakus.

By the late 1980s, Lenny Henry began to broaden his repertoire even further. He became increasingly interested in "serious" acting roles and starred in the BBC's Screen Two production *Coast to Coast*. In 1990, he was signed by Disney on a three-film deal, the first of which was *True Identity* (1991), a comic-drama about mistaken identity. Later that year, Henry starred in *Alive and Kicking*, a BBC drama in which he played a drug dealer alongside Robbie Coltrane as a drug councillor. The film was awarded the Monaco Red Cross and the Golden Nymph Award at the Monte Carlo Television Festival in February 1992.

Henry has extended his ambition to other areas, including his own production company, Crucial Films. The company was established to launch film and comedy projects, but to particularly encourage black performers and film practitioners. He initiated "Step Forward" comedy-writing workshops in conjunction with the BBC, which led to the comedy series *The Real McCoy*, consisting of selections of sketches and songs and stand-up comedy from a black perspective. Crucial Films also led to a series of ten-minute dramas entitled *Funky Black Shorts*.

Henry's 1990s television appearance has been in *Chef!* in which he plays the erratic Head Chef Gareth Blackstone. The series has been highly critically acclaimed for its production values, its comic-drama scripts and its lead performances. Most of all, perhaps, the series is a landmark

programme in the sense that Henry plays a character who just happens to be black; the fact of his blackness does not limit the narrative or the audience the series reaches.

Since the mid-1970s, Lenny Henry has risen from being a talent show hopeful to being the most popular black British light entertainer. He has won numerous awards including the Radio and Television Industry Club Award for BBC Personality of the Year in 1993. Although Henry does not see himself as a specifically black comedian, he does believe that being black enriches his work. The development in his work and the breadth of his appeal signifies the different contexts within which he has managed to sustain his popularity and credibility as one of the key players in British comedy.

—Sarita Malik

**LENNY (LENWORTH GEORGE) HENRY.** Born in Dudley, England, 29 August 1958. Attended Bluecoat Secondary Modern School; W. R. Tewson School; Preston College. Married: Dawn French, 1984; child: Billie. Made television debut on *New Faces* at the age of 16, 1975; subsequently established reputation as popular stand-up comedian and as character comedy actor; head of Crucial Films independent production company. Address: James Sharkey Associates, 3rd Floor Suite, 15 Golden Square, London W1R 3AG, England.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1975	<i>Tiswas</i>
1976–77	<i>The Fosters</i>
1981–83	<i>Three of a Kind</i>
1982	<i>OTT</i>
1984, 1985, 1987, 1988,	
1995	<i>The Lenny Henry Show</i>
1986	<i>Lenny Henry Tonight</i>
1992, 1994	<i>Chef!</i>

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES (selection)

1984	<i>Coast to Coast</i>
1990	<i>Alive and Kicking</i>

#### FILMS

*The Millionaires' Club*, *The Secret Policeman's Third Ball*, 1987; *Lenny Henry Live and Unleashed*, 1989; *Double Take*, 1984; *Work Experience*, 1989; *True Identity*, 1990; *Quest for the Big Woof*; *Charlie and the Big Chill*.

#### RECORDING

*Stand Up, Get Down.*

See also Beaton, Norman; Munroe, Carmen

## HENSON, JIM

U.S. Muppeteer-Producer

Jim Henson's most significant contribution to television culture was his imaginative ability. His creative talents are responsible for perhaps the most recognizable and beloved television characters of all time—the puppet/marionette hybrids better known as the Muppets. For over three decades, the Muppets have entertained children and adults in myriad pop culture arenas; however, they are most associated with the television legacy known as *Sesame Street*.

As an adolescent, Henson was fascinated with television. His desire to work for the blossoming industry was inadvertently realized through the craft he considered merely a hobby—puppetry. His first puppet creations premiered on a local television station, an NBC affiliate in Maryland, which picked up Henson's five-minute puppet show and ran it prior to *The Huntley-Brinkley Report* and *The Tonight Show*. This exposure proved to be a tremendous opportunity.

Jim Henson developed an innovative art-form which was perfectly suited for television. His Muppets (some say this name is a combination of m(arionette) + (p)uppet) were ideal for the new medium because they perpetuated its "seamlessness." Muppets are stringless (unlike marionettes) and appear to move on their own (unlike traditional hand-puppets). This characteristic of "realness" made the Muppets readily accepted by the television audience.

*Sam and Friends*, Henson's first network program, aired for several years. The Muppets amassed a loyal following by appearing in commercials and performing in popular venues such as *The Ed Sullivan Show*. However, it was the character of Rowlf the Dog (a regular on *The Jimmy Dean Show*) which propelled the popular fascination with Henson's creations.

It was not until 1969 (and the commencement of a public television experiment called *Sesame Street*) that Jim Henson and his Muppets became a household word. *Sesame Street* was the brainchild of Joan Ganz Cooney. Frustrated by the lack of quality children's programming, Cooney proposed a television program especially for pre-schoolers which would incorporate the stylistic devices of advertisements (jingles, etc.) to sell learning. Although *Sesame Street* was designed for all pre-school children, it was particularly targeted at inner-city youths. In many ways the program symbolized the idea of a televisual panacea, an entertainment offering with an educational and pro-social agenda.

It was Jon Stone, the first head writer for *Sesame Street*, who suggested Henson's Muppets for the project and it has been suggested that if there were no Muppets, there would be no *Sesame Street*. The Muppets are largely responsible for the colossal success of this program. In skits, songs, and other performances they epitomized the social skills fundamental to *Sesame Street*'s mission—cooperation, understanding, tolerance and respect.

Henson's Muppets were abstractions—most were animals, some were humans, and others a combination of both, all of different sizes, shapes and colors. Their appearances were

foreign, but their personalities were very familiar. Each member of the *Sesame Street* ensemble personified characteristics inherent in pre-schoolers. Through Ernie's whimsy, Big Bird's curiosity, Oscar's grouchiness, Grover's timidity, or the Cookie Monster's voracity, children experienced an emotional camaraderie. However, Kermit-the-Frog (often referred to as Jim Henson's alter ego) is the Muppet most representative of the human spirit. Kermit's simple reflections often echo the philosophical complexities of everyday life.

Jim Henson's Muppets are a global phenomenon. The internationalization of *Sesame Street* is indicative of their cross-cultural appeal. *Sesame Street* is an anomaly within the realm of children's television and the unique qualities of the Muppets are somewhat responsible for this distinction.

Still, the immediate success of *Sesame Street* was a bitter-sweet experience for Henson. He felt stymied that the Muppets were branded "children's entertainment." He knew the wit and charm of the Muppets transcended all questions of age. In 1976, owing much to the implementation of the Financial Interest and Syndication (Fin-Sin) Rules, *The Muppet Show* began, and offered a venue more in keeping with Henson's larger vision for his creations. The Fin-Sin Rules opened time slots in local television markets for non-network programming. Henson quickly took advantage of this need for syndicated



Jim Henson

programming with his new production. The half-hour variety program featured celebrity guests who participated in the Muppet antics. *The Muppet Show* was hosted by Kermit-the-Frog, the only *Sesame Street* character permitted to cross genre boundaries (except for guest appearances and/or film cameos). The series spawned a new generation of characters for its predominantly adult demographic. "Animal," "Doctor Teeth," "The Swedish Chef" and "Fozzie Bear" still appealed to children and adults, but now the Muppets were more sophisticated and less pedagogical. The romantic relationship between Kermit and a porcine diva known as "Miss Piggy" established the dramatic potential of the Muppets. Miss Piggy was inspired by Frank Oz, Henson's lifelong colleague.

The success of *The Muppet Show* provoked Henson to explore the medium of film. His cinematic endeavors include *The Muppet Movie*, *The Great Muppet Caper*, *The Muppets Take Manhattan* and *Treasure Island*.

The Muppets have permeated all media—television, film, animation, music, literature. Their generative ability is also manifest in various spin-off endeavors such as *Fraggle Rock*, *The Muppet Babies*, and *Dinosaurs*. The empire known as Jim Henson Productions has spawned numerous production companies—all infused with the imaginative potential of their creator. It is interesting to note that Henson's "Muppet-less" projects, feature films such as *The Dark Crystal* and *Labyrinth* were not widely successful. Perhaps this is because they lacked the cheerfulness which has defined most of Henson's work.

Jim Henson died on 16 May 1990 from an untreated bacterial infection. His vision and creative spirit are immortalized by the Muppets and the future projects his legacy inspires.

—Sharon Zechowski

**JIM (JAMES MURRY) HENSON.** Born in Greenville, Mississippi, U.S.A., 24 September 1936. Educated at the University of Maryland, B.A. 1960. Married: Jane Anne Nebel, 1959; children: Lisa, Cheryl, Brian, John, and Heather. Producer-performer, *Sam and Friends*, Washington, D.C., 1955–61; creator of *The Muppets*, combination marionettes and puppets, 1959; regular appearances on *The Jimmy Dean Show*, 1963–66; *Sesame Street*, from 1969; *The Muppet Show*, 1976–81; creator, *Fraggle Rock*, Home Box Office, 1983–90; writer, producer, director, and muppeteer of various films, 1979–90. Member: Puppeteers of America (president, 1962–63), AFTRA, Directors Guild of America, Writers Guild of America, National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, Screen Actors Guild, American Center of Union Internationale de la Marionette (president, board of directors), 1974. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1958, 1973–74, 1975–76; Entertainer of the Year Award; American Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Award, 1978; Peabody Awards, 1979 and 1987; Grammy Award, 1981; President's Fellow Award, Rhode Island School of Design, 1982. Died in New York City, New York, 16 May 1990.

## TELEVISION SERIES

- 1955–61 *Sam and Friends* (muppeteer)
- 1969– *Sesame Street* (muppeteer)
- 1976–81 *The Muppet Show* (muppeteer, producer)
- 1983–90 *Fraggle Rock* (creator)
- 1984– *The Muppet Babies* (producer)
- 1987 *The Storyteller* (producer)

## TELEVISION SPECIALS

- 1977 *Emmet Otter's Jug-Band Christmas* (muppeteer, director, producer)
- 1986 *The Tale of the Bunny Picnic* (muppeteer, director, producer)
- 1990 *The Christmas Toy* (muppeteer, producer)

## FILMS

*The Muppet Movie*, 1979; *The Great Muppet Caper*, 1981; *The Dark Crystal*, 1982; *The Muppets Take Manhattan*, 1984; *Into the Night*, 1985; *Sesame Street Presents Follow That Bird*, 1985; *Labyrinth* (also writer), 1986; *Muppet\*vision 3-D*, 1991.

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See also Children and Television; Children's Television Workshop; Cooney, Joan Ganz; *Muppet Show*; *Sesame Street*; Tillstrom, Burr

## HEWITT, DON

U.S. Producer

Don Hewitt is a genius at what he does—and he does *60 Minutes*. But Hewitt has done more in his TV career than be the founder and executive producer of that enormously successful program. It was Hewitt who directed Edward R. Murrow's early TV experiment of bridging the U.S. continent with TV. It was Hewitt who, while producing and directing the first Kennedy-Nixon debate in 1960, attempted to advise Nixon to use appropriate make-up to cover his wan appearance. Nixon didn't listen, lost the debate, and lost the election. Hewitt ventured (unsuccessfully) into cable home shopping 33 years later.

Hewitt began his work in the world of print journalism, but he quickly moved to CBS TV, where he has spent the entirety of his career. He not only produced and directed *Douglas Edwards with the News* from 1948 to 1962, but also the first year (1962–64) of the trend setting *CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite*. These two programs had a tremendous influence on the general development of television news programming, as well as on CBS's own nightly news. Hewitt was also responsible for CBS's coverage of the national political conventions between 1948 and 1980, and directed *Conversations with the President* (i.e., Presidents Kennedy and Johnson), programs that were "pooled" for all three networks. Among this significant body of work, however, his most notable, profitable, and successful venture was the creation of *60 Minutes* in 1968.

*60 Minutes* has been one of the premiere programs produced by CBS. CBS counts the profits from this show significantly in excess of a billion dollars. And such profits bring independence and power to Hewitt. He doesn't hesitate to attack network executives as being deficient in foresight and fortitude and he reportedly has the best employment contract in the history of network broadcasting. The unparalleled success of Hewitt's *60 Minutes* has led to considerable speculation regarding programming strategies. Some surmise that the program benefited from following National Football League (NFL) games on CBS for so many years. But the NFL moved to the FOX Television Network in 1994 and *60 Minutes* continued to flourish (as it had before it followed the games). Reuven Frank, formerly of NBC, who clearly suffered under the success of Hewitt's *60 Minutes*, called the show "star journalism," a form in which reporters such as Mike Wallace are the heroes whose questions are more important than the subsequent answers. And the Federal Communication Commission's (FCC) Prime Time Access Rule (PTAR) has also been credited with contributing to *60 Minutes*' success. The PTAR limited network offerings at 7:00–8:00 P.M. (EST) on Sunday to public affairs or children's programming. When Hewitt's program moved to this time slot in 1975, the argument goes, there was no real competition from entertainment programming and CBS began raking in huge audiences, hungry advertisers, and giant profits. Most observers, however, give

Hewitt the credit for the success of *60 Minutes*. As Peter Jennings of ABC put it, the success of *60 Minutes* is a "testimony to Don Hewitt's imagination and his editing."

Hewitt has an extraordinary news judgement and editing ability. He creates stories in a manner that appeals to the average person. He admits he is not college educated, is not really intellectual, and that he identifies with the middle-of-the-road American. He knows what the average person likes to watch on TV. His formula for *60 Minutes* stories is not complex. He simply understands that the audience wants the hero—Wallace, or Morley Safer, or Ed Bradley, or Diane Sawyer, or Leslie Stahl—to drive the bad guys out of town. These people have been known in the TV industry as Hewitt's "anchor monsters."

Despite these formidable skills, Hewitt is not always known as a nice or likeable person. His handling of *60 Minutes* producers and staff is at best volatile and heavy handed. When Harry Reasoner, one of the first and best-liked anchors of the program, was dying of cancer, Hewitt reportedly removed him from the program with very little apparent sensitivity to Reasoner or other staff. On the other hand, as Andy Rooney of *60 Minutes* has observed of Hewitt, "I don't think the show would last without him."



Don Hewitt  
Photo courtesy of Don Hewitt



Hewitt's accomplishments have earned him countless honors and awards, including a place in the Television Hall of Fame. But perhaps the greatest recognition came from one of his colleagues, who said, Don Hewitt "invented the wheel" in the business of television news.

—Clayland H. Waite

**DON HEWITT.** Born in New York City, New York, U.S.A., 14 December 1922. Attended New York University, 1941. Married: 1) Mary Weaver (died, early 1960s); 2) Frankie Hewitt (divorced), children: Jeffrey, Steven, Jill, and Lisa; 3) Marilyn Berger, 1979. Served as merchant marine correspondent and war correspondent for *Stars and Stripes*, during World War II. Office boy and head copy boy, New York *Herald Tribune*, 1941; night editor, Associated Press, Memphis, Tennessee; editor, *Pelham Sun*, New York, 1946; night telephoto editor, Acme News Pictures, 1947; associate director, *CBS TV News*, 1948; sole producer-director, *Douglas Edwards with the News*, 1948–62; executive producer, *The CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite*, 1963–64; produced CBS documentaries, 1965–68; creator and executive producer, *60 Minutes*, since 1968. Honorary degree, Brandeis University, DFA, 1990. Recipient: gold medal, International Radio and TV Society, 1988; Broadcaster of the Year Award, 1980; Peabody Award, 1989; named to Hall of Fame, National Academy

of Television Arts and Sciences, 1990; Producers Guild of America Lifetime Award, 1993. Address: CBS News/60 Minutes, 555 W. 57th Street, New York City, New York 10019, U.S.A.

#### TELEVISION SERIES (producer)

1948–62      *Douglas Edwards with the News*  
1963–64      *The CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite*  
1968–      *60 Minutes*

#### PUBLICATION

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See also Cronkite, Walter; *60 Minutes*

## HEY HEY IT'S SATURDAY

### Australian Variety Program

**H**ey Hey *It's Saturday*, a variety program, began as a Saturday morning children's show, but like other children's shows in Australia, developed a curious adult following and has become a durable feature of Australian television history. Now programmed on Saturday nights from 6:30 to 8:30, it has been a consistent ratings winner for Network Nine, outlasting every challenge the other networks have thrown at it. Television variety like *Hey Hey* emerges from Australia's robust history of music hall, vaudeville, and revue on the stage, and in radio. Vaudeville featured singers, dancers, comedians, acrobats, magicians, ventriloquists, male and female impersonators, and animal acts. In revue a thin storyline was used to connect a series of comedy sequences, backed by song and dance numbers. It included an orchestra, ballet and show girls, and a comedienne. But the comedian was always the star of the show.

From such traditions great comedians, such as George Wallace and the legendary "Mo" (Roy Rene), emerged before the days of television. Australia's greatest TV comedian, Graham Kennedy, in his long-running variety program *In Melbourne Tonight*, adapted such vaudeville traditions for television, where they continued to thrive in specifically televisual terms. The compere of *Hey Hey It's Saturday* is Darryl Somers, a comedian who is perhaps the

successor to Graham Kennedy on Australian television. While he may not be so much a king of comedy, he remains a noteworthy lord of misrule. One of Kennedy's writers at *In Melbourne Tonight*, Ernie Carroll, provides another connection to the earlier tradition. He became the producer of *Hey Hey* and also the arm and voice for its resident puppet figure, Ossie Ostrich, retained from the children's show version.

*Hey Hey* differs from 19th- and 20th-century vaudeville in not having show girls or animal acts. It did for a period have a character called Animal, who silently wandered about the set, a walking icon of a crazy world, purely visual signifier of the ludic, of a world upside-down. The show does continue vaudeville and revue tradition in having an orchestra (a rock band) and, for a long period, a resident comedienne, Jacky MacDonald. Jacky portrayed an apparent naïf, telling sly risqué jokes with wide innocent eyes.

Although Darryl Somers, with Ossie Ostrich sitting beside him, guides the show, *Hey Hey* is decentred comedy, dispersed through the various figures and performers, who often include the production crew. The show also contains various (changing) segments. "Media Watch" presents mistakes in TV commercials, or funny items, usually taken from the provincial press. "Red Faces" offers amateur acts.





Hey Hey It's Saturday

*Photo courtesy of TCN Channel Nine*

"Ad Nauseum" invents a quiz show with questions about TV ads. "What Cheeses Me Off" is a complaints column, and "Beat It" a music quiz.

*Hey Hey* uses all the technical and audiovisual resources of TV itself to make everyone and everything in the show part of the comedy. We rarely see John Blackman, for example. But he is a regular voice off-screen, doing impersonations, being ironic and sarcastic about guest acts and cast members, or making dry jokes and performing "insult comedy." This visual "absence" is countered by the highly visual cartoon jokes flashed on the screen at any moment. When "Media Watch" speculates on possible mistakes in TV commercials, a camera may suddenly focus on a producer. Surrounded by cameras and cords, he holds a mic, and says what he thinks, though he will earn derision if the others think he gets it wrong. Puppet Ossie Ostrich will comment on everything dryly and ironically. Little Dickie the other puppet (a blue head held on a stick, and a rasping voice provided by John Blackman), might suddenly rush forward and be rude about someone or something. In turn, in one show Ossie commented of Little Dickie that his stick has "terminal white ant."

The show revels in the festive abuse that Bakhtin saw as a feature of carnival in early modern Europe. In a society

where, he suggested, people were "usually divided by the barriers of caste, property, professions, and age," festive abuse overturned hierarchy in social relations, creating an atmosphere of equality, freedom, and familiarity—*Hey Hey* exactly.

In *Hey Hey* all is chaos and anarchy, the reverse of structured sequences guided by the straight person and chief comedian. Darryl Somers as compere is, instead, a relatively still space across which all the mad traffic of jokes, the different comic contributions and voices, traverse and clash and comment on each other. If he maintains an ongoing program he is never a central voice of authority, a ringmaster. His strength is in his alertness to what is going on about him as much as in his own comic contributions.

Traditional stage variety entertainment thrived on familiarity and audience involvement. Similarly, *Hey Hey* actively draws on the vast and intimate knowledge that its audience (in the studio and at home) has of the media, of the rest of popular commercial TV. Like *Monty Python's Flying Circus* in the early 1970s, *Hey Hey* is variety for the electronic age. The media are often the material for the comedy: parodying Lotto in "Chook Lotto," the media in "Media Watch," talent shows in "Red Faces," or testing knowledge of pop music in "Beat It."

Involvement by the studio audience is always encouraged. If, for example, a show is declared a 1960s or a Science Fiction night, Darryl and Jacky and Ossie wear extravagant uniforms and masks. But the audience also dress up—a touch of the masks and disguises of carnival of old, taking people out of their ordinary life and circumstances. In “Red Faces,” perennially one of *Hey Hey*’s most popular segments, the audience may override Red’s gong if it likes an act.

Clearly in *Hey Hey* there is an extreme self-reflexivity; we see camera people with their cameras and crew with mikes and cords going everywhere. For television culture, this builds on a very long tradition of self-reflexivity in popular culture and theatre. The festive abuse of *Hey Hey* reminds us that a great deal of popular culture, from carnival in early modern Europe to music hall and vaudeville in the 19th century and into the 20th, featured parody and self-parody. This was more than a way of mocking received attitudes and official wisdom. It was a philosophical mode, a cosmology, a way of questioning all claims to absolute truth—including its own. To the degree that our own “wisdom” is drawn from and dependent upon the media *Hey Hey It’s Saturday* suggests we should look on that knowledge with a wary eye.

—John Docker

#### HOSTS

Darryl Summers  
“Ozzie Ostrich”/Ernie Carroll

**PRODUCERS** Bob Phillips, Pam Barnes

## HIGH-DEFINITION TELEVISION

**H**igh-definition television (HDTV) is an arbitrary term that applies to any television production, transmission, or reception technology with a scanning rate that exceeds the 525 lines of the present U.S. NTSC standard or the 625 lines of the PAL or SECAM standards. Most global HDTV systems have at least 1,000 scanning lines, and multi-channel audio capability. When viewed on a large television tube or projected on a screen, HDTV images are demonstrably brighter and sharper than those of present video systems.

The first viable HDTV system known as Hi-Vision/MUSE (the former is a production standard, the latter is a compatible transmission companion) was perfected in the 1970s in the laboratories of NHK, the Japan Broadcasting Company. Distinctive characteristics of analog Hi-Vision technology include a wide-screen 16:9 aspect ratio (compared with a conventional 4:3 ratio), and 1,125 scanning lines. After abortive Japanese attempts to have Hi-Vision/MUSE adopted as a *de facto* world television standard in 1986, a European consortium developed an alternative incompatible standard with 1,250 scanning lines.

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

##### • Nine Network

October 1971–September 1973 Saturday 8:30–11:30 A.M.

October 1973–December 1977 Saturday 8:00–11:00 A.M.

March 1979–December 1983 Saturday 8:00–11:00 A.M.

##### As **HEY HEY IT’S SATURDAY NIGHT**

March 1984–May 1985 Saturday 9:30–12:00 P.M.

##### Title Reverts to **HEY HEY IT’S SATURDAY**

June 1985– Saturday 6:30–8:30 P.M.

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See also Australian Programming; *Monty Python’s Flying Circus*

The following year the Federal Communications Commission created an Advisory Committee on Advanced Television Service (ACATS) to conduct a testing program to select an American advanced television standard. After eight years of development and testing, the FCC is expected to adopt a digital transmission scheme that will permit American broadcasters to simultaneously transmit a number of channels with variable resolution levels. One true HDTV channel can be broadcast, or up to five lower-quality standard-definition (SDTV) digital channels. The U.S. HDTV digital standard will also include a wide-screen 16:9 aspect ratio and six-channel “surround” audio. Digital data such as stock market quotes or weather information can also be transmitted within the HDTV spectrum allocation.

The FCC plans for U.S. broadcasters to simulcast digital HDTV signals in conjunction with conventional NTSC transmissions until the year 2010, at which time the old system will be turned off and the spectrum will revert to the Commission for reallocation. Japanese and European television manufacturers are expected to develop advanced digital

television production and transmission systems which are transcodable with the American format.

HDTV and SDTV are variable-resolution examples of advanced television technology. By shifting from an analog to a digital transmission scheme, electronic engineers have merged the previously incompatible worlds of television and computers. Advanced television sets will have the capability to be linked into the same digital networks as personal computers for access of global services such as the Internet.

—Peter B. Seel

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## HILL, BENNY

British Comedian

Benny Hill was born in Southampton in the south of England in 1925. His family was lower middle class; Hill's father was the manager of a medical appliance company. Hill was attracted early to the stage and saw many live stage shows at the two variety theatres in Southampton. Hill served in the army in the later years of World War II; it was there that he began to perform as a comedian. After demobilisation, Hill began working in variety theatre where he slowly learned his craft. In 1956, Hill starred in the feature film comedy *Who Done It?* (Ealing Studio). Hill starred as a hapless, bungling private detective. The film was only mildly funny, although Hill did display touches of the comic slapstick and characterisation that were to become part of his genius. The film was moderately successful but did nothing to further Hill's career. Instead, it was in the new medium of television that Hill was to shine.

Hill's career as a British comedian fits between that of earlier figures such as Tony Hancock and later performers such as Frankie Howerd. Whereas Hancock established his definitive comic persona in radio and then extended this to television, Hill was created by television. Yet Hill was also the most traditional of comedians and his programs had strong roots in variety theatre, revolving around comic songs, routines, and sketches rather than an on-going comic characterisation and situation. And although Hill had his own show on the BBC as early as 1955, his career was actually launched by the 1960s vogue for comedy on British television. Other British comedians such as Ken Dodd, Charlie Drake, and Frankie Howerd also gained their own shows around the same time, but none had the comic genius and stamina of Hill.

Part of this genius lay in his writing. Hill wrote all his own material, a grueling task which helps explain the rela-

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See also Television Technology

tively small number of programs produced. Under his later contract with Thames Television, Hill was given full control of his program such that he could undertake a program when, in his opinion, he had accumulated enough comic



Benny Hill

Photo courtesy of DLT Entertainment Ltd.

material. Hill also had a hand in producing some of the offshoots of *The Benny Hill Show* such as the 1970 half-hour silent film *Eddie in August*.

Although all his material was original, Hill nevertheless owed a comic debt to U.S. entertainer Red Skelton. Like Skelton, Hill worked in broad strokes and sometimes in pantomime with a series of recurring comic personae. Hill even adopted Skelton's departing line from the latter's show that ran on network television from 1951 to 1971: "Good night, God bless." However, Hill was without Skelton's often-maudlin sentimentality, substituting instead a ribald energy and gusto. Hill's humour was very much in a broad English vaudeville and stage tradition. The Socialist writer George Orwell once drew attention to the kind of humour embodied in the English seaside postcard—henpecked and shrunken older men and randy young men, both attracted to beautiful young women with large breasts, and an older, fatter, unattractive mother—and some of this also fed into Hill's television comedy just as it was to feed into the *Carry On* feature films.

While Hill's publicity often portrayed him as a kind of playboy who liked to surround himself with beautiful, leggy showgirls, this was an extension of his television persona and had nothing to do with his private life. In fact, Hill never married and lived alone in what would have been a lonely life had it not been for the heavy work demands imposed by the television show.

Hill's humour with its smut and double-entendres was never entirely acceptable to the moral standards of some and his sexism made him seem increasingly old-fashioned. The forces of political correctness finally had their way in 1989 when Thames Television canceled the program due not only to complaints about its smuttiness but also because its old-fashioned sexism had become increasingly intolerable. Thames finally sacked Hill. In his last television appearance, in 1991, he appeared as himself, the subject of the BBC arts documentary series, *Omnibus*. Although over the last three years of his life, Hill talked in interviews about a comeback, it was the end of his career. He died in hospital, suffering from a chest complaint, in 1992. Benny Hill once told an interviewer that, like Van Gogh, he would be appreciated in 100 years time. The statement implied that he was not recognised as a great comedian and was belied by the enormous international popularity of his program and by the fact that in the 1970s and 1980s he was several times voted the Funniest Man in the World by the British television audience.

—Albert Moran

**BENNY HILL.** Born (Alfred Hawthorn Hill) in Southampton, Hampshire, England, 21 January 1925. Attended local schools in Southampton. Served with Royal Engineers during World War II. Began as amateur entertainer in Southampton, while also working in shops and as milkman; assistant stage manager and actor, East Ham Palace, London, 1940; made TV debut, 1949; became popular radio guest, early 1950s; had his own BBC television show, 1955; made film debut, 1956; comedy star of his own long-running comedy sketch show; moved from BBC to Thames Television, 1969–89. Recipient: *Daily Mail*/TV Personality of the Year, 1954; *TV Times* Hall of Fame, 1978–79; *TV Times* Funniest Man on TV, 1981–82; Charlie Chaplin International Award for Comedy, 1991. Died in Teddington, London, 19 April 1992.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1949	<i>Hi There</i>
1952	<i>The Service Show</i>
1953	<i>Show Case</i>
1955–89	<i>The Benny Hill Show</i>

#### FILMS

*Who Done It?*, 1956; *Light Up the Sky*, 1960; *Those Magnificent Men in Their Flying Machines*, 1965; *Chitty Chitty Bang Bang*, 1968; *The Italian Job*, 1969; *The Waiters*, 1969; *The Best of Benny Hill*, 1974; *To See Such Fun*, 1977; *Benny Hill: The Motion Picture*, 1979; *The Unedited Benny Hill*, 1983; *Le Miracle*, 1986; *The Benny Hill Special*, 1987.

#### RADIO

*Educating Archie*, *Archie's the Boy*.

#### STAGE (selection)

*Stars in Battledress*, 1941; *Paris by Night*, *Fine Fettle*.

#### RECORDING

*Ernie (the fastest milkman in the West)*, 1971.

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See also *Benny Hill Show*, British Programming

## HILL STREET BLUES

U.S. Police Procedural/Melodrama

**H***ill Street Blues*, one of the most innovative and critically acclaimed series in recent television history, aired on NBC from 1981 to 1987. Although never highly rated,

NBC continued to renew *Hill Street* for its "prestige value" as well as the demographic profile of its fiercely loyal audience. Indeed, *Hill Street* is perhaps the consummate exam-

ple of the complex equation in U.S. network television between "quality programming" and "quality demographics." *Hill Street Blues* revolutionized the TV "cop show," combining with it elements from the sitcom, soap opera, and *cinema verite*-style documentary. In the process, it established the paradigm for the hour-long ensemble drama: intense, fast-paced, and hyper-realistic, set in a densely populated urban workplace, and distinctly "Dickensian" in terms of character and plot development.

*Hill Street*'s key antecedents actually were sitcoms, and particularly the half-hour ensemble workplace comedies of the 1970s such as *M\*A\*S\*H*, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, and *Barney Miller*. *M\*A\*S\*H* was influential not only as a medical series set in a literal "war zone" (versus the urban war zone of *Hill Street*), but also for the aggressive cinematic style adapted from Robert Altman's original movie version. *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*'s influence had to do primarily with its "domesticated workplace," a function of Mary's role as nurturer as well as the focus on the personal as well as the professional lives of the principals. The influence of *Barney Miller*, an ensemble sitcom set in a police precinct, was more direct. In fact the genesis of *Hill Street* resulted from NBC's Fred Silverman suggesting that the network develop an hour-long drama blending *Barney Miller* and the documentary-style anthology drama, *Police Story*.

To develop the series, NBC turned to Grant Tinker's MTM Enterprises, which in the early 1970s had specialized in ensemble sitcoms (*The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *Bob Newhart*, and others) before turning to the hour-long ensemble drama in 1977 with *Lou Grant*. *Hill Street* was created by Steven Bochco and Michael Kozoll, two veteran TV series writers with extensive experience on various crime series. The two had collaborated on the short-lived police drama *Delvecchio* in 1976-77 before joining MTM, and they had little interest in doing another cop show unless they were given considerable leeway to vary the form. NBC agreed, and *Hill Street* debuted as a mid-season replacement in January 1981.

The basic *Hill Street Blues* formula was simple enough. The series was set in the Hill Street station, a haven of controlled chaos in a crime-infested, racially-torn ghetto within an unnamed industrial metropolis. Each episode invariably charted a "day in the life" on the Hill, from the early-morning "roll call" to a late-night rehash of the day's events.

In the hands of Bochco and Kozoll, who teamed for much of the writing in the first two seasons, this formula provided the framework for a remarkably complex and innovative series—qualities which were evident from the opening roll call. This daybreak ritual was conducted "below decks" in the precinct house by the desk sergeant—most memorably Sgt. Phil Esterhaus (Michael Conrad from 1981 until his death in 1984), who always closed with the trademark line: "Let's be careful out there."

A deft expositional stroke, the roll call served a range of narrative functions. It initiated the day-long trajectory; it



Hill Street Blues

provided an inventory not only of the current precinct "case load" but also the potential plot lines for the episode; it reintroduced most of the principal characters, whose commentary on the cases reestablished their individual personalities and professional attitudes. And technically, it set *Hill Street*'s distinctive *verite* tone with its hand-held camera, continual reframing instead of cutting, multi-track sound recording, and edgy, improvisational feel.

After the roll call, the cops filed upstairs to begin their assignments, which set the episode's multiple crime-related plot lines in motion. Most of the series regulars who worked "out there" on the streets were partners: Hill and Renko (Michael Warren and Charles Haid), Coffee and Bates (Ed Marinaro and Betty Thomas), LaRue and Washington (Kiel Martin and Taurean Blacque). Other notable street cops were Lt. Howard Hunter (James Sikking), the precinct's SWAT team leader; Mick Belker (Bruce Weitz), a gnarling, perpetually unkempt undercover detective; and Norm Buntz (Dennis Franz), an experienced, cynical, street-wise detective prone to head-strong, rule-bending tactics.

With the episode thus set in motion, the focus shifted to Captain Frank Furillo (Daniel Travanti), the professional touchstone and indisputable patriarch of the precinct work-family, and the moral center of *Hill Street*'s narrative universe. Furillo adroitly orchestrated his precinct's ceaseless battle with the criminal element. He also did battle with bureaucrats and self-serving superiors, principally in the character of Chief Fletcher Daniels (Jon Cypher). And on a

more personal level, he battled his own demons (alcoholism, a failed marriage) and the human limitations of his officers, ever vigilant of the day-to-day toll of police work in a cesspool of urban blight whose citizenry, for the most part, was actively hostile toward the "police presence."

Furillo also battled Joyce Davenport (Veronica Hamel), a capable, contentious lawyer from the Public Defender's office. Their professional antagonism was countered, however, by an intimate personal relationship—the two were lovers. Their affair remained clandestine until the third season, when they went public and were wed. And through all this, Furillo also maintained a troubled but affectionate rapport with his ex-wife, Fay (Barbara Bosson).

The Furillo-Davenport relationship was *Hill Street*'s most obvious and effective serial plot, while also giving a dramatic focus to individual episodes. As professional adversaries, they endlessly wrangled over the process of law and order; as lovers they examined these same conflicts—and their own lives—in a very different light. Most episodes ended, in fact, with the two of them together late at night, away from the precinct, mulling over the day's events. This interplay of professional and personal conflicts—and of episodic and serial plot lines—was crucial to *Hill Street*'s basic narrative strategy. Ever aware of its "franchise" as a cop show, the series relied on a crime-solution formula to structure and dramatize individual episodes, while the long-term personal conflicts stakes and fueled the serial dimension of the series.

*Hill Street*'s narrative complexity was reinforced by its distinctive cinematic technique. As Todd Gitlin suggests, "*Hill Street*'s achievement was, first of all, a matter of style." Essential to that style was the "density of look and sound" as well as its interwoven ("knitted") plot lines, which created *Hill Street*'s distinctive ambience. "Quick cuts, a furious pace, a nervous camera made for complexity and congestion, a sense of entanglement and continuous crisis that matched the actual density and convolution of city life." *Hill Street*'s realism also extended to controversial social issues and a range of television taboos, particularly in terms of language and sexuality.

This realism was offset, however, by the idealized portrayal of the principal characters and the professional work-family. Whatever their failings and vulnerabilities, Furillo and his charges were heroic—even tragic, given their fierce commitment to a personal and professional "code" in the face of an insensitive bureaucracy, an uncaring public, and an unrelenting criminal assault on their community. But the Hill Street cops found solace in their work and in one another—which, in a sense, was all they had, since the nature of their work precluded anything resembling a "real life."

Not surprisingly, considering its narrative complexity, uncompromising realism, and relatively downbeat worldview, *Hill Street* fared better with critics than with mainstream viewers. In fact, it was among TV's lowest-rated series during its first season but was renewed due to its tremendous critical impact and its six Emmy Awards, in-

cluding Outstanding Drama Series. *Hill Street* went on to win four straight Emmys in that category, while establishing a strong constituency among upscale urban viewers. It also climbed to a respectable rating, peaking in its third season at number 21; but its strength was always the demographic profile rather than the sheer size of its audience.

Thus *Hill Street* paid off handsomely for NBC, and its long-term impact on TV programming has been equally impressive. In a 1985 *TV Guide* piece, novelist Joyce Carol Oates stated that the series was as "intellectually and emotionally provocative as a good book," and was positively "Dickensian in its superb character studies, its energy, its variety; above all, its audacity." Critics a decade later would be praising series like *NYPD Blue*, *Homicide*, *ER*, *Chicago Hope*, and *Law and Order* in precisely the same terms, heralding a "new golden age" of television drama—a golden age whose roots are planted firmly in *Hill Street Blues*.

—Thomas Schatz

#### CAST

<i>Capt. Frank Furillo</i> . . . . .	Daniel J. Travanti
<i>Sgt. Phil Esterhaus</i> (1981–84) . . . . .	Michael Conrad
<i>Officer Bobby Hill</i> . . . . .	Michael Warren
<i>Officer Andy Renko</i> . . . . .	Charles Haid
<i>Joyce Davenport</i> . . . . .	Veronica Hamel
<i>Det. Mick Belker</i> . . . . .	Bruce Weitz
<i>Lt. Ray Calletano</i> . . . . .	Rene Enriquez
<i>Det. Johnny (J.D.) LaRue</i> . . . . .	Kiel Martin
<i>Det. Neal Washington</i> . . . . .	Taurean Blaque
<i>Lt. Howard Hunter</i> . . . . .	James Sikking
<i>Sgt./Lt. Henry Goldblume</i> . . . . .	Joe Spano
<i>Officer/Sgt. Lucille Bates</i> . . . . .	Betty Thomas
<i>Grace Gardner</i> (1981–85) . . . . .	Barbara Babcock
<i>Fay Furillo</i> (1981–86) . . . . .	Barbara Bosson
<i>Capt. Jerry Fuchs</i> (1981–84) . . . . .	Vincent Lucchesi
<i>Det./Lt. Alf Chesley</i> (1981–82) . . . . .	Gerry Black
<i>Officer Leo Schnitz</i> (1981–85) . . . . .	Robert Hirschfield
<i>Officer Joe Coffey</i> (1981–86) . . . . .	Ed Marinaro
<i>Chief Fletcher P. Daniels</i> . . . . .	Jon Cypher
<i>Officer Robin Tataglia</i> (1983–87) . . . . .	Lisa Sutton
<i>Asst. D.A. Irwin Bernstein</i> (1982–87) . . . . .	George Wyner
<i>Jesus Martinez</i> . . . . .	Trinidad Silva
<i>Judge Alan Wachtel</i> . . . . .	Jeffrey Tambor
<i>Det. Harry Garibaldi</i> (1984–85) . . . . .	Ken Olin
<i>Det. Patricia Mayo</i> (1984–85) . . . . .	Mimi Kuzyk
<i>Mayor Ozzie Cleveland</i> (1982–85) . . . . .	J.A. Preston
<i>Sgt. Stanislaus Jablonski</i> (1984–87) . . . . .	Robert Prosky
<i>Lt. Norman Buntz</i> (1985–87) . . . . .	Dennis Franz
<i>Celeste Patterson</i> (1985–86) . . . . .	Judith Hansen
<i>Sidney (The Snitch) Thurston</i> (1985–87) . . . . .	Peter Jurasik
<i>Officer Pagtrick Flaherty</i> (1986–87) . . . . .	Robert Clohessy
<i>Officer Tina Russo</i> (1986–87) . . . . .	Megan Gallagher
<i>Officer Raymond</i> (1987) . . . . .	David Selburg

**PRODUCERS** Steven Bochco, Michael Kozoll, Gregory Hoblit, David Anspaugh, Anthony Yerkovich, Scott Brazil,

Jeffrey Lewis, Sascha Schneider, David Latt, David Milch, Michael Vittes, Walon Green, Penny Adams

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

##### • NBC

January 1981	Thursday/Saturday 10:00-11:00
January 1981-April 1981	Saturday 10:00-11:00
April 1981-August 1981	Tuesday 9:00-10:00
October 1981-November 1986	Thursday 10:00-11:00
December 1986-February 1987	Tuesday 9:00-10:00
March 1987-May 1987	Tuesday 10:00-11:00

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See also Bochco, Steven; Police Programs

## ANITA HILL-CLARENCE THOMAS HEARINGS

The Hill-Thomas Hearings, conducted by the United States Senate Judiciary Committee to investigate Professor Anita Hill's allegations of prior sexual harassment by Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas, were televised nationally on American television from 11 October to 13 October 1991. Although the hearings themselves had no legal significance, to many observers they symbolized a public referendum on sexual harassment and other gender inequities in late twentieth-century America. As such, they have been widely credited with increasing public awareness about gender discrimination and motivating female voters during the 1992 congressional elections.

As President George Bush's nominee to replace Thurgood Marshall on the Supreme Court, Thomas had already been through confirmation hearings during September, 1991, although the Senate Judiciary Committee was unable to make a recommendation to the full Senate after these hearings. Thomas' appointment seemed further jeopardized by reports on 6 October that appeared in *Newsday* and on National Public Radio of alleged acts of sexual harassment toward a co-worker from 1981 to 1983. These charges, made by Anita Hill during interviews with the FBI, were apparently leaked to the press just days before the Senate's final vote on Thomas' appointment. Responding to demands from feminist organizations and seven female Democratic members of the House of Representatives, the Senate delayed the vote in order to hear more about Hill's allegations.

During the three days of televised hearings, the senators and the viewing public heard testimony from both Hill and Thomas, as well as their supporters. Hill referred to specific incidents of Thomas' behavior, including repeated requests for dates and references to pornographic material. Thomas vehemently denied Hill's allegations and responded with outrage, at one point calling the hearings "a

national disgrace . . . a high-tech lynching for uppity blacks who in any way deign to think for themselves, to do for themselves." So adamant was each sides' accounts that many observers in the press labeled the hearings an example of "He Said, She Said," with both parties offering such vastly differing recollections of events that many wondered if the hearings could ever reveal the truth.



Anita Hill



Two days after the hearings ended, with no clear resolution of the discrepancy between Hill's and Thomas' accounts, the Senate voted on Thomas' confirmation. Due to the media coverage of the hearings, public interest in the vote was unusually high, as evidenced by a barrage of phone calls and faxes sent to the capital on this issue. Although opinion polls reported evidence of debate and division among minority groups, including African Americans and women, they also indicated that a majority of voters supported Thomas. Ultimately, the Senate voted 52-48 in favor of Thomas' confirmation.

The visual imagery and political symbolism of the hearings may have been their most important legacy. In this regard the hearings take their place alongside other memorable television events, including the Army-McCarthy Hearings and the Watergate Proceedings. These events exemplify television's ability to galvanize a national audience around matters of crucial social significance and often they stand as historical markers of significant social and cultural shifts.

Indeed, many feminist groups refer to Anita Hill as the mother of a new wave of awareness of gender discrimination, particularly given the attacks on her credibility that she withstood from the white male senators. To witness a composed, articulate law professor being questioned about her mental state (some senators and Thomas supporters had theorized that Hill was "delusional") offended many female viewers who themselves had experienced sexual harassment. Harriett Woods, then president of the National Women's Political Caucus, commented that "Anita Hill focused attention on the fact that there were no women in that Senate panel making decisions about people's lives."

As is true for so many cultural memories in the United States, the televised Hill-Thomas hearings etched some clear and unforgettable images into the minds of the American public. To those observers who did not believe Hill's claims, the hearings represented the gravity of such allegations in a society where gender politics can be divisive. To Hill's sympathizers, the memory of a lone woman reluctantly speaking out about past painful experiences to a room full of bewildered and unsympathetic men may have been one reason why an unprecedented 29 women were elected in the subsequent congressional elections.

—Vanessa B. Beasley

## HIRD, THORA

British Actor

**D**ame Thora Hird is one of Britain's finest character actresses. Her career spans some eighty years, from her earliest stage appearance at the age of eight weeks to the present day; it encompasses work in a range of media forms, including radio broadcasting and appearances in

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See also U.S. Congress

over one hundred films. In television, she has appeared both in her capacity as actress, and as presenter of the popular *Songs of Praise*. She has also written her autobiography, *Scene and Hird* (1976) as well as a number of books on prayer.

Her durability is due to both her versatility, revealed by her work in a number of television genres, and paradoxically, her ability to remain distinctly unique and individual. Her work for television includes an early drama for BBC TV, *The Queen Came By*, about life in a general drapers, set in Queen Victoria's jubilee year. In the play, her characterisation of Emmie Slee proved very popular. She has also appeared as the long-suffering wife in the comedy series *Meet the Wife*, with Freddie Frinton; the nurse in *Romeo and Juliet* for the BBC in 1967; Billy's overbearing mother in the situation comedy *In Loving Memory* (1986), set in a funeral parlour; and the tragicomic character in *A Cream Cracker Under the Settee*, one of the acclaimed series of *Talking Heads* monologues written by Alan Bennett, and broadcast in 1988.

All of these roles offered Hird the opportunity to exercise her particular brand of Lancastrian wit, which may be firmly located within the music-hall-based tradition of northern, working-class comedy, characteristically "down to earth," anecdotal and always constructed in opposition to the "pretentious and privileged" south of England. In much the same vein as the seaside postcards of her Morecombe birthplace, Hird's typical roles are as an all-seeing boardinghouse landlady, a gossiping neighbour, or as a sharp-tongued mother-in-law, in each case the "eyes and ears" of the (female) community. And just as the veneer of the garishly painted seaside piers cracks to reveal the old and slightly rotten wood beneath, so Hird's skillful characterisations offer a hint of the underlying sadness and pathos that is often found beneath the proud facade. She has been taken up by the comedienne Victoria Wood, who extends the tendency of this brand of comedy to take the everyday, the ordinary, and exaggerate elements to make it extraordinary. Parodying one of its chief icons creates hilarious results and establishes a double articulation of the humour of social observation with which Hird is commonly associated.

Whilst Hird has earned considerable recognition and respect within her profession, critical and audience acclaim for many of her roles, and was the subject of a *South Bank Show* monograph in 1995, there is yet to be an academic study of her contributions to television. This may be due to the fact that she tends to play roles that are located within genres such as situation comedy, which is afforded a lowly status in many aesthetic and critical hierarchies. Potentially, however, there is much critical currency in exploring how these roles or types represent working class women, and indeed, how older actress may often be subject to typecasting.

—Nicola Strange

THORA HIRD. Born in Morecambe, Lancashire, England, 28 May 1911. Attended The Misses Nelson's Preparatory School, Morecambe, Lancashire. Married: James Scott, 1937 (died, 1994); child: Janette. Followed parents into the theatre as a child; gained early experience with the Royalty

Theatre Repertory Theatre Company, Morecambe, before establishing name on London stage in *Flowers for the Living*, 1944; film debut, 1940; subsequently played a range of classical and contemporary roles on the stage and also acted in films and on television, starring in several comedy series. D.Litt.: University of Lancaster, 1989. Officer of the Order of the British Empire, 1983; Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire, 1993. Recipient: Pye Female Comedy Star Award, 1984; British Academy of Film and Television Arts Award, 1988. Address: Felix de Wolfe, Manfield House, 376-378 Strand, London WC2R 0LR, England.

#### TELEVISION SERIES (selection)

- 1964 *Meet the Wife*  
1979 *In Loving Memory*

#### TELEVISION SPECIALS (selection)

- 1962 *A Kind of Loving*  
1988 *Talking Heads: A Cream Cracker Under the Settee*  
1992 *Memento Mori*

#### FILMS

*Spellbound*, 1940; *The Black Sheep of Whitehall*, 1941; *The Foreman Went to France*, 1941; *Next of Kin*, 1942; *The Big Blockade*, 1942; *Went the Day Well?*, 1942; *Two Thousand Women*; *The Courtneys of Curzon Street*, 1947; *My Brother Jonathan*; *Corridor of Mirrors*; *The Weaker Sex*; *The Blind Goddess*; *Portrait from Life*; *Once a Jolly Swagman*, 1948; *A Boy, a Girl and a Bike*; *Fools Rush in*; *Madness of the Heart*; *Maytime in Mayfair*; *Boys in Brown*; *Conspirator*; *The Cure for Love*; *The Magnet*; *Once a Sinner*; *The Galloping Major*; *The Frightened Man*; *Emergency Call*, 1952; *Time Gentlemen Please!*; *The Last Hours*; *The Great Game*; *Background*; *Turn the Key Softly*; *The Long Memory*; *Personal Affair*; *Street Corner*; *A Day to Remember*; *Don't Blame the Stork*; *For Better, For Worse*; *The Crowded Day*; *One Good Turn*; *Love Match*; *The Quatermass Experiment*, 1955; *Tiger by the Tail*; *Lost*; *Women Without Men*; *Sailor Beware!*; *Home and Away*; *The Good Companions*; *These Dangerous Years*; *A Clean Sweep*; *Further Up the Creek*; *The Entertainer*, 1960; *Over the Odds*; *A Kind of Loving*, 1962; *Term of Trial*, 1962; *Bitter Harvest*, 1963; *Rattle of a Simple Man*; *Some Will, Some Won't*; *The Nightcomers*, 1971; *They Came in Khaki*; *Storks Don't Talk*; *Shop Soiled*; *Simon and Laura*; *Consuming Passions*, 1988; *Wide Eyed and Legless*, 1993.

#### STAGE (selection)

*No Medals*, 1944; *Flowers for the Living*, 1944; *The Queen Came By*, 1948; *Tobacco Road*, 1949; *Dangerous Woman*, 1951; *The Happy Family*, 1951; *The Same Sky*, 1952; *The Trouble-Makers*, 1952; *The Love Match*, 1953; *Saturday Night at the Crown*, 1957; *Come Rain Come Shine*, 1958; *Happy Days*, 1958; *Romeo and Juliet*; *No, No, Nanette*; *Me, I'm Afraid of Virginia Woolf*; *Afternoon Off*.

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## HISTORY AND TELEVISION

As a productive cultural force, television is involved in projecting new modes and forms of historical understanding. These forms do not always follow from traditional scholarly or professional ideas about history. On the contrary, for a number of reasons, television has been widely seen as contributing to the disappearance or loss of history in the contemporary postmodern condition. The emphasis on television's "liveness," based in its technology and its common discursive and rhetorical strategies, has led some theorists to the conclusion that television plays a central role in erasing a sense of the past, and eliminating a common, coherent linear sense of cultural and social development.

It is certainly the case that conventional history is increasingly hard to identify in mass culture, especially in the form of coherent linear narratives, a clear set of major historical players, or readily identifiable class struggles. At the same time, however, television seems obsessed with defining itself in relation to history. Television's ubiquity suggests that its conceptions of history—both its representations of specific events and its appropriation of history as a way of understanding the world—must be taken seriously. Television does not supplant, but coexists with, familiar ideas about how we know the past, what we know of the past, and the value of such knowledge. In the process, television produces everyday forms of historical understanding.

As a result, it is probably more accurate to propose that television is contributing to a significant transformation and dispersion of how we think about history, rather than to the loss of historical consciousness. Television offers forms of history that are simultaneously more public than traditional, professional history and more personal and idiosyncratic. This is because the medium's historical narratives are available to mass viewing publics, but also engage viewers in diverse, and even highly idiosyncratic ways. While history may be conceived in both broadly social and intensely personal terms, television has transformed the ways in which individuals understand and position themselves in relation to either of these definitions.

In the case of the United States, it is nearly impossible to think about American culture and its global influence today without including everyday media culture as an integral part of this history. Significant historical events and conjunctures of postwar 20th century American history—the Vietnam war, the assassination of John F. Kennedy, civil rights and student protests, the Challenger explosion, the Persian Gulf War—can hardly be imagined without the

television images which carried them into American (and other) homes. Similar conditions, events, and moments, such as the collective memory of the 1952 coronation of Queen Elizabeth for British viewers, exist in other nations of the world which have also had a long experience with television. As these examples suggest, for some established nation-states television can actually connote national identity through a televisual history. Other nations and regions, particularly in the postcolonial world, have yet to see representations of their national identity consistently emerge on their television screens. And yet another group of nations and regions, such as post-apartheid South Africa, are experiencing a transformation of the historical representation of their televisual national identity.

Nearing the end of the 20th century, the idea of "video diplomacy" also has increasing importance in a world linked by telecommunications technology and covered by international television news organizations. Indeed television news—with its emphasis on being live and up to date—is one of the key places where television most insistently promotes its historical role. The rapid growth of television in the postcolonial world, coincident with the end of the Cold War (since 1989, sets in use worldwide have doubled, with most of that growth in the postcolonial world) suggests that the impact of televisual history first experienced in the United States will now be seen on a world scale. The live televising of coups and crises in post-Soviet Russia is one recent example of the globalizing trend of television and historical consciousness. Other indicators include the unprecedented global circulation of war reporting, of political journalism, and of the lives and misfortunes of celebrities.

In other contexts television links history to world-historical events, often before they have even begun. The term "history" is regularly used to designate events before, during, and after they occur. In this vein, television casts all sorts of events as history including the Middle East peace summit in Madrid; the fall of the Berlin Wall; the annual World Series in baseball; Michael Jordan's return to basketball; odd spectacles such as "Hands Across America"; and the first prime-time airing of the final episode of *M\*A\*S\*H*. From the apparently sublime to the apparently inexplicable, "history" is a term and a conceptual field that television often bandies about with surprising frequency and persistence. In the process conventional ideas of history as a distinctive temporal and narrational discourse are dispersed. "History" becomes a process wherein events and people in the present (and future) are simultaneously implicated in a social, polit-

ical, and cultural heritage. Past and present, then and now, are set in a temporal tourniquet, akin to a moebius strip.

Television routinely correlates liveness and historicity in the form of equivalence, alibi, reversals, and identity, especially in the area of news and public affairs/documentary programming. In the context of news coverage, especially events that warrant live coverage, it is not unusual to hear that the events thus presented are "historic." At the same time, the very presence of television at an event constitutes a record for posterity. In this sense television acts as an agent of history and memory, recording and preserving representations to be referenced in the future. The institution of television itself becomes the guarantor of history, even as it invokes history to validate and justify its own presence at an event.

Another factor at work in this array is the long-term search by broadcasters for a recognition of their own legitimacy as social institutions; many critics of television have linked the rise of a televisual historical consciousness and the aggressive self-promotion of the broadcasting industry when criticizing television for its supposed failure to fully advance public ideals. Even while driven by the lure of significant profit American television broadcasters are often desperate to dissociate themselves from discourses presenting television as a vast wasteland. As part of a spirited defense against their many detractors they point to their unique ability to record and represent history. The "high culture—low culture" debate, so prevalent in analyses of American media, has sunk its roots into this issue as well.

In much of the rest of the world, by contrast, government investment in broadcasting has meant that questions of legitimation, and subsequent defense through claims of unique historical agency, have been less urgent. However, following the worldwide wave of privatization of media outlets which began in the 1980s television broadcasters throughout the world may begin to mimic their American predecessors. They, too, may protect their self interests by turning the production of "history on television" and "television as history" into a useable past.

As a result of all these activities, it is possible to see how forms of historical consciousness purveyed by television get transformed in the process of representing current events that are all equally "historic." Television promotes ideas about history that involve heterogeneous temporal references—past, present, and future. But actual historical events are unstable combinations of public and private experiences, intersecting both global and local perspectives. By proposing combinations and permutations of individual memory and official public document, television produces a new sense of cultural and social viewers.

For example, in relation to past events, television frequently addresses viewers as subjects of a distinctive historical consciousness: Americans of various ages are all supposed to remember where we were when we first heard and saw that John F. Kennedy was shot, that the space shuttle Challenger had exploded, or when the bombs began to drop on Baghdad, signaling the start of the Persian Gulf War. The drama of the

everyday can be similarly historicized when, for example, television promotes collective memories of Kathy Fiscus for one American generation or Baby Jessica for another. By addressing viewers in this way, television confirms its own central role as the focal point of the myriad individual experiences and memories of its individual viewers. In the process the medium brings sentimental domestic drama into direct relation with public, domestic, and global histories.

In all these instance, television's ideas of history are intimately bound up with the history of the medium itself (and indirectly with other audiovisual recording media), and with its abilities to record, circulate, and preserve images. In other words, the medium's representations of the past are highly dependent on events that have been recorded on film or video, such that history assumes the form of television's self-reflection. The uses of available still photography and audio recordings can also, on occasion, play a significant role in this regard. The medium's own mechanisms—its prevailing technologies and discourses—become the defining characteristics of modern historiography. Similarly, the television journalist—particularly the news anchor—can become an embodied icon of television's ability to credibly produce and represent history. Many nations have (or have had) a number of individuals achieve this status typically associated with an American reporter like Walter Cronkite. Now television journalists seem on the cusp of achieving this at transnational and transcultural levels. An emergent example here is Peter Arnett, correspondent for the Cable News Network (CNN). Television may in the process also begin to produce a new sense of global histories, along with national and personal histories.

This self-reflective nature of television's historiography develops in relation to both public events and in relation to the medium's own programming. American television routinely celebrates its own past in an array of anniversary, reunion, and retrospective shows about its own programs, and even in "bloopers" specials which compile outtakes and mistakes from previously-aired programs. Programs of this ilk serve multiple functions, and have various implications with regards to ideas of history. Self-promotion, in the form of inexpensive, recycled programming, is one obvious motivation for these shows, especially as the multi-channel environment means that more "old" shows are rerun on broadcast and cable services. This also becomes a kind of self-legitimation, by means of retrospective logic. For if American programs such as *The Tonight Show*, *The Brady Bunch*, or *Laverne and Shirley* warrant celebratory reunion or retrospective celebration, even years after they are no longer in production, this could mean they are important cultural artifacts/events.

Television thus continually rewrites its own past in the form of "history" as a way of promoting itself and its ongoing programming as a significant, legitimate part of culture. In the process, postwar American popular culture is held up as the measure of social-cultural history more generally. All viewers are enjoined to "remember" this heritage, whether they experienced it first-hand, in first-run, or not. This can

even lead to the production of instant nostalgia, when special programs herald popular series' final episodes (such as occurred with *Cheers* and *Knots Landing*), just as those final new episodes air in primetime. This sort of self-promotional and self-reflective ballyhoo (in network specials, as well as on talk shows, entertainment news programs, and local news programs around the country) proposes that these programs have been absorbed into a common popular cultural historical heritage from the very moment they are no longer presenting new episodes in primetime.

Programming schedules and strategies in themselves adopt and offer these new ideas about history, especially in terms of popular culture. This is increasingly apparent in the multi-channel universe, as television becomes something of a cultural archive, where movies and television programs from the past are as readily accessible as new programs. This can even be made self-conscious, as in the case of Nick at Night (a programming subdivision of Nickelodeon, an American cable network), which features American sitcoms from the 1960s and 1970s, and promotes itself as "celebrating our television heritage." In 1995 Nickelodeon proposed a second network, programmed exclusively with old television shows. The name for this collection of reruns would be "TV-Land." Once again, the history in question is the medium's own history, self-referentially reproducing itself as having cultural value and utility.

Beyond these strategic constructions of the historical significance of television as medium, a specific sense of history also pervades television's fiction programs. Because of the nature of American commercial television programming, individual programs develop and project a sense of history in direct proportion to their success—the longer they stay on the air, the more development there is over time. Characters and the actors who portray them not only age, but accrue a sense of density of experience and viewers may establish variable relationships with these characters and their histories. This sense of continuity and history, linking and intersecting fictive worlds with the lives of viewers, seems strongest and most explicit in serial melodrama, but equally affects any successful, long-running series. It is also complicated by the question of syndication and reruns where the interplay of repetition and development, seriality and redundancy leads to the sense that history is malleable and mutable, at least at the level of individual, everyday experience. While many European television programs intentionally have a limited run of episodes, other long-running programs such as *EastEnders* indicate that this tendency is not unique to American television. Furthermore, complicated historical issues can certainly be involved in limited-run series, as suggested by mini-series such as *Roots* in the United States or *Yearnings* in China.

As suggested above, many of these ideas about history are powerfully played out in the context of serial melodrama, a genre which may seem as far removed from "history" in the conventional sense as anything on television. These "soap operas" offer stories that may continue for decades,

maintaining viewer allegiances in the process, even though the stories are punctuated by redundancies on the one hand, and unanticipated reversals on the other. These narrative conventions are some of the very things for which the genre is often derided—slow dramatic progress, the ongoing breakups of good relationships, the routine revival of characters presumed dead, and sudden revelations that characters were switched at birth, or the product of previously unrevealed affairs, leading to major reconstructions of family relations. But these characteristic narrative strategies also produce a subtle and sophisticated sense of historicity and temporality, in the context of the accumulation of a long-term historical fiction and long-term viewing commitments. Among other things, they encourage a persistent reexamination of conventional assumptions and attitudes about lineage, and about family and community relations, in patriarchal culture. In the process they also offer a sense that the force and weight of the past is important, but not always readily transparent, requiring the active interpretive involvement and participation of the most ordinary people, including soap opera viewers. Complex and contradictory ideas about temporality and narrative contribute to a popular historical consciousness because they have everything to do with individuals' actual relations to and ideas about historicity. One example is found in the various *telenovelas* produced and aired in Brazil during the recent downfall of the Collor presidency; these *telenovelas* were read by audiences as sociopolitical texts imbued with the twists and turns which eventually led to Collor's resignation.

Television also produces ideas about history through historical fictions, in particular in primetime dramas and historical miniseries. These offer particular revisions and interpretations of the past, often inflected by a sense of anachronism. It is not surprising that many controversial social issues continue to be readily explored in the context of historical narrative. For viewers, the historical fictions provide the alibi of a safe distance and difference in relation to situations they might encounter in the present. A range of programs have thus explored ideas about race, gender, and multiculturalism in anachronistic historical contexts, allowing the past to become the terrain for displacing and exploring contemporary social concerns. In this way particular historical moments, however fictionalized, may be revived in conjunction with contemporary social issues. This occurs, for example, in programs as *Dr. Quinn, Medicine Woman*, *I'll Fly Away*, *Homefront*, and *The Young Indiana Jones Chronicles*, to name some notable American examples from the 1990s.

While these historical frames permit an opportunity for exploring issues that might otherwise be considered overly controversial (especially in the present), they also propose that the issues are not necessarily of current or topical concern, since they are retrospectively projected into the past. In this context, it is also interesting to examine which periods of the past become fertile territory for reexamination. Television often focuses on periods which are

based in the recent past and thus overdetermined in their familiarity; or, the chosen moments are widely recognized as eras of national transition or upheaval, providing opportunity for the exploration of many socially charged topics. Even within particular programs dealing with these particular periods, however, the idea of a stable linear historicity is not necessarily the rule.

In various ways, then, television situates itself at the center of a process wherein it produces and reconstructs history for popular consumption. For if the things it reports are historical, sometimes before they have even occurred, and if early television programs are our common cultural heritage, then the medium itself is the agent of historical construction. This reaches extremes when the medium's presence at an event becomes the "proof" of the event's historical importance, a tautological process which tends to encourage self-absorption, self-referentiality, and self-legitimation. Watching television and being on television become twin poles of a contemporary cultural experience of historicization. Viewers are likely to get caught up in this process.

There is, for example, the case of a young woman standing in a crowd on an L.A. freeway overpass in the summer of 1994, waiting for O.J. Simpson to pass by in a white Ford Bronco, trailed by police who were trying to arrest him. A reporter from CNN asked her why she was there. She explained that she had been watching it all on television, and realized that O.J. would pass near her house and, she said, "I just wanted to be a part of history." In the logic of contemporary television culture she achieved her goal, because she was on television and was able to write history in her own voice, live, with her presence and participation in a major televised event.

—Mimi White and James Schwoch

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- See also Burns, Ken; *Civil War*; Docudrama; Documentary; *I, Claudius*; *Holocaust*; *Roots*; *Valour and the Horror*

## THE HITCHHIKER'S GUIDE TO THE GALAXY

### British Science-Fiction Programme

**T**he *Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy* is a wholly remarkable book, television program, radio series, record, cassette, video, and proposed feature film. The six-part BBC Television adaptation of its own radio comedy is only one small part of a whole universe of merchandising which has sprung from this saga of angst and despair—from illustrated book versions to T-shirts and towels.

The story centres on an Earthman, Arthur Dent, one of a handful of survivors who remain when the planet is demolished to make way for a hyperspace bypass. Arthur travels through the galaxy with a group of companions, his friend called Ford Prefect, Zaphod Beeblebrox, two-headed ex-president of the galaxy, a pretty young astro-physicist called Trillian, and a copy of *The*

*Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy*, a woefully inaccurate electronic tourist guide.

The tale is a despair-ridden one. Our world, traditionally the centre of our Earthnocentric view of the universe, becomes "an utterly insignificant blue/green planet", orbiting a "small, unregarded sun at the unfashionable end of the Western spiral arm of the galaxy." Indeed, the entire *Hitchhiker's Guide* entry for "Earth" reads nothing more than "Mostly Harmless". In the course of the plot, it is repeatedly made clear just how meaningless the universe is. For example, when Deep Thought, the greatest computer of all time, discovers the answer to "Life, the Universe and Everything", it turns out to be "Forty Two". Indeed, the Earth is in fact a huge computer, built to discover the Question of Life, the Universe and Everything. On discovering this, Arthur Dent exclaims that this explains the feeling he has always had, that there's something going on in the universe that nobody would tell him about. "Oh no" says Zaphod Beeblebrox, "That's just perfectly normal paranoia. Everyone in the universe has that." This whole tone of angst is emphasised by the title sequence of the television programme: a single spaceman falls, isolated, against a backdrop of distant stars; while a melancholy mandolin plays in the background.

The form of all the incarnations of this story, not least the television version, is comedy-science fiction. A sparsely populated category even in literature, it is even rarer to find films or television programmes which twist the logic of the genres involved to provide innovative science fiction which is also very funny. Films like *Spaceballs*, for example, take rules from established comedy genres (satire) and use a science-fiction iconography as little more than a backdrop. *Red Dwarf*, the BBC's other successful science-fiction comedy, relies on well-known science-fiction standards done over as comedy (the metamorph, the good/bad sides of personalities splitting, and so on). None of these, were the jokes removed, would stand as notable science fiction in their own right.

The comedy could just as little be removed from *Hitchhiker's*: but this is because it is a part of the science-fiction context, and vice versa. The humour in the programme comes from puncturing portentous science-fiction themes. For example, there are extra-terrestrial beings—but far from being all-knowing or enlightened, all they are concerned with is getting drunk and getting laid. Similarly, the Earth is under threat from aliens—not for reasons of power, or resources, but simply because it is in the way of a planned bypass.

This comic deflation is an important part of the program's feeling of despair. The jokes build up expectations of transcendent truths, then knock them down with the realisation that everything is meaningless after all. *Hitchhiker's* is a consistently comic dystopia.

It is also worth noting that the only constant name through all the manifestations of *Hitchhiker's* is one of its original authors, Douglas Adams. It is possible to make an auteur reading of the programme in terms of Adams' other



The Hitch-Hiker's Guide to the Galaxy  
Photo courtesy of BBC

work. He was also a script editor of the BBC's long-standing science-fiction series *Doctor Who*. Over the 26 seasons of that programme, its style changed considerably, according to its producer and script editor—from space opera to gothic horror, adventure programme to serious science fiction. While Adams was working on the programme, he edited and wrote some of the most explicitly humorous episodes in that program's history. "City of Death", for example, features an alien creature forcing Leonardo Da Vinci to paint multiple copies of the *Mona Lisa* to be sold on the black market; while "Shada" is written almost as sit-com, with lines such as, "I am Skagra and I want the globe!—Well, I'm the Doctor, and you can't have it".

Focusing on Adam's authorship underlines other aspects of *Hitchhiker's*. The story has been re-used across several different formats. The great efficiency of Adams' recycling is also evident in his earlier work—material from his *Doctor Who* stories "Shada" and "City of Death", for example, is brought wholesale into his other major enterprise: mystery stories about a "holistic" detective called Dirk Gently.

The most noticeable things about the television production of *Hitchhiker's* are the sections of the programme which come from "the book". As Arthur encounters the various wonders of the Universe, the live action stops and there are short sections of what is essentially comic monologue—the disembodied voice of the *Hitchhiker's Guide* talks, while its comments are illustrated by "computer graphics" (illustrated line drawings). The structure of these programmes is somewhat like that of the musical—the narrative stops for a short performance. This gives a unique comic feel to the programme.

Ultimately, though, the most impressive fact about *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy* is that so much has so repeatedly been made of so little. This is not to belittle the programme in any way, but simply to point out that basically the same narrative has been reworked and reissued over more than a decade, consistently finding, with new media, new



audiences. This is surely worthy of some respect if for nothing else than being an impressive feat of environmentally-sound narrative recycling.

—Alan McKee

#### CAST

*The Book* . . . . . Peter Jones  
*Arthur Dent* . . . . . Simon Jones  
*Ford Prefect* . . . . . David Dixon  
*Trillian* . . . . . Sandra Dickinson  
*Zaphod Beeblebrox* . . . . . Mark Wing-Davey  
*Marvin* . . . . . Steven Moore

## HOCKEY NIGHT IN CANADA

### Canadian Sports Program

**H**ockey Night in Canada is one of sports broadcasting's longest-running and most groundbreaking programs. The contractual foundation for the series was established on an Ontario golf course in 1929 with a handshake between Toronto Maple Leafs boss Conn Smythe and advertising agency owner Jack MacLaren. The agreement granted MacLaren and his General Motors client the radio rights to Leafs games once Maple Leaf Gardens had been built. The inaugural *General Motors Hockey Broadcast* subsequently aired on 12 November 1931, soon after the Gardens was completed, with Foster Hewitt calling a Leafs/Chicago Black Hawks match-up. That same night, a Montreal contest between the Canadiens and the New York Rangers was also transmitted. By the start of 1933, a 20-station hook-up relayed broadcasts in English from both Toronto and Montreal. A telephone survey estimated the combined per-game audience at just under a million—in a country of less than ten million people, many of whom did not even own radio sets. A coast-to-coast ad hoc network for the program was in place by the end of the 1933–34 season.

From 1936 to 1937, Imperial Oil (another MacLaren client) replaced General Motors when GM of Canada's new president, freshly transferred from the United States, declared that he "did not believe hockey would sell cars." Meanwhile, on 1 January 1937, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) was launched as a public network and assumed national carriage of the program. Sometime thereafter, the series began to be identified as *Hockey Night in Canada*.

HNIC's first publicly televised game originated from Montreal on 11 October 1952. The initial Toronto telecast followed on 1 November. The Toronto broadcasts were supervised by George Retzlaff, a 30-year-old technical director from Winnipeg who had just finished his CBC cameraman's training when he was named head of CBC Sports and producer of HNIC. Retzlaff's flair for cogent camera angles and sensitivity to the sound factors of a

**PRODUCER** Alan Bell

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 6 35-minute episodes

• BBC

5 January 1981–9 February 1981

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telecast proved to be vital assets in his new job. Meanwhile, Gerald Renaud, a 24-year-old newspaper sports editor from Ottawa, taught himself television and secured the job of Montreal sports producer. Renaud remarked, "The basic principle for the camera positions I wanted to have was an ideal seat from which to watch the game." HNIC broadcasts originally utilized three overhead cameras. In 1956, Renaud introduced a fourth "goal camera" at ice level to catch the action around one of the nets. This was a natural extension of his daring method for shooting a game and pioneered a tighter, more adventurous school of hockey directing. Toronto's Retzlaff was an innovator as well. Anticipating the video tape replay, he used a new "hot



Hockey Night in Canada

processor" in 1955–56 to develop a kinescope (film) recording of a goal within thirty seconds for "almost instant" replay. Separately, and in their own ways, Retzlaff and Renaud taught telecasters how to convey the hockey drama. In these early years, Retzlaff was also a master at keeping both the CBC and MacLaren Advertising happy—an essential factor in *HNIC*'s fiscal stability.

Throughout the 1950s, the national feed game alternated weekly between Toronto and Montreal with the opposite game downgraded to regional status for airing in Ontario or Quebec respectively. Because there was no real liaison between the two units, tensions and differences in coverage styles developed. In 1966, therefore, Ted Hough (whose MacLaren vice presidency made him administrative head of *HNIC*) hired TV football director Ralph Mellanby to be executive producer of all *HNIC* telecasts. To make the coverage more interesting, Mellanby began by requiring staff to ledger every stoppage in play and justify what the production featured during each stoppage. He introduced dramatic scripted openings to sell the personality of each particular game in the same way that teasers were used in entertainment series. Mellanby also brought in directional microphones to catch the sounds of crunching bodies and ricocheting pucks and (once colorcasting began after a March 1965 test) put the home team in white uniforms so that succeeding weeks' matches would benefit from the changing hues of different visitors' bright road jerseys.

For many years, the television production of *HNIC* dovetailed with the radio coverage. Thus, the series aired on Saturday evenings (with some regional Wednesday games continuing into the 1970s) until Stanley Cup Playoff time when coverage could be almost nightly. However, because of CBC scheduling constraints, the early telecasts did not begin until 9:00 P.M.—the middle of the games' second period. In 1963–64, sign-on was moved up to 8:30 (near the first period's end) and in 1967–68, an 8:00 start inaugurated full-game coverage. In 1995, a Saturday doubleheader pattern began that featured two regional matches at 7:30 followed by a 10:30 nationwide feed from a western venue.

Financial aspects of the series also evolved. In 1958, the Molson family bought controlling interest in the Montreal Canadiens and used this as leverage to acquire part of the *HNIC* sponsorship for their Molson Breweries. By 1963, their sponsorship share equalled that of Imperial Oil. Ford of Canada also came aboard, initially to air "cover" commercials in provinces where beer advertising was prohibited. Imperial Oil pulled out of partner sponsorship in 1976 as oil shortages made advertising redundant. (But it left behind the post-game ritual of picking the "three stars"—a practice begun to promote Imperial's "Three Star" brand of gas.) The CBC then assumed Imperial's equity, creating a struggle for control with

MacLaren's Canadian Sports Network, the entity that actually produced *HNIC*. Ultimately, Molson chose to eliminate the MacLaren middleman, setting the stage for a 1988 Molson/CBC pact that kept the series out of the hands of eager independent network CTV, and officially retitled it *Molson Hockey Night in Canada on CBC*. The CBC thereby solidified its technical and transmission control of the series with Molson subsidiary Molstar Communications strengthening its role as the proprietary producer and holder of exclusive contracts with the key on-air personalities.

Over the years, *HNIC*'s air talent have been among the most famous people in Canada. Pioneering sportscaster Foster Hewitt was joined by son Bill when television coverage was added. Once *HNIC* outgrew radio/TV simulcasts, the elder Hewitt let his son handle the bulk of the TV side while he concentrated on his first love, radio. Foster Hewitt's ability to call a play and anticipate where it was going set the standard for the *HNIC* personalities who followed. Among these are Bob Cole, who replaced the ailing Bill Hewitt in 1973. Cole's style is to build his voice in a compelling series of plateaus as a play develops to its climax. Another broadcaster, former Vancouver and Detroit coach Harry Neale, inserts pithy lines into his games. ("Turnovers in your own end are like ex-wives. The more you have, the more they cost you"). Dick Irvin Jr., whose father coached both the Maple Leafs and the Canadiens to Stanley Cups, imbues the broadcasts with a genteel sense of heritage. And commentator and ex-coach Don Cherry is a volatile legend himself. Together with adroit foil and master punster Ron MacLean, Cherry's between-periods *Coach's Corner* often attracts more audience than the game itself as he rails against the "pukes" and "LA-LA land sissies" who would outlaw on-ice fighting and draws blustery, unfavorable comparisons between European players and "good Canadian boys who play hockey the way it's supposed to be played."

—Peter B. Orlick

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- Hockey Hall of Fame Magazine: Inaugural Issue*. Toronto: St. Clair Group Investments, 1993.
- Young, Scott. *The Boys of Saturday Night*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1990.

See also Canadian Programming in English; Canadian Programming in French; Sports and Television

## HODGE, PATRICIA

### British Actor

Patricia Hodge is a versatile and familiar face in British television comedy and drama. Her credits extend from the situation comedy *Holding the Fort* to supporting roles in long-running drama serials, such as *Rumpole of the Bailey*, and leading parts in specials and miniseries like *The Life and Loves of a She-Devil*.

Hodge's abilities as an actress were evident even before she completed her training at the London Academy of Music and Dramatic Art, where she won the Eveline Evans Award for Best Actress. Prior to establishing herself in television and film she gathered valuable stage experience, appearing in major productions of plays as varied as *Rookery Nook*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Hair*, and *Look Back in Anger*. With her vivacious good looks, half-closed eyes, and distinctive sharp-lined mouth, she proved herself equally adept at playing sultry temptresses and outraged harpies with a cruel streak, among other contrasting roles. The one single factor common to the majority of her characters has been their patently aristocratic birth.

As a television performer, Hodge was warmly received as well-spoken barrister Phyllida Trant in support to a rascally Leo McKern in *Rumpole of the Bailey*, a role in which she reappeared many times. Her first starring parts came in the situation comedies *The Other 'Arf*, in which she was MP John Standing's snobbish, spurned partner Sybilla Howarth, and *Holding the Fort*, a somewhat lacklustre series in which she was paired with Peter Davison as a newly married young mother experimenting with role reversal, going back to work while her restless husband stayed at home to do the chores.

By now established as a player of ladies of distinctly elevated backgrounds, Hodge was an obvious choice for Lady Antonia Fraser's aristocratic amateur sleuth Jemima Shore in *Jemima Shore Investigates*, sniffing out crimes among the nobility. Hodge's playing was widely recognized as the best feature of an otherwise very ordinary effort, which despite her contribution was fated to be only short-lived. Also wealthy and well-connected was her character in Fay Weldon's far more successful *The Life and Loves of a She-Devil* — the arrogant and man-stealing best-selling novelist Mary Fisher finally brought low by the vengeful Ruth Patchett (played by Julie T. Wallace). Also worthy of note have been her performances as Julia Merrygrove in *Rich Tea and Sympathy* and guest appearances in shows ranging from *Softly, Softly*, *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*, and *Inspector Morse*, to *Victoria Wood: Staying In* and *The Full Wax*, in which she showed a refreshing readiness to allow herself to be made fun of.

—David Pickering

PATRICIA HODGE. Born in Cleethorpes, Lincolnshire, England, 29 September 1946. Attended Wintringham Girls' Grammar School, Grimsby; St. Helen's School, North-



Patricia Hodge

Photo courtesy of the British Film Institute

wood, Middlesex; Maria Grey College, Twickenham; London Academy of Music and Dramatic Art. Married: Peter Owen, 1976; children: Alexander and Edward. Worked as a teacher; stage debut, Traverse Theatre, Edinburgh, 1971; popular leading lady in television drama series. Address: Michael Foster, ICM Ltd, Oxford House, 76 Oxford Street, London W1R 1RB, England.

### TELEVISION SERIES

1978–90	<i>Rumpole of the Bailey</i>
1978	<i>Edward and Mrs. Simpson</i>
1979–82	<i>Holding the Fort</i>
1979–80, 1981	<i>The Other 'Arf</i>
1980	<i>Nanny</i>
1981	<i>Winston Churchill: The Wilderness Years</i>
1982	<i>Jemima Shore Investigates</i>
1986	<i>The Life and Loves of a She-Devil</i>
1991	<i>Rich Tea and Sympathy</i>
1992	<i>The Cloning of Joanna May</i>

## TELEVISION SPECIALS

1975	<i>The Girls of Slender Means</i>
1975	<i>The Naked Civil Servant</i>
1984	<i>Hay Fever</i>
1985	<i>The Death of the Heart</i>
1986	<i>Hotel du Lac</i>
1988	<i>Heat of the Day</i>
1989	<i>The Shell Seekers</i>
1989	<i>The Secret Life of Ian Fleming</i>

## FILMS

*The Disappearance*, 1978; *Rosie Dixon—Night Nurse*, 1978; *The Waterloo Bridge Handicap*, 1979; *The Elephant Man*, 1980; *Heavy Metal*, 1981; *Riding High*, 1981; *Betrayal*,

1983; *Behind Enemy Lines*, 1985; *Dust to Dust*, 1985; *Skin*, 1986; *The Second Stain*, 1986; *92 Grosvenor Street*, 1987; *Sunset*, 1987; *Falcon's Maltester*, 1987; *Thieves in the Night*, 1988; *Just Ask for Diamond*, 1988.

## STAGE

*No-One Was Saved*, 1971; *Rookery Nook*, 1972; *Popkiss*, 1972; *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, 1973; *Pippin*, 1973; *Hair*, 1974; *The Beggar's Opera*, 1975; *Pal Joey*, 1976; *Look Back in Anger*, 1976; *Then and Now*, 1979; *The Mitford Girls*, 1981; *As You Like It*, 1983; *Benefactors*, 1984; *Lady in the Dark*, 1988; *Noël and Gertie*, 1989–90; *Shades*, 1992; *Separate Tables*, 1993; *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*, 1994.

## HOLBROOK, HAL

## U.S. Actor

Hal Holbrook is a highly respected television actor. Perhaps known to TV viewers for his regular supporting role in *Evening Shade*, Holbrook plays a cantankerous older man, a newspaper editor, whose son-in-law is played by Burt Reynolds. Holbrook is also known as the cunning lawyer Wild Bill McKenzie in the NBC made-for-TV *Perry Mason Mystery* movies. In these movies Perry Mason is out of town and Holbrook's McKenzie is handling court cases for Mason. Another regular recurring role introduced him to audiences as Reese Watson, boyfriend of the rambunctious Julia Sugarbaker on *Designing Women*. (Dixie Carter, who portrayed Julia, is Holbrook's wife.) But Holbrook's acting experience is much more expansive than these recent television excursions indicate.

Holbrook began his acting career on Broadway in the 1950s when his characterization of Mark Twain won him international recognition. The one-man drama *Mark Twain Tonight!* premiered on Broadway in 1959, and won him a Tony Award in 1966. He performed the act on network TV, and has continued its performance. He also has acted in many other plays and locations. In 1993, for example, he played Shakespeare's *King Lear* at the Old Globe Theatre in San Diego, California, where the critics and audiences loved him. While touring with *Mark Twain Tonight!* Holbrook began acting in cinema. He first appeared in *The Group* (1966) and *Wild in the Streets* (1968).

Holbrook began acting on TV as he simultaneously toured *Mark Twain Tonight!* and acted in film. In 1969 he appeared in the made-for-TV movie *The Whole World Is Watching*. This was followed by a quick succession of other TV movies, such as *A Clear and Present Danger*, *Travis Logan, D.A.*, *Suddenly Single*, *Goodbye, Raggedy Ann*, and *That Certain Summer*. Most of his best acting on TV is in single appearances rather than in a series. Many of these performances are based on historical figures (Twain, Lincoln, Commander Lloyd Bucher of the ship *Pueblo*). He

has won the Emmy for *The Senator, Pueblo*, and *Sandburg's Lincoln*. His TV credits include working as the sometimes host on *Omnibus*, and acting in miniseries such as *North and South*.

Holbrook's work in the theater has been of enormous benefit to his TV performances. For Holbrook, money—



Hal Holbrook

Photo courtesy of Hal Holbrook

not art—is in Hollywood films and TV. He has learned the craft of acting primarily on the stage. In theater, says Holbrook, the actor is responsible for his/her success or failure. Thus, his acting has improved over several decades due to his professional theater work. But he has consistently come back to the mass medium of TV to entertain audiences in movies and historical dramas, bringing well-crafted acting, intelligent characterizations, and award-winning performances. He has gone one step further with *Designing Women* and *Evening Shade*. Classic and classy acting now resides in a TV sitcom.

—Clayland H. Waite

HAL (HAROLD ROWE, JR.) HOLBROOK. Born in Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A., 17 February 1925. Educated at Suffield Academy, 1933–37, Culver Military Academy, 1938–42; Denison University, B.A. with honors 1948. Married: 1) Ruby Elaine Johnson, 1945 (divorced), children: Victoria and David; 2) Carol Rossen (divorced), child: Eve; 3) Dixie Carter, 1984. Early career in summer stock; developed solo performance, *Mark Twain Tonight!*, 1953; toured widely in the United States and abroad; in film and television from 1960s. Member, Committee on International Cultural Exchange; National Council of Arts and Government; Mark Twain Memorial Association. Recipient: Vernon Rice Memorial Award, 1959; Outer Circle Award, 1959; Special Citation, New York Drama Critics Circle, 1966; Tony Award, 1966; Torch of Liberty Award, Anti-Defamation League, B'nai Brith, 1972; Emmy Awards, 1970, 1973, 1974–75.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1954–62 *The Brighter Day*  
1970–71 *The Senator*  
1986–93 *Designing Women*  
1990–94 *Evening Shade*

#### TELEVISION MINISERIES

1974 *Sandburg's Lincoln*  
1984 *George Washington*  
1984 *Celebrity*  
1985 *North and South*  
1986 *North and South II*  
1988] *Mario Puzo's "The Fortunate Pilgrim"*

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

1966 *The Glass Menagerie*  
1969 *The Whole World Is Watching*  
1970 *Travis Logan, D.A.*  
1970 *A Clear and Present Danger*  
1971 *Suddenly Single*  
1971 *Goodbye, Raggedy Ann*  
1972 *That Certain Summer*  
1973 *Pueblo*  
1978 *The Awakening Land*  
1979 *When Hell Was in Session*

1979 *Murder by Natural Causes*  
1979 *The Legend of the Golden Gun*  
1980 *Our Town*  
1980 *Off the Minnesota Strip*  
1981 *The Killing of Randy Webster*  
1984 *The Three Wishes of Billy Grier*  
1985 *Behind Enemy Lines*  
1986 *Under Siege*  
1986 *Dress Gray*  
1987 *Plaza Suite*  
1988 *I'll Be Home for Christmas*  
1988 *Emma: Queen of the South Seas*  
1989 *Sorry, Wrong Number*  
1989 *Day One*  
1990 *A Killing in a Small Town*  
1993 *Bonds of Love*  
1994 *A Perry Mason Mystery: The Case of the Lethal Lifestyle*  
1994 *A Perry Mason Mystery: The Case of the Grimacing Governor*  
1995 *She Stood Alone: The Tailhook Scandal*  
1995 *A Perry Mason Mystery: The Case of the Jealous Joker*

#### TELEVISION SPECIAL (selection)

1967 *Mark Twain Tonight!*

#### FILMS

*The Group*, 1966; *Wild in the Streets*, 1968; *The People Next Door*, 1970; *The Great White Hope*, 1970; *They Only Kill Their Masters*, 1972; *Magnum Force*, 1973; *Jonathan Livingston Seagull*, 1973; *The Girl from Petrovka*, 1974; *Midway*, 1976; *All the President's Men* (voice), 1976; *Julia*, 1977; *Rituals*, 1978; *Capricorn One*, 1978; *Natural Enemies*, 1979; *The Kidnapping of the President*, 1980; *The Fog*, 1980; *Creepshow*, 1982; *The Star Chamber*, 1983; *Girl's Night Out*, 1984; *Wall Street*, 1987; *The Unholy*, 1988; *Fletch Lives*, 1989; *The Firm*, 1993; *Cats Don't Dance* (voice), 1996; *Carried Away*, 1996.

#### STAGE (selection)

*Mark Twain Tonight!*; *The Apple Tree*; *I Never Sang For My Father*; *Man of La Mancha*; *Does a Tiger Wear a Necktie?*; *King Lear*.

#### PUBLICATION

*Mark Twain Tonight: An Actor's Portrait. Selections from Mark Twain* (edited, adapted, and arranged by Hal Holbrook, with a prologue). New York: Washburn, 1959.

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## HOLLYWOOD AND TELEVISION

The history of the vital relationship between Hollywood and television begins in the 1920s, as radio broadcasting created new opportunities for showmanship and entertainment. Film entrepreneurs eagerly pursued the possibilities radio awoke for various aspects of the film business, including production, promotion, and exhibition. One of the earliest was Samuel L. Rothafel, manager of the Capitol Theater in New York City, owned by the Loews Corporation. "Roxy", as he was known, took to the air on 19 November 1922, over WEAJ as host of *The Capitol Theater Gang*, a regular Sunday night broadcast of the Capitol Theater's pre-feature stage show. Roxy soon became one of radio's first celebrity personalities, and Loew's flagship theater and films received the benefit of national promotion as WEAJ became the central hub of the fledgling NBC network. This mutual publicity and benefit showed what a strategic alliance of the two media could accomplish.

Samuel L. Warner parlayed his interest in sound film technology into a Warner Brothers radio station, KFWB, in 1925, proposing that other studios recognize the potential in this new medium as well. Loew's New York station, WHN, provided one of the few consistent venues for black jazz musicians in the 1920s and early 1930s. Despite some exhibitors' objections, both Paramount and MGM announced their intentions to form radio networks in the late 1920s. Paramount eventually became half-owner of CBS until forced to sell back its stock in 1932; MGM went on to participate in radio program origination with *The Maxwell House Showboat* in the 1930s; and in a reversal of this pattern RCA, parent of NBC, acquired its own film studio, RKO, in 1929.

With the entry of advertising agencies into radio production in the early 1930s, the somewhat stuffy potted-palm aesthetic of NBC gave way to Hollywood-based showmanship, and film stars and properties made up an increasing proportion of radio's daily schedules. Hollywood became a major broadcast production center in the mid-1930s, with such programs as *Hollywood Hotel*, the *Lux Radio Theater* (hosted by Cecil B. DeMille), and most major variety shows featuring Hollywood talent originating from the West Coast studios of NBC, CBS, and major agencies. In turn, as radio developed its own roster of stars, the studios capitalized on a long series of radio pictures, from Amos and Andy's *Check and Double Check* in 1932 and the *Big Broadcast* films to the Bob Hope and Bing Crosby "Road" movies of the 1940s. The studios also capitalized on the promotional capacity of radio in the form of spot advertising, using audio-only trailers as an important part of film promotion.

This lucrative and mutually beneficial relationship, combined with FCC regulation, kept Hollywood from developing its potential for competition with network broadcasting by restricting the use of recorded material for syndication. Not until the advent of television did film itself

present a strong alternative to provision of live programming via networks. Though Paramount, Warner Brothers, Loew's-MGM and 20th Century-Fox had all opened stations or applied for television station licenses in the late 1940s, indications from the FCC that movie studios would not be looked upon favorably in post-freeze allocations led to experimentation with other methods.

Hollywood studios plunged into television on three fronts: first, in the development of pay television systems in the late 1940s, designed to provide feature films on a box-office basis; second, in experiments with theater television, a method for projecting television onto movie theater screens; and third, in direct production for television, both network and syndicated. Paramount experimented with its Telemeter pay-per-view system, along with Zenith's Phonevision and the Skiatron Corporation's over the air technology; FCC discouragement of this potentially powerful competition to network broadcasting prevented pay television from becoming a reality and allowed the cable industry to find a foothold. Both Fox and Paramount attempted to develop theatre television but the expansion of individual TV set sales, combined with the FCC's refusal to allocate part of the mostly unused UHF band for transmission, brought this short-lived technology to a halt. By the early 1950s the studios had turned to television production, led by Hollywood independents but culminating in the Disney/ABC alliance that produced *Disneyland* in 1954. Warner Brothers and MCA/Universal followed, as network expansion and consolidation allowed a shift from live programming to filmed series. By 1960, 40% of network programming was produced by the major Hollywood studios and the proportion continued to grow.

Institution of the financial interest and syndication rules in the mid-1970s finally allowed the production companies to break free of network dominance of the lucrative syndication market. Combined with the growth of cable, where the must-carry rule helped provided new audiences for independent stations, the market for Hollywood-produced series, specials, miniseries and movie packages skyrocketed in the 1980s. Pay cable companies such as HBO and Showtime provided new funds for production capital.

By the late 1980s history had come full circle, as Rupert Murdoch's vertically integrated Twentieth Century-Fox corporation formed the first successful fourth network in broadcasting history. The new FOX network capitalized on a ready supply of in-house programming, newly powerful independent stations, niche marketing to youth and favorable FCC regulation to prove that the Hollywood film industry and network television broadcasting had only remained separate for forty years as a result of heavy legislative intervention. Paramount and Warner Brothers were not slow to take heed, starting up two new networks, the United

Paramount Network (drawing on the success of the syndicated *Star Trek* series) and the WB (an almost exact imitation of FOX), in January 1995. Disney's purchase of ABC in 1996 confirmed the studio-network alliance. By the late 1990s, as cable, telephone, computer and broadcasting companies struggled for favorable alliances with Hollywood-based creative organizations, the relationship of Hollywood and television continued its cruise at warp speed into the integrated and interactive sphere of cyberspace.

—Michele Hilmes

## HOLOCAUST

### U.S. Miniseries

**H**olocaust first aired on NBC from 16 April through 19 April of 1978. Most obviously, this nine-and-a-half-hour, four-part series may be compared to *Roots*, which aired on ABC a year earlier and on which *Holocaust's* director, Marvin Chomsky, had worked. Like *Roots's* saga of American slavery, *Holocaust's* story of Jewish suffering before and during World War II apparently flew in the face of network programming wisdom, which advised against presenting tales of virtually unrelieved or inexplicable misery. While *Holocaust* was a smaller ratings success than was *Roots* (it drew a 49 audience share to *Roots's* 66), NBC estimated after the 1979 rebroadcast that as many as 220 million viewers in the United States and Europe had seen the series.

*Holocaust*, produced by Herbert Brodtkin, contrasts the interlocking fates of two German families, the Jewish Weisses of the subtitle and the Nazi Dorfs. At the time of the series's first airing, critics sniped about the improbability of the proposition that so small a cast of characters would be witnesses to so great a number of the major milestones in the destruction of European Jewry, among them the confabulations of the architects of Hitler's Final Solution, the slaughter at Babi Yar, the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, and the liberation of Auschwitz. In another sense, however, this emphasis on blood ties conforms to this drama's major artistic strategy, the employment (over-employment, James Lardner complained in the *New Republic*) of symbol and archetype. Thus the Holocaust is, in this conception, the decimation of a family within Europe, just as the infamous smokestacks of the death camps may be emblemized by a moment when the small daughter of Nazi bureaucrat Erik Dorf stuffs a sheaf of Weiss family photographs into the parlor stove and shuts the door firmly upon them.

On its American debut, *Holocaust* met with a generally positive response but not with unanimous approbation. Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel protested in *The New York Times* that it was "untrue, offensive, cheap". Reviewers generally applauded the cast (which included Meryl Streep, Ian Holm, Fritz Weaver, Rosemary Harris, and Michael

### FURTHER READING

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See also American Movie Classics; Home Box Office; Movies on Television; Movie Professionals and Television

Moriarty, who won an Emmy for his portrayal of Dorf) and praised Gerald Green's script, an overnight best seller when published in novel form as a tie-in. Still, several critics described a curious "emptiness" at the drama's heart, emanating from what they identified as excessive melodrama and flat characters who seemed designed to represent particular classes and types more than individuals. Moreover, many viewers were particularly dismayed by the content of the commercial interruptions, which at best seemed to strike a cheerfully vulgar note inappropriate to the subject matter of the series and at other times appeared, horrifyingly, to parody it, as in the juxtaposition of a Lysol ad alerting viewers to the need to combat kitchen odors, with a scene in which Adolf Eichmann complains that the crematoria smells make dining at Auschwitz unpleasant.

When the series aired in West Germany on the Third (Regional) Network in January 1979 (a forum apparently designed to lessen its impact), however, viewer response was little short of stunning. According to German polls intended to measure audience reaction before, immediately after, and several months after *Holocaust* appeared, this single television event had a significant effect on West Germans' understanding of this episode in the history of their country. Despite strong opposition to the broadcast before it aired, some 15 million West Germans (roughly half the adult population) tuned in to one or more episodes, breaking what Judith Doneson calls "a thirty-five-year taboo on discussing Nazi atrocities". Among those who saw the series, the number favoring the failed German-resistance plot of 20 July 1944 to assassinate Hitler rose dramatically, *Variety* reported that "70% of those in the 14 to 19 age group declared that they had learned more from the shows about the horrors of the Nazi regime than they had learned in all their years of studying West German history". Such was the public response that West Germany promptly canceled the statute of limitations for Nazi war crimes, formerly scheduled to expire at the end of 1979.

The mixture of prime-time commercialism and emotional commitment that informed *Holocaust* goes far to





Holocaust

explaining both its wide appeal (and, often, powerful effect) and the disappointment it represented for its detractors. Filmed, unlike *Roots*, on location—in Mauthausen concentration camp, among other places—and reportedly a shattering experience especially for the actors portraying Nazis, the series allowed its producers to take pride in the quality of the research involved; they were creating, they noted, a major television event designed to shape the historical perceptions of millions. But ultimately, it would seem, the critiques of the series arise from the fact that it is no *more* than the “major television event” that NBC assuredly achieved.

—Anne Morey

#### CAST

<i>Adolph Eichmann</i>	Tom Bell
<i>Rudi Weiss</i>	Joseph Bottoms
<i>Helena Slomova</i>	Tovah Feldshuh
<i>Herr Palitz</i>	Marius Goring
<i>Berta Weiss</i>	Rosemary Harris
<i>Heinrich Himmler</i>	Ian Holm

<i>Uncle Sasha</i>	Lee Montague
<i>Erik Dorf</i>	Michael Moriarty
<i>Marta Dorf</i>	Deborah Norton
<i>Uncle Kurt Dorf</i>	Robert Stephens
<i>Inga Helms Weiss</i>	Meryl Streep
<i>Moses Weiss</i>	Sam Wanamaker
<i>Reinhard Heydrich</i>	David Warner
<i>Josef Weiss</i>	Fritz Weaver
<i>Karl Weiss</i>	James Woods
<i>Hoefle</i>	Sean Arnold
<i>Hans Frank</i>	John Bailey
<i>Anna Weiss</i>	Blanche Baker
<i>Frau Lowy</i>	Kate Jaenicke
<i>Dr. Kohn</i>	Charles Kohn

**PRODUCERS** Herbert Brodtkin, Robert “Buzz” Berger

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

• NBC  
16 April 1978

8:00-11:00

17 April 1978	9:00-11:00
18 April 1978	9:00-11:00
19 April 1978	8:30-11:00

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See also Docudrama; History and Television; Racism, Ethnicity, and Television

## HOME BOX OFFICE

### U.S. Cable Network

**H**ome Box Office (HBO), a division of Time Warner Entertainment Company, produces, markets, and distributes media products for both film and television. It operates a 24-hour premium cable channel with transmission across the United States, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the U.S. Virgin Islands. The mainstay of its programming is non-X-rated motion pictures, with originally produced documentaries, movies, series, comedy, music, movies, and sports specials. In addition to the self-named premium channel HBO, the corporation operates Cinemax, another premium channel, and owns 50% of Comedy Central. It also maintains equity interests in E! Entertainment. Internationally, its services include HBO Asia, HBO Brazil, HBO Czech, HBO Hungary, HBO Spektrum, a Hungarian language documentary channel, and throughout Spanish-speaking Latin America and the Caribbean Basin as HBO Ole.

Founded in 1972, HBO was developed as a pay-movie/ special service cable operation in New York. In November of the same year, service was expanded when a National Hockey League game from Madison Square garden was transmitted to 365 Service Electric Cable TV subscribers in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. After three years of expansion using microwave technology, HBO presented the heavyweight boxing championship fight between Muhammad Ali and Joe Frazier in Manila via satellite. Its success led to HBO becoming the first in the television industry to use satellites for regular transmission of programming.

With the national growth of cable television, came competition from other companies offering premium channel service. In an effort to ensure product, Showtime, The Movie Channel negotiated a deal with Paramount Pictures, giving them exclusive rights to all motion pictures distrib-



*Courtesy of HBO*

uted. HBO countered the move by forming a new motion picture company with Columbia Pictures and CBS in 1983—Tri-Star. Later, the company obtained exclusive rights to films from Silver Screen Partners, Columbia Pictures, Savoy Pictures, and 20th Century Fox.

The company expanded its reach into broadcast television in 1990 with the formation of HBO Independent Productions, developed to produce series television. Its first show was *Roc*, which aired on the FOX network. Acquisition of Citadel Entertainment in 1991 furthered HBO's reach, developing programming for CBS and ABC, as well as for cable channels TNT, USA Lifetime, and HBO.

The cable and broadcast television industry were severely affected by increasing use of videocassettes by the public. In the 1980s, sales and rentals of pre-recorded video tapes detrimentally affected viewership. HBO further diversified, entering into this area as well. In 1984, with Thorn

EMI Entertainment, the company formed EMI/HBO Home Video (now known as HBO Home Video). This division of HBO both acquires and distributes home video programs in the United States and Canada.

A cable industry giant, the Home Box Office corporation initiated several new technologies, marketing strategies, and programming ideas to television, resulting in its receipt of the Golden Ace, the cable industry's highest overall honor. Some of its innovations include: in 1980, pay-tv's first comprehensive national advertising campaign; in 1981 the first made-for-pay-tv movie, *The Terry Fox Story*; in 1986, full-time time scrambling in an effort

to fight piracy; and in 1991 multi-plexing of HBO and Cinemax.

—Frances K. Gateward

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See also Cable Networks; Hollywood and Television; Levin, Gerald; Movies on Television; Pay Cable; Satellite; Sports on Television

## HOME VIDEO

In the early 1960s major players in the U.S. electronics and entertainment industries began making plans to develop some form of home video system. All of these projects conceived of home video as a playback-only system, employing some kind of disc. The basic assumption was that consumers would purchase copies of video programs just as they purchased phonograph records. In this way, the program producers could retain strict control over the duplication and sale of their copyrighted material. A machine that recorded could only mean one thing: piracy of valuable rights. To U.S. interests, videotape was strictly a professional medium.

Japanese corporations, however, sought to develop video recorders for consumer use. Sony was the leader in this effort, making brief attempts to open the home market with open-reel VTRs (videotape recorders) in the mid-1960s, and 3/4-inch U-Matic VCRs (video cassette recorders) in the early 1970s. These formats had been developed with home video in mind, and although they were either too crude, complex, cumbersome or costly to catch on with consumers, both were successes in educational and industrial markets, allowing Sony to continue development work.

The U.S. video ventures tended to be over-promoted and under-engineered, more hype than substance. RCA began making grand pronouncements about its soon-to-be released video disc in 1969, yet the device did not reach the market until 1981. One of the factors that plagued the development of video disc systems was the chicken-and-egg nature of the relationship between software and hardware. Hardware producers were unwilling to invest major efforts if software wasn't available, and software producers were unwilling to commit production to an untried system. Sony did not have this problem. Sony CEO Akio Morita had long felt that video's consumer potential lay in its ability to free viewers from the rigid time constraints of the broadcast schedule. "People do not have to read a book when it's delivered," he argued, "Why should they have to see a TV program when it's delivered?" In 1975 Sony introduced the Betamax VCR with an ad campaign positioning it as a product with unique single purpose: time-shift viewing.

Sony did not suggest that viewers might then save the tapes, and begin building a library of programs. But this prospect occurred almost immediately to MCA president Sidney Sheinberg when he saw the first Betamax ads. MCA, the parent company of Universal studios, was a major entertainment copyright holder—and was also seeking to develop its own video disc system. MCA sued Sony, arguing that the Betamax encouraged copyright infringement, and seeking to have the VCRs withdrawn from the market.

The Betamax VCR system soon faced opposition in the market as well. Sony's more powerful Japanese competitors Matsushita (the parent company of Panasonic) and Hitachi developed their video cassette recording devices on the VHS system, a format developed by JVC, and incompatible with the Sony system.

Although early VCRs in any format were expensive—luxury items restricted mainly to the relatively well-to-do—they sold well enough for the manufacturers to expand production, and to worry the domestic video-disc forces. In 1978, inside buzz in the consumer electronics industry held



Interior of a Blockbuster Video store  
Photo courtesy of Blockbuster Entertainment Group

that RCA was about to ship disc players with prices so cheap, and with so much software and marketing power behind them, that the Japanese upstarts would be sent packing and VCRs would go the way of 8-track tape players. It didn't happen. Instead, RCA, GE, Magnavox and other domestic companies entered the video business by marketing VCRs manufactured by Matsushita and Hitachi. These companies were willing to slap the U.S. brand names on their machines because they could garner significant sales without spending large sums on promotion or establishing new dealer networks.

The original verdict in the Betamax case was delivered in 1979. Sony won. MCA appealed, backed by the larger forces of the Motion Picture Association of America and a coalition of copyright holders in other mediums. In 1981, the U.S. Court of Appeals reversed the earlier decision, but it did not order the Betamax withdrawn, leaving the matter of penalty to be decided later. Though still not common household items, VCRs had by this time won enough favor with the public that it would have been politically unwise to prohibit them. No action was taken, pending Sony's appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

When RCA finally released its long-awaited videodisc player that same year, the cost was near that of a VCR, the picture was mediocre and the discs began to wear out after a number of plays. The public reacted with a collective yawn. The RCA videodisc was the only home video product created directly by a major U.S. corporation ever to reach the market.

Though a number of bills dealing with VCR development and use had been introduced in Congress, none passed. In 1984 the Supreme Court reversed the Appeals Court, ruling in Sony's favor on the grounds that home video recording fell under the "fair use" provisions of copyright law. However, Sony's legal triumph was tempered by setbacks in the market. Almost all the U.S. companies marketing VCRs had opted for the VHS format, and Betamax machines had steadily lost market share.

VCR use continued to move away from mere time-shifting, and in the format wars between the Beta and VHS systems, software was the deciding factor. And software meant movies. When the Betamax appeared, the movie industry had little interest in releasing old films on videocassette. After all, the movies studios and trade organizations were supporting the suit to get rid of the Betamax, and still had visions of video discs dancing in their heads.

Nevertheless, a Michigan entrepreneur named Andre Blay decided to start a pre-recorded videocassette business. He began soliciting the studios, seeking to purchase the rights to distribute films on tape. All but one rejected him. 20th Century-Fox, strapped for cash at the time, signed on, and in late 1976 Blay began selling tapes through a video club arrangement advertised in *TV Guide*. The promotion was an instant success. Blay and Fox made more money than they had imagined, and the other film companies slowly but surely followed them to this new source of profit.

Because the first films on video were prepared for an untested market, they were produced on a small scale and were quite expensive. Like the first VCRs, they seemed to be luxury items with a limited market. However, another entrepreneur struck on the idea of acquiring a library of tapes and renting them out for a reasonable fee. This seemed like a good idea to many would-be small businesspeople, and video rental businesses quickly spread across the country. "Mom and Pop" video shops seemed to appear on every local corner.

For all the power of the large corporations that created the hardware, this grass-roots phenomenon of tape rental was the key to the diffusion of the VCR. With inexpensive software readily available for rent, VCR ownership became more desirable. Rising VCR sales drew more video titles into release and lowered rental prices, which helped VCR sales grow again, and so on. Unfortunately for Sony, the fact that a majority of VCR sales were VHS units led video shop owners to stock more VHS titles, which led to even more VHS sales. The Beta format was left on the wrong end of the economic spiral. By 1986, with basic models priced under \$200 in discount stores, the VCR was no longer a luxury, but a household staple, a piece of the common culture. As the decade turned, Sony quietly folded Beta production and began manufacturing VHS machines.

Ironically perhaps, most VCR owners rarely use the machines for time-shifting—most VCR clocks will do nothing but blink "12:00" on into eternity. Instead consumers use VCRs in purposes intended for the failed disc-players—to play back pre-recorded material. Another irony: despite all the entertainment industry's fears of piracy, videocassette sales proved to a major source of revenue—the VCR helped save the studios instead of helping destroy them. The Japanese triumph in the video wars was the last straw in the collapse of the U.S. consumer electronics industry, and signaled the development of new global relations in the entertainment business. A final irony: in the 1990s Matsushita purchased MCA (only to sell it in 1995, perhaps an indication that the manufacturer is a stronger force in the creation of hardware than software.)

The cultural impact of home video is not as easy to gauge as the economic. When the VCR first arrived some social thinkers enveloped it in utopian promise. By putting technology in the hands of the people, their argument went, we finally had the mechanism to enable true media diversity that would replace an imposed, top-down mass culture. Indeed, videotape distribution does not require the economies of scale necessary for large-scale network or even local broadcasting. Thus, theoretically, home video opens the television medium to a host of small, non-corporate voices. The utopian promise grew with the advent of portable VCRs and video cameras, later refined into the low-cost compact camcorder. With this technology almost anyone could become a producer!

Yet home video did not lead to a great democratic decentralization of television. In the early days of the video

business a number of tapes from non-mainstream producers became widely available, but these were largely pornography and low-grade slasher films. Even these disappeared as the Mom and Pop video stores were displaced by the clean corporate hegemony of Blockbuster Video and other chain distributors. The pre-recorded tapes most VCR users pop into their machines are mainstream products of an increasingly monopolized culture industry. What home video *has* enabled is the phenomenon of "cocooning," the ability to participate in cultural consumption without going out in public. Even the camcorder remains a largely private phenomenon, restricted by most users to home movies of family events (with all cute-kid out-takes shipped off to *America's Funniest Home Videos*, of course). Still, while home video has had no revolutionary effect on the cultural mainstream, it has enabled new activity at the margins. Independent, experimental or alternative tapes of all sorts do get made and distributed. For example, *Cathode Fuck* and other scabrous works of culture-criticism-on-video circulate more freely and widely than the avant-garde films from which they descended.

## HOMICIDE

### Australian Crime Series

**H**omicide was one of the first drama series produced in Australia, and one of its most historically significant and successful. First broadcast in 1964, *Homicide* ran for 509 episodes until production ceased in 1975, establishing the police drama as a staple of Australian-made TV in the 1960s and 1970s, and revealing an enthusiasm among Australian TV viewers for local programming, of which there had been very little prior to the success of *Homicide*.

*Homicide* was produced for the Seven Network by the Melbourne-based Crawfords Productions, whose founder Hector Crawford has been a pivotal figure in Australian radio and television. With *Homicide*, Crawfords pioneered long production runs for serialised drama on modest budgets, and had established the importance of the external production house as a source of local drama material for the commercial networks. Crawfords also pioneered outdoor location filming in Australia, which was an important part of *Homicide's* popularity with Australian audiences, who for the first time saw drama taking place in familiar urban locations.

*Homicide* was an episodic crime drama, invariably involving a murder, with most episodes following closely a narrative structure in which the detective team would investigate and, in the final segments, resolve the murder and arrest the perpetrators. The program was thus "realist" in both narrative and visual representation. Still, the team of male detectives was detached from their social environment. They were always presented as part of a stable hierarchy, and bound by thorough professionalism and no consideration was given to their private lives. These factors place *Homicide*

In all, the history of home video indicates that technology does not so much change society as better enable people to pursue their existing interests, be it the few who experiment with media alternatives, or the many who seek Hollywood thrills and romance from the comfort of their living room sofas.

—David J. Tetzlaff

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in an older tradition of TV police drama. Here dichotomies between law and crime, the police and the society in which they operate, their professional work and private lives, and the relationship of hierarchical authority to individual initiative remain stable and largely uncontested. *Homicide* can be seen as a program which defined the generic conventions of police drama in Australia, drawing upon the codes and conventions established in police dramas such as *Dragnet* in the United States and *Z Cars* in Britain, with more emphasis upon the narrative of crime-solving than on the development of character and the generation of conflict.

The peak years of *Homicide* were also the peak years of police drama on Australian TV, with it and other similar programs consistently rating highly with local, particularly male audiences. When production of *Homicide* ceased in 1975, the police drama had already declined in significance in programming schedules and popularity, giving way to the rise of the serial drama and, later, the miniseries.

The significance of *Homicide* to Australian television perhaps lies less in its textual innovations than in certain institutional factors. It demonstrated a capacity to present familiar environments and character types to Australian audiences on TV for the first time. It created an environment more conducive to policy measures that promoted local drama production and restricted imported material. And it exemplified the innovations in program production necessitated by the need to produce an on-going drama series. In many ways the program demonstrates the ways in which Australia's international reputation as a country with a competitive advantage in low-budget



Homicide

*Photo courtesy of Crawford Australia*



Homicide

*Photo courtesy of Crawford Australia*

strip programming has its origins in the production techniques developed at Crawford in the 1960s.

—Terry Flew

#### CAST

*Inspector Jack Connolly* . . . . . John Fegan  
*Detective Frank Bronson* . . . . . Terry McDermott  
*Detective Rex Fraser* . . . . . Lex Mitchel  
*Senior Detective David Mackay* . . . . . Leonard Teale  
*Senior Detective Bill Hodson* . . . . . Leslie Dayman  
*Senior Detective Peter Barnes* . . . . . George Malleby  
*Senior Detective Bert Costello* . . . . . Lionel Long  
*Inspector Colin Fox* . . . . . Alwyn Kurts  
*Senior Detective Jim Patterson* . . . . . Norman Yamm  
*Senior Detective Bob Delaney* . . . . . Mike Preston  
*Senior Detective Phil Redford* . . . . . Gary Day  
*Inspector Reg Lawson* . . . . . Charles Tingwell  
*Senior Detective Pat Kelly* . . . . . John Stanton  
*Senior Detective Harry White* . . . . . Don Barker  
*Senior Detective Mike Deagan* . . . . . Dennis Grosvenor

**PRODUCERS** Ian Crawford, Paul Eddey, Paul Karo, Nigel Lovell, David Stevens, Igor Auzins, Don Battye

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

507 One-hour Episodes  
 2 90-minute Episodes  
 1 Two-hour Episodes  
 1 90-minute Documentar

#### • Seven Network

October 1964–January 1977	Tuesday 7:30-8:30
21 October 1975	Tuesday 7:30-9:00
5 February 1976	Tuesday 7:30-9:00
5 June 1976	Tuesday 7:30-9:30
21 November 1970 (Documentary)	Tuesday 7:30-9:00

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See also Australian Production Companies; Australian Programming; Crawford, Hector

## HONEY WEST

### U.S. Detective Program

**H**oney West is significant as the first woman detective to appear as the central character in American network television series. While women had portrayed investigators, police reporters, FBI agents and undercover operatives in crime drama formats from the earliest days of television, they typically shared billing as sidekick characters, worked at occupations more commonplace than detective or were cast in secondary roles. Examples would include, among others, journalist Lorelei Kilbourne in the series *Big Town* (1950–56), international art gallery owner turned sleuth, Mme. Lui-Tsong, in *The Gallery of Mme. Lui-Tsong* (1951) and girl Friday Maggie Peters in *The Investigators* (1961). Honey West took this activity to another level. Her principal work was operating a detective agency and, unquestionably, she was the star of her show. Featuring actress Anne Francis in the title role, the ABC series was broadcast for one season (1965–66) and broke ground for other female detective/spy programs to follow, such as *The Girl from U.N.C.L.E.* (1966–67), *Get Christie Love* (1974–75) and *Police Woman* (1974–78).

The character of Honey West was created by husband and wife writing team Skip and Gloria Fickling (a.k.a. G. G. Fickling) in a series of novels published in the late 1950s to early 1960s. On 21 April 1965 the character was introduced to television audiences in a *Burke's Law* episode, "Who Killed the Jackpot?", and true to form, Honey outwitted the dapper detective played by Gene Barry. Producer Aaron Spelling spun the character off into a separate thirty-minute series which premiered 17 September 1965.

Operating her late father's detective agency, Honey West used many talents in her fight against crime. She was expert at judo and held a black belt in karate. Beautiful and shapely, her feminine wiles were accentuated by form-fitting black leather jump suits, a sexy mole on her right cheek, tiger coats and "Jackie O" sunglasses. Like James Bond, she also owned an arsenal of weapons filled with "scientific" gadgets including a specially modified lipstick tube and martini olives that camouflaged her radio transmitters.

For undercover work, Honey and her admiring partner, Sam Bolt (John Ericson), drove a specially equipped van labeled "H. W. Bolt and Co., TV Service." Her principal base of operation was her Los Angeles apartment complete with secret office behind a fake living room wall. Bruce, her pet ocelot, and Meg West (Irene Hervey), her sophisticated aunt, also lent assistance and comfort as necessary.

*Honey West* premiered to reasonably good reviews. Citing the show's sensual aspects, smooth production values and Honey's ability to bounce Muscle Beach types off the wall with predictable regularity, *Variety's* 1965 evaluation predicted some success "as a short subject warm up to *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.*" Season opening Nielsen ratings ranked the show in a tie for nineteenth place but this proved short-lived as the show's CBS competition, *Gomer Pyle*, knocked it quickly out of the top forty.



Honey West

Contrasted with *Variety's* review, Jon Lewis and Penny Stempel note that while the "*Honey West* concept was good and the character deserves credit for working in a man's world, the series suffered from unimaginative plots and poor production quality." In fact, say Lewis and Stempel, *Honey West* is "mostly memorable for the fight scenes in which a man with a blonde wig was quite obviously wheeled in to do the stunts."

Often compared to Emma Peel in the British series *The Avengers* (U.S., 1966–69), Honey West simply did not have Miss Peel's style or longevity and lasted a total of thirty episodes. Providing a notable change to the male dominated detective genre so prevalent from the earliest days of network television, Honey West broadcast her last original show on 8 April 1966.

—Joel Sternberg



**CAST**

*Honey West* . . . . . Anne Francis  
*Sam Holt* . . . . . John Ericson  
*Aunt Meg* . . . . . Irene Hervey

**PRODUCERS** Jules Levy, Arthur Gardner, Arnold Laven, Alfred Perry, Richard Newton, Mort Warner, William Harbach

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 30 Episodes

• ABC

September 1965–September 1966 Friday 9:00-9:30

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## THE HONEYMOONERS

### U.S. Situation/Sketch Comedy

**T**he *Honeymooners* is one of network television's most beloved and syndicated series. Although *The Honeymooners* ran for only one season as a half-hour situation comedy (during the 1955-56 season on CBS), Jackie Gleason presented the sketch numerous times during his various variety series. In fact, no premise has been seen in so many different guises in the history of television—aired live, on film and on tape; in black and white and color; as sketch comedy, situation comedy, and musical. It succeeded on network, syndicated, and cable television. Whatever the form, audiences have continued to embrace the loud-mouthed bus driver Ralph Kramden, Gleason's most resonant creation, as an American Everyman, a dreamer whose visions of upward mobility are constantly thwarted.

*The Honeymooners* stands in stark contrast to the prosperous suburban sitcoms of the 1950s. The battling Brooklynites, Kramden and his sarcastic wife Alice (Audrey Meadows, the most well known of the several impersonations), are trapped on the treadmill of lower-middle-class existence. Their spartan apartment is one of the most minimal and recognizable in television design. A functional table, a curtainless window, and an antiquated ice box signal their impoverishment. Most of the comedy revolves around Ralph's schemes to get-rich quick (e.g. his infomercial for the Handy Housewife Helper in "Better Living Through TV"). The tempestuous Ralph is assisted by his friend and upstairs neighbor Ed Norton (agilely and always played by

Art Carney), a dimwitted sewer worker. *The Honeymooners* quartet is rounded out by Trixie Norton (most notably Joyce Randolph), Ed's loyal wife and Alice's best friend. Unlike most couples in situation comedy, both the Kramdens and the Nortons were childless and rarely talked about their situation in a baby-booming America.

Gleason introduced *The Honeymooners* on 5 October 1951 during his first variety series, *Cavalcade of Stars*, broadcast live on the DuMont network. Kramden directly reflects the frustrations and yearning of Gleason's upbringing; his address at 358 Chauncey Street, was the star's boyhood address. *The Honeymooners* began as a six-minute sketch of marital combat. The battered wife was realistically played by veteran character actress Pert Kelton. A cameo was provided by Art Carney as a policeman. Viewers immediately identified with Ralph and Alice's arguments and further sketches were written by Harry Crane and Joe Bigelow. Early on, they added the Nortons; Trixie was first played by Broadway actress Elaine Stritch. These early drafts were a starkly realistic insight into the compromises of marriage, a kind of kitchen sink-comedy of insult and recrimination.

In September, Gleason and his staff were lured to CBS by William Paley to star in a big-time variety series, again on Saturday night. Audrey Meadows, who performed with Bob and Ray, replaced Kelton, who suffered from heart problems and political blacklisting. *The Honeymooners* sketches were mostly less than ten minutes during the first



The Honeymooners  
Photo courtesy of MPI Home Video

CBS season. During the next two years, the routines grew increasingly longer, many over thirty minutes. Most were marked with the familiar catchphrases—Ralph's blustery threats ("One of these days Pow! Right to the Kisser!") and the assuring reconciliations with Alice at the end ("Baby, you're the greatest").

For the 1955–56 season, Gleason was given one of the largest contracts in show business history to produce *The Honeymooners* as a standard situation comedy. Gleason formed his production company and experimented with the Electronicam technology, which enabled him to film a live show with several cameras, a precursor of three-camera videotape recording. Gleason filmed two shows a week at the Adelphi Theatre in New York, performing to over 1,000 spectators. Gleason's stable of writers felt hemmed in by the regular format, and Gleason noticed a lack of fresh ideas. When the ratings of *The Honeymooners* sitcom plummeted out of the top ten shows (the previous season *The Jackie Gleason Show* ranked number two), Gleason decided to

return to the variety format. Gleason later sold these "classic" thirty-nine films of *The Honeymooners* to CBS for a million and a half dollars, and they provided a bonanza for the network in syndication.

*The Honeymooners* remained a pivotal sketch during Gleason's variety show the following season. The writers created a few new wrinkles, including a musical trip to Europe that covered ten one-hour installments. When Carney left the show in 1957, Gleason dropped the sketch entirely.

He resurrected his big-time variety show in 1962 and moved the production permanently to Miami Beach in 1964. He sporadically revived *The Honeymooners* when Carney was available. Since Meadows and Randolph did not want to relocate, Sue Ann Langdon (Alice) and Patricia Wilson (Trixie) took over as the wives. Meadows returned for a one-time special reenactment of "The Adoption," a 1955 sketch in which Ralph and Alice discuss their rarely heard feelings about parenthood. During the 1966–67 season, Gleason decided to remake the

"Trip to Europe" musicals into color spectaculars with forty new numbers. Sheila MacRae and Jean Kean were recruited for the roles of Alice and Trixie.

Gleason's variety show ended in 1970, but he was reunited with Carney and Meadows for four one-hour *Honeymooners* specials during the late 1970s. The specials, broadcast on ABC, revolved around such family celebrations as wedding anniversaries, Valentine's Day, and Christmas. With Jean Kean as Trixie, *The Honeymooners* remained two childless couples, the most basic of family units on television.

The filmed episodes of *The Honeymooners* were one of the great financial successes in syndication. A local station in New York played them every night for over two decades. The thirty-nine programs with their almost ritualistic themes and incantatory dialogue inspired cultic worship, most notably the formation of the club RALPH (Royal Association for the Longevity and Preservation of the Honeymooners). For years, the live sketches were considered lost. When the Museum of Broadcasting discovered four complete variety programs featuring the Kramdens and the Nortons, Gleason revealed that he had more than eighty live versions in his Miami vault. He sold the rights of the "lost episodes" to Viacom and the live *Honeymooners* found an afterlife on cable television and the home video market.

*The Honeymooners* remain one of the touchstones of American television, enjoyable on many levels. Critics have compared the richness of Gleason's Ralph Kramden to such literary counterparts as Don Quixote, a character worthy of Dickens, and Willy Loman. Although *The Honeymooners* did not tackle any social issues throughout its many incarnations, the comedy evokes something very essential to the national experience. The Kramdens and Nortons embody the yearnings and frustrations of post-war, urban America—the perpetual underdogs in search of a jackpot. When such producers as Norman Lear in *All in the Family* or Roseanne in her own series want to critique the flipside of the American Dream, *The Honeymooners* has been there as a source of inspiration.

—Ron Simon

#### CAST (the series)

Ralph Kramden . . . . . Jackie Gleason  
Ed Norton . . . . . Art Carney  
Alice Kramden . . . . . Audrey Meadows  
Trixie Norton . . . . . Joyce Randolph

**PRODUCERS** Jack Philbin, Jack Hurdle

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 39 Episodes

#### • CBS

October 1955–February 1956	Saturday 8:30-9:00
February 1956–September 1956	Saturday 8:00-8:30

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See also Carney, Art; Gleason, Jackie; *Flintstones*

## HONG KONG

Bordering the People's Republic of China (PRC), Hong Kong has been a British colony for more than 150 years. As a result of the Anglo-Chinese wars in the mid-nineteenth century, Hong Kong Island and the southern tip of the Kowloon peninsula were ceded by China to Britain through the Treaty of Nanking in 1842 and the Convention of Peking in 1860; northern Kowloon was then leased to the British government for 99 years in 1898. The British and Chinese governments have agreed to transfer jurisdiction of all Hong Kong territories to the PRC at midnight, 1 July 1997. According to the Basic Law resolved in 1990 by British and Chinese leaders, Hong Kong will maintain its

existing social and economic systems for fifty years subsequent to this transition.

Amidst these dramatic changes, people in Hong Kong rely on television as a central source of information and entertainment. On average, Hong Kong residents watch more than three hours of television each day, making this a more popular leisure activity than playing computer games, seeing films, or even singing karaoke. Out of approximately 6 million inhabitants, more than 90% have televisions in their homes. Among those who do have televisions, about one-third have more than one set at home, while two-thirds also have at least one video-cassette recorder.

The television industries in Hong Kong fit within the economic structure of the territory, favoring private enterprise and free trade. All of the television stations are commercial, with the government receiving a proportion of advertising or subscription revenues from each broadcasting system. Hong Kong carries two terrestrial television stations, Asia Television Limited (ATV) and Television Broadcasts Limited (TVB); a satellite television station (Star TV); and a cable system (Wharf Cable Limited).

Although a significant proportion of the television programming is produced within the territory, many programs are imported from other countries. Imported programs may be dubbed into Cantonese, the dialect of Chinese spoken in the region, or subtitled in Chinese characters, in order to be understood by the Hong Kong community. Aside from importing news, entertainment series and films from the West, most animated programs are imported from Japan, and several popular fictional series are imported from Taiwan. For example, one of the most popular dramas shown in Hong Kong is the Taiwanese series *Pao the Judge*, which depicts the exploits of a Song Dynasty magistrate in an elaborate costume drama. It is estimated that approximately one-third of Hong Kong residents on a given evening watch this program, which is broadcast on both terrestrial stations.

Each of the terrestrial stations transmits two channels, in order to cater to audiences with different language skills: TVB broadcasts the Jade channel in Cantonese and the Pearl channel predominantly in English, while ATV broadcasts the Home channel in Cantonese, and the World channel mostly in English. These stations are required by the Hong Kong government to provide this English-language service to the community as part of their licensing agreement. This condition is being phased out though, given the changing political structure in the territory.

Controlled by a private corporation, the Lai Sun Group, ATV offers a service similar to that of its competitor, although its programming is not as popular nor the station as wealthy as TVB. Independent research groups have estimated that the average viewer watches TVB Jade (69%) and ATV Home (22%) most often, followed by TVB Pearl (6%) or ATV World (3%). Given that most of the population speak Cantonese but not English, the two English-language channels are not as popular as are their Cantonese-language counterparts.

TVB is by far the dominant station within the Hong Kong community. Controlled by the private interests of Sir Run Run Shaw and the Kerry Group (under the direction of financier Robert Kuok), profits generally exceed US\$40 million each year. During primetime hours, it is estimated that TVB's two stations, Jade and Pearl, command more than three-quarters of the market share of Hong Kong's viewing public. Jade, producing most of its own programming in the local language, enjoys by far the greater part of this popularity.

Initiating broadcasting in 1967, TVB was the first television station in the territory. In 1971, TVB produced

its first local television program in color, a musical variety show known as *Enjoy Yourself Tonight*, which remains on the air as Hong Kong's longest running program. In recent years, the station has developed its technological capacity to improve the appeal of foreign programming to the Hong Kong audience. TVB operates its own Chinese character generator for subtitling, and has employed a localized NICAM (Near Instantaneously Compounded Audio Multiplex) system since 1991, offering viewers with equipped television sets the choice of viewing designated programs in different languages (typically Cantonese, Mandarin or English). Forty percent of households with televisions have a set equipped with NICAM capabilities.

TVB not only produces most (about 80%) of the programming for its Jade channel, but it also distributes Chinese-language programs globally. TVB exports about two-thirds of its programming to other countries including Taiwan, China and Malaysia. In addition, TVB is developing satellite and cable television stations to broadcast its programming in Taiwan, Indonesia, Europe, Canada (in Toronto and Vancouver), and the United States (in San Francisco and Los Angeles). Satellite television channels established for Chinese viewers in Western regions broadcast programs in Cantonese, Mandarin and Vietnamese. As part of a consortium with other global television industries, such as the Turner Broadcasting System, Australian Broadcasting, ESPN and Home Box Office, TVB also intends to develop a new satellite system to broadcast throughout Asia.

The Government of Hong Kong does not have its own television station, but instead requires the two terrestrial stations to carry programming and advertisements in the public interest (APIs) that its agency, Radio-Television Hong Kong (RTHK), produces. RTHK stipulates the blocks of time within which these public programs and APIs must be aired. Although privatization for RTHK had been considered, this television agency, along with its seven radio services, will remain under government control even after the transition to PRC rule in 1997.

RTHK Programs are designed to be informative and to address local issues. For example, one popular RTHK program, known as *All in a Family*, addresses cross-cultural relationships through the presentation of a family drama, in which a Cantonese-speaking American man marries into a local Hong Kong family. Some RTHK programming on current affairs has been exported to Vancouver, Canada, for the benefit of Hong Kong immigrants there.

Television options available to local Hong Kong residents have been increasing in the past few years. Satellite television was first offered in 1991, while a cable system was initiated by Wharf in 1993. By 1993, approximately one-fifth of the households in Hong Kong had the capability to receive satellite television services through connection with Star TV. From its base in Hong Kong, Star TV reaches approximately 38 countries from Egypt to Japan, and from Indonesia to Siberia. Rupert Murdoch's Australian-based News Corporation purchased 63.3% of this station from

HutchVision Limited (BVI) and the Li Kashing family for approximately US\$525 million in 1994.

Star TV offers Chinese programming (from Hong Kong, Taiwan, the PRC and Japan), Sports, Entertainment (mostly Western programs) and a music video channel. Originally, an Asian version of Music Television (MTV) was part of the Star TV package, but this was later replaced by a local Asian broadcast known as Channel V, which divided into a Mandarin-dominated music video service for northern Asia and a Hindi-dominated music video service for western Asia. In addition to broadcasting regional productions, Channel V broadcasts videos supplied by global corporations, such as Warner Music, EMI, PolyGram, Sony and BMG. Star TV had also offered the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) World News Service, but this channel was dropped subsequent to Murdoch's purchase and the objections raised by the PRC over a documentary the BBC had produced about the reign of Mao Zedong (described below).

In 1993, Wharf Cable, a wholly owned subsidiary of Wharf Communications Investments Limited, was awarded a twelve-year license to offer cable services in Hong Kong. During its first three years, Wharf held an exclusive right to expand cable services without competition, while being restricted from carrying advertisements. At the end of its first year, approximately 15% of Hong Kong households had subscribed to cable television services at the cost of about US\$3 per month. As a new and popular service, the number of households wired for cable television has been increasing rapidly.

Most Wharf Cable programming is transmitted in Cantonese, or subtitled in Chinese if produced in another language. Currently, channels are devoted to family entertainment, movies, sports, English-language news and finance, education, informational programs for foreign nationals, and a preview channel. Wharf's license stipulates that at least three channels should be allocated for government use. One of these has been discussed as a potential public access channel for local communities, but concerns that an unregulated service might invite politically sensitive messages seem to be stifling this initiative.

The impending political transition has sparked many controversies concerning the regulation of television ownership and content. Some believe that the new regime will reshape the television industry to suit its own interests. For example, PRC government officials have warned that television programs ought to promote patriotism, collectivism and socialism, but not consumerism, while PRC television stations have been cautious about importing foreign programs, particularly music shows produced in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Although many homes (some estimate almost two-thirds of households in the southern area of China's Guangzhou province) have access to cable television services, satellite dishes are officially banned for personal use as a "matter of national sovereignty, to protect Chinese culture."

The impending political transition has led many observers of Hong Kong media industries to be concerned over

potential state- and self-censorship. These issues are already paramount in decisions over television broadcasting. In 1994 the ATV news staff resigned over a battle with their management concerning the screening of a Spanish documentary that included coverage of the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre; this program was aired as scheduled following this well-publicized disagreement.

Another recent controversy reflects these political concerns in the Hong Kong television industry. A documentary, *Chairman Mao: The Last Emperor*, was produced by the BBC and aired in Britain in 1993, to commemorate the 100th anniversary of Mao's birth. This documentary addresses sufferings caused by Mao's failed economic policies as well as his alleged relations with young girls. The PRC government voiced its anger over the distribution of the film, noting that the documentary may "hurt the feelings of Chinese people" in its portrayal of Mao. In response to the BBC's production of this documentary, the PRC government extended new restrictions on BBC operations within China. Moreover, this film was not broadcast on television in Hong Kong, despite being purchased by TVB and being approved by public censors representing the Hong Kong Film Censorship Ordinance (even though this very ordinance prohibits screening films that might damage relations with other countries). Instead, private organizations broadcast this documentary to community groups within the territory.

Regulation over the television industry in Hong Kong attempts to maintain existing diversity and indigenous control of the industry. To avoid monopolization, television stations may only invest in each other up to 15%. Murdoch failed to buy into TVB (before investing in Star TV), because he encountered a local regulation, supported by the PRC, that no foreigner should own more than 15% of a local terrestrial television station. In addition, political and religious groups are disqualified from acquiring local television licenses.

Television broadcasting licenses are subject to periodic renewal from the government of Hong Kong through its Broadcasting Authority (BA), established in 1987. Approximately twelve BA members meet on a monthly basis to review issues concerning broadcasting industries. This body may issue warnings and impose fines against violations of license conditions. The BA processes more than 800 complaints from the public each year, one fifth of which concern television reception, while the others concern program and advertising content, typically about violence or obscene language.

Programming standards set by the BA dictate appropriate content concerning subject matters, such as crime, family life and violence, as well as suitable presentations of cigarettes and alcohol. Regulations also define permissible commercial advertising and sponsorship of programs; for example, tobacco companies are not authorized to advertise, but instead may sponsor programs, such as sporting events and music videos.

In accordance with their licensing conditions, terrestrial television stations are required to produce certain types of

programs (public affairs and children's programs among them) in defined quantities. Designated blocks of time also incur different sets of regulations: for example, the 4:00 P.M. to 8:30 P.M. family viewing period holds strict regulations regarding the content of programming.

With the impending transition to Chinese rule in 1997, television in Hong Kong must balance a tension between the need to adapt to the ideology of new political leadership and the attempt to maintain the economic success of the industry.

—Karin Gwinn Wilkins

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See also Murdoch, Rupert; Satellite; Star-TV

## HOOD, STUART

British Media Executive/Producer/Educator

Stuart Hood has made a considerable impact upon the development of television production, news broadcasts, programme scheduling, and programming policy in the United Kingdom. He has also acted as an advisor and consultant to various countries, Israel being the most notable, as they established their national television broadcasting potential. He has also contributed significantly to the practice of higher education for the television profession and as an academic writer on broadcasting.

Hood's life has been a mixture of involvement with broadcasting, the media, politics, education, and literature. It could be argued that the significance of his contribution to television has been as much a product of his scholarship, the range of his interests and his creative drive as to any narrow dedication to the medium. He was born in the village of Edzell, Angus, Scotland, the son of a village schoolmaster. After graduating in English literature from Edinburgh University he taught in secondary schools until World War II.

During the war Hood served in Italian East Africa and the Middle East as an infantry officer, then as a staff officer on operational intelligence with the German Order of Battle. He was captured in North Africa and then spent time as a prisoner of war in Italy. He escaped at the time of the Italian Armistice in September 1943 and lived at first with the peasants. He then joined the partisans in Tuscany. His account of this period, *Pebbles from My Skull*, is a major piece of 20th century war writing. He saw further military service in Holland, then at the Rhine crossing with the U.S. 9th army. In the final years of the war, Hood did political intelligence work in Germany.

These biographical details are important for two reasons. The first is that the war took Hood and a whole generation of young, talented graduates and offered them, amongst other things, an apprenticeship in the farces, tragedies, and innovations of military administrative matters.

The second is that the war has had a lasting impact on Hood's literary output as well as providing him with a lasting contempt for cant and superficiality.

Fluent in German and Italian, Hood joined the BBC German Service at the end of the war. He went on to become head of the BBC Italian Service and then of the 24-hour English-language service for overseas. After a period as editor-in-chief of BBC Television News, he became controller of programmes for BBC television. Ten years working as a freelancer was followed, in 1974, by an invitation to become professor of film and television at the Royal College of Art in London. During the next four years Hood was not always happy with his role as a senior educator. His approach to higher education was not always greeted with enthusiasm by his peers. He gave students the chance to be involved in the decision making process in relation to their own work and to general staffing and administrative matters during his period at the Royal College of Art.

Hood has always been politically of the left. For several years he was vice president of ACCT, the film and television union in the United Kingdom. His politics might have placed him, as a senior manager, in something of a difficult position. He has never shirked responsibility, however, and has worked rather to make positive and productive use of his management positions. He was responsible, in large part, for the break between radio and television news and was the first to employ a woman newsreader at the BBC. He worked under Carleton Greene at the BBC and was encouraged to seek to test the limits of viewer tolerance and interest. This resulted in series such as the now legendary satirical programme, *That Was the Week That Was*. In relation to television drama, Hood also did all he could to encourage the work of innovative writers such as David Mercer. Hood has publicly expressed his disgust at the fact that the BBC had denied for many years that MI5 routinely vetted BBC staff. On some things he had to remain silent and as a

result of this he developed something of a reputation as an enigmatic character.

As a director and producer in his own right, Hood was responsible for such innovative programmes as *The Trial of Daniel and Sinyavsky* (Soviet dissidents) and a programme on the trial of Marshal Petain entitled *A Question of Honor*. Hood has made a unique contribution to broadcasting through the diversity of his interests and talents. He has demonstrated, through his literary output, that senior administrators in broadcasting are not necessarily outside the world of direct productive activity. He has also made a significant contribution to writing about broadcasting and his *On Television* is a classic in the field. Hood's major contribution to television has been to demonstrate that both production and management can be enhanced and enriched by scholarship and astute political awareness.

—Robert Ferguson

STUART HOOD. Born in the Edzell, Angus, Scotland, 1915. Educated at Edinburgh University. Served as an intelligence officer in the British army during World War II; worked

with Italian partisans, 1942–43. Briefly joined the Workers' Revolutionary Party; writer, first achieving widespread recognition in the United Kingdom, 1960s; media career began at the BBC World Service; controller of programs, BBC-TV, 1962–64; independent filmmaker; involved with the Free Communications Group, from 1968; vice president, ACTT; continued writing, from mid-1980s; professor of film, Royal College of Art.

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## HOOKS, BENJAMIN LAWSON

### U.S. Media Regulator

Benjamin Lawson Hooks was nominated as a member to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) by President Richard M. Nixon in 1972. Shortly thereafter the U.S. Senate confirmed the nomination and Hooks became the first African American to be appointed to the commission. He served as a member of the FCC until 27 July 1977.

During his tenure on the commission, Hooks actively promoted the employment of African Americans and other minorities in the broadcast industry as well as at the FCC offices. He also encouraged minority ownership of broadcast properties. Hooks supported the Equal Time provision and the Fairness Doctrine, both of which he believed were among the few avenues available to minorities for gaining access to the broadcast media.

Hooks received his undergraduate degree from LeMoyne college in his home state, Tennessee. However, because Tennessee prohibited blacks from entering law school he attended DePaul University in Chicago. He returned to Tennessee, to serve as a public defender in Shelby County. From 1964 to 1968 he was a county criminal judge.

The nomination and confirmation of Hooks to the FCC represented the culmination of efforts by African-American organizations such as Black Efforts for Soul on Television (BEST), to have an African American appointed to one of the seven seats on the commission. Before Hooks' appointment there had been no minority representation on the commission and only two women, Frieda Henncock and Charlotte Reid, had been appointed up to that time.

Riding a wave created by the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1968), otherwise



Benjamin L. Hooks

Photo courtesy of Broadcasting and Cable



known as the Kerner Commission, which itself was a reaction to the civil unrest of the 1960s, African-American organizations, like BEST, lobbied aggressively for an African-American appointment to the Federal Communications Commission. Under a section titled "The Negro in the Media," the Kerner Commission urged that African-Americans be integrated "into all aspects of televised presentations." African American organizations knew that in order to achieve such a goal representation on the policy making body that governed broadcasting was critical. However, when it was announced that Benjamin Hooks was one of three African Americans considered for a seat on the FCC, BEST expressed some strong reservations about his candidacy. Leaders of the organization did not believe that Hooks was qualified to serve on the commission and instead favored the appointment of Ted Ledbetter, a Washington, D.C., communications consultant. The third candidate considered for the position was Revius Ortique, an attorney from New Orleans. Although there are no set criteria for qualifying as a candidate for the FCC, it was believed by BEST that Hooks did not have the experience or expertise in broadcasting necessary to be an effective commissioner. In fact, Hooks, while far from being an industry insider, was not entirely new to broadcasting.

In addition to being a lawyer and minister, Hooks had been a popular local television personality before being considered for the FCC post. He hosted a weekly half-hour program, *Conversations in Black and White*, on station WMC-TV in Memphis. He had also appeared as a panelist on a broadcast of the program *What Is Your Faith?*, which aired on WREC-TV in Memphis. The presence of Hooks on the commission meant that organizations previously outside of the policy-making process in broadcasting finally had access. The National Media Coalition, Citizens Communications Center and the United Church of Christ all felt that their cases would at least get a fair hearing, because of Hooks.

Although he was a spokesman for the perspectives of blacks, women and Latinos with respect to broadcasting policies, relations between Hooks and these groups were not always friendly. Two of his decisions while on the commission stand out as especially difficult for Hooks. The first was his vote to uphold the First Amendment and not censor a political candidate for the U.S. Senate in the Georgia primary. As part of his political campaign, senatorial candidate J. B. Stoner produced and aired television and radio spots that referred to African Americans as "niggers." Understandably, African Americans and other groups wanted the spots banned by the FCC. Hooks, however, felt that supporting freedom of speech was more important than banning the spots. In a *New York Times* interview he suggested that "even if it hurts sometimes, I'm a great believer in free speech and would never do anything to tamper with it." He argued that in the long run, banning the spots would prove more detrimental to blacks and other groups than allowing them to air.

The second major decision during his stint on the FCC involved broadcasters and the rules related to Equal Employ-

ment Opportunities (EEO). Prior to 1976 stations with five or more employees were required to file a statistical report, including the number of employees by race and gender, with the commission. In 1976 the commission proposed a change in this policy. Only those stations with a specific number of employees, higher than in the past, would be required to file a statistical report outlining the station's employees by race. The new policy also required an EEO program that would provide a strategy for increasing minority representation at the stations. Citizens' groups felt the FCC was easing its restrictions regarding minority hiring practices on smaller stations. They asked Commissioner Hooks not to support the new policy. Hooks decided that the new rules would have an overall positive impact on the hiring of minorities and women, so he supported the new policies, except for the section no longer requiring stations with less than fifty employees to file EEO programs.

While Hooks served on the commission, broadcast ownership groups that included minorities were given preferential treatment by the FCC, an office of Equal Employment Opportunity was set up, and the employment of blacks by the Federal Communications Commission offices increased. After serving five years of his seven-year term, Hooks resigned from the FCC to become the head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). His plans were to establish a communications department in the NAACP in order "to see how we can make television more responsive to the people, black and white."

The appointment of Hooks must be seen as one part of a long history of demands for access to the broadcast media by African Americans. While African Americans had at times been included in the "television family," their roles had too often been limited to stereotypical portrayals that were thought to contribute to distorted images of the black experience. Organizing and lobbying for an African-American appointment to the FCC was a continuation of a political and social process. The appointment of Benjamin Hooks symbolized a crystallization of those efforts, and while it would be incorrect to state that with his appointment all barriers to minority access were knocked down, it would be equally incorrect not to recognize that the appointment of Benjamin Hooks did lead to increased access for African Americans and other minorities in the field of broadcasting.

—Raul D. Tovares

**BENJAMIN (LAWSON) HOOKS.** Born in Memphis, Tennessee, U.S.A., 31 January 1935. Studied at LeMoyné College, Memphis, 1941–43; Howard University, Washington, D.C., 1943–44; De Paul University, Chicago, J.D. 1948. Married: Frances Dancy, 1951; one daughter. Admitted to the Tennessee Bar, 1948; private law practice, Memphis, 1949–65; ordained minister, from 1956; assistant public defender, 1961–64; judge, Division IV, Criminal Court of Shelby County, Tennessee, 1966–68; appointed as first African-American commissioner, Federal Communications Commission, 1972–78; executive director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP),

1978–93; television producer, *Conversations in Black and White*, co-producer, *Forty Percent Speaks*; television panelist, *What Is Your Faith?*. Member: Board of directors, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Tennessee Council on Human Relations, Memphis and Shelby County, Tennessee Human Relations Commission; Martin Luther King, Jr., Federal Holiday Commission; president, National Civil Rights Museum, Memphis, Tennessee; senior vice president, Chapman Company, Memphis, Tennessee, from 1993. Member, American Bar Association, National Bar Association (judicial council member), Tennessee Bar Association. Recipient: Springarn Award, NAACP, 1986.

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## HOPE, BOB

### U.S. Comedian

Bob Hope is one of television's most renowned comedians and actors. He has also worked in vaudeville, radio, and film, and, for the last eight decades, has made audiences laugh at themselves, their contemporary culture and its foibles, their politics and politicians. For his efforts he has received numerous awards and accolades. He is perhaps equally well-known, and certainly equally applauded, for his efforts in entertaining American soldiers overseas.

Hope began his career in 1914 when he won a Charlie Chaplin imitator contest. He then made his way into vaudeville in the 1920s and his Broadway acting and musical debut in 1933 when he appeared in *Roberta*. Hope moved to Hollywood in 1938 after appearing in several short films and on radio. He made his film acting debut in the full-length film, *The Big Broadcast of 1938* where he first sang his signature song *Thanks for the Memory* with Shirley Ross. In 1940, Hope made the first of seven "Road" films, *The Road to Singapore*, with Bing Crosby and Dorothy Lamour. He became a showbiz wizard by playing on his rapid-fire wisecracking technique in the "Road" films that followed. The best-known and probably most televised of these films, *The Road to Utopia*, was made in 1945. Hope regularly starred as a comic coward in caught in comic-adventurous situations, but he generally wound up winning the hand of the leading lady. In addition to the "Road" films, he also appeared in many others. He made his last "Road" film, *The Road to Hong Kong*, in 1962, and his film career virtually ended in the early 1960s.

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See also Federal Communications Commission

Hope was one of the biggest names in show business when television began to develop. Unlike some of his fellow



Bob Hope

stars, he jumped into the new medium, making his debut on Easter Sunday, 1950. On a regular basis he was seen on two budget variety shows, *Chesterfield Sound Off Time* and *The Colgate Comedy Hour*. In 1953, NBC broadcast the first annual *Bob Hope Christmas Special*. These specials were usually filmed during his regular tour to entertain the troops overseas. He also began a series of comedy specials for NBC-TV where he became known for his marvelous comic timing, his stunning array of guest stars, and his ease with both studio audiences and the camera. His guests regularly included top stars from film, stage, television, and the music industry. He was usually surrounded by Hollywood starlets and athletic figures. His humor poked gentle fun at the world of politics, usually leaning toward the conservative. He also made numerous guest appearances on various comedy shows such as *I Love Lucy*, *The Danny Thomas Show*, and *The Jack Benny Show*, where he was applauded for his wise-cracking ability to throw new comic wrenches into already hilarious situations. In most Hope simply played himself, and his appearance as a guest star was a guarantee of a larger audience. His ability to make both the audience and his co-stars feel at ease, eager for the wry comment that would put a new spin on any situation, was performance enough.

In commemoration of the 50-year anniversary of World War II, NBC broadcast an hour-long Bob Hope special that chronicles the comedian's camp tours during the war. Hope, at the age of 92, narrates *Memories of World War II*. The special was crafted from a video and CD collection originally produced for retail sales. An additional 20 minutes show Bob Hope and his wife, Dolores, talking with friends and co-workers, such as Charlton Heston, Dorothy Lamour and Ed McMahon, about special photos and remembrances about the war, the entertainment, and their efforts to build and maintain morale. Many scenes extol Hope's comic abilities, patriotism, and human compassion. The recollections range from outrageously funny to heartfelt to harrowing. Still, some critics saw the special as self-congratulatory, inept, and awkward. Mike Hughes, a critic for the Gannett News Service, says, "This doesn't mean Hope isn't a fine person. It doesn't mean the war effort wasn't worthy. It simply means that bad is bad, no matter the motivation." By this point in his long career Hope, at times, seemed anachronistic, a reminder of a different world, a different sort of television.

In spite of such commentary, Bob Hope remains an American institution in the entertainment world, a quick-witted master of comic response. He will be remembered as one of the foundational figures of U.S. television in the network era, one of the kings of television comedy.

—Gayle M. Pohl

**BOB HOPE.** Born Leslie Townes Hope in Eltham, London, England, 29 May 1903; emigrated with family to the United States, 1908, became U.S. citizen, 1920. Attended Fairmont High School, Cleveland, Ohio. Married: Dolores

Reade, 1933; children: Linda, Anthony, Kelly, and Nora. Entered vaudeville, 1922; Broadway debut, *The Sidewalks of New York*, 1927; film debut, *Going Spanish* (short), 1934; radio debut, 1935, *The Bob Hope Pepsodent Show*, 1939–48; began overseas tours to entertain U.S. troops, early 1940s, continued until 1994; host and occasional star, various shows, NBC-TV; host of numerous television specials, 1970s–90s. Honorary Commander, Order of the British Empire. More than forty honorary degrees. Recipient: Honorary Academy Awards, 1940, 1944, 1952, 1959, 1965; Emmy Award; three People's Choice Awards for Best Male Entertainer; Congressional Gold Medal awarded by President John F. Kennedy; Medal of Freedom awarded by President Lyndon B. Johnson; People to People Award presented by President Dwight D. Eisenhower; George Foster Peabody Award; Jean Hersholdt Humanitarian Award; Criss Award; Distinguished Service Medals from all branches of U.S. Armed Forces; Poor Richard Award; Kennedy Center Honors Award; Fellow Westminster (New Jersey) Choir College; Most Decorated Entertainer (*World's Guinness Book of Records*); Honored Entertainer (*The Guinness Book of Records*).

#### TELEVISION SERIES

- 1951–52      *Chesterfield Sound Off Time* (host)
- 1952–53      *The Colgate Comedy Hour* (host)
- 1963–67      *Bob Hope Presents the Chrysler Theatre* (host)

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIE

- 1986          A Masterpiece of Murder

#### TELEVISION SPECIALS

- 1950–95      More than 270 Specials

#### FILMS

*Going Spanish*, 1934; *The Big Broadcast of 1938*, 1938; *College Swing*, 1938; *Some Like It Hot*, 1939; *Never Say Die*, 1939; *The Cat and the Canary*, 1939; *The Road to Singapore*, 1940; *The Ghost Breakers*, 1940; *The Road to Zanzibar*, 1941; *Nothing But the Truth*, 1941; *Caught in the Draft*, 1941; *Star Spangled Rhythm*, 1942; *The Road to Morocco*, 1942; *My Favorite Blonde*, 1942; *They Got Me Covered*, 1943; *Let's Face It*, 1943; *The Princess and the Pirate*, 1944; *The All-Star Bond Rally*, 1945; *The Road to Utopia*, 1946; *Monsieur Beaucaire*, 1946; *Where There's Life*, 1947; *Variety Girl*, 1947; *The Road to Rio*, 1947; *My Favorite Brunette*, 1947; *The Paleface*, 1948; *Sorrowful Jones*, 1949; *The Great Lover*, 1949; *Fancy Pants*, 1950; *My Favorite Spy*, 1951; *The Lemon Drop Kid*, 1951; *Son of Paleface*, 1952; *The Road to Bali*, 1952; *The Greatest Show on Earth*, 1952; *Off Limits*, 1953; *Here Come the Girls*, 1953; *Casanova's Big Night*, 1954; *The Seven Little Foys*, 1955; *That Certain Feeling*, 1956; *The Iron Petticoat*, 1956; *Beau James*, 1957; *Paris Holiday*, 1958; *Alias Jesse James*, 1959; *The Facts of Life*, 1960; *Bachelor in Paradise*, 1961; *The Road to Hong Kong*, 1962; *Critic's Choice*, 1963; *Call Me Bwana*, 1963; *A Global*

*Affair*, 1964; *I'll Take Sweden*, 1965; *Boy, Did I Get a Wrong Number!*, 1966; *The Private Navy of Sgt. O'Farrell*, 1968; *How to Commit Marriage*, 1969; *Cancel My Reservation*, 1972; *The Muppet Movie*, 1979; *Spies Like Us*, 1985.

#### RADIO (selection)

*Capitol Family Hour*, 1932; *The Bob Hope Pepsodent Show*, 1939–48.

#### STAGE (selection)

*Sidewalks of New York*, 1927; *Ballyhoo*, 1932; *Roberta*, 1933; *Say When*, 1934; *Ziegfeld Follies*, 1935; *Red, Hot, and Blue*, 1936; *Smiles*, 1938.

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*Have Tux, Will Travel* (as told to Pete Martin). New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954.  
*I Owe Russia \$1200*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1963.  
*Five Women I Love: Bob Hope's Vietnam Story*. New York: n.p., 1966.  
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## HOPKINS, JOHN

### British Writer

John Hopkins is one of the great pioneers of British television drama, whose considerable output as a writer includes the award-winning play quartet *Talking to a Stranger*, described by one contemporary critic as "the first authentic masterpiece written directly for television." Hopkins' career in television began first as a studio manager in the 1950s, but he was soon turning his attention to writing and putting his earlier experience to good use in his plays. There are few other writers who have exploited so effectively the potential of the multi-camera studio in their work. After serving an apprenticeship with single plays, he rapidly established himself as a key writer for the popular BBC crime series, *Z Cars*, and, between 1962 and 1964, wrote 53 episodes for the programme. He went on to write noted single plays such as *Horror of Darkness* (1965) and *A Story to Frighten the Children* (1976), and also to adapt Dostoevsky's *The Gambler* (1968) and John Le Carré's *Smiley's People* (1982) with the novelist. The pinnacle of his achievement, though, is undoubtedly his 1966 series, *Talking to a Stranger*, directed by Christopher Morahan and shown on BBC-2.

The 1960s in Britain provided a golden age for writers of TV drama with: well over 300 hours a year available in the

*The Road to Hollywood: My Forty Year Love Affair with the Movies*, with Bob Thomas. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1977.

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schedules for original work. The launch of BBC-2 in 1964, in particular, opened up opportunities for serious TV drama and exploration of television as an art. Experimentation with form was being discussed openly by writers and Troy Kennedy-Martin, the originator of the *Z Cars* series, produced a manifesto for a new TV drama free from the conventional spatial and temporal constraints of naturalist theatre. *Talking to a Stranger*, especially in its free-floating use of time, sets up a similar experimental agenda, but in other respects remains rooted in a familiar naturalism and the close-up observation of ordinary people.

Nothing could be more mundane than the basic situation at the centre of this family drama. A grown-up daughter and her brother go back home to visit their aging father and mother, but the emotional collisions that arise provoke unexpected tragedy—the suicide of the mother. Some of the same events, are repeated from one play to the next, but the viewpoint changes as each play focuses on a different character. In this way the series provides a sustained opportunity to explore subjective experience. The self-absorption of the characters is enhanced by the use of experimental devices that include extended monologues, overlapping dialogue, lingering reaction shots, and film flashbacks in time.

Hopkins' vision of human loneliness and alienation may be an uncompromisingly bleak and pessimistic one, but it is made compelling through his artistic manipulation of the television medium. *Talking to a Stranger* as a family drama bears comparison with Eugene O'Neill's great stage play *A Long Day's Journey into Night*. In relation to the development of art television, Hopkins' successful pioneering of the short series for serious drama established an important precedent in Britain, and writers of the stature of Dennis Potter and Alan Bleasdale have subsequently followed in his example to produce some of their most distinctive work.

—Bob Millington

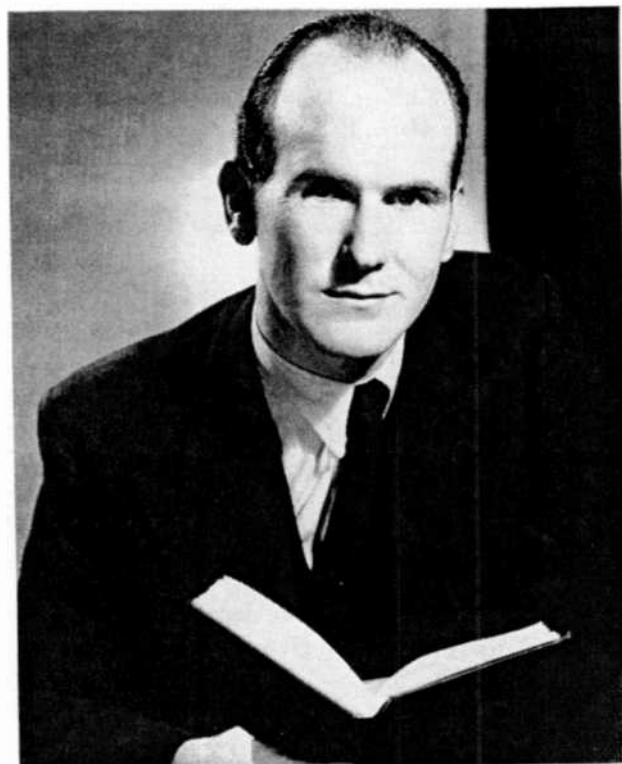
**JOHN RICHARD HOPKINS.** Born in London, England, 27 January 1931. Attended Raynes Park County Grammar School; St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, B.A. in English. Served in the British Army, 1950–51. Married: 1) Prudence Balchin, 1954; 2) Shirley Knight, 1970; two daughters. Began career as television studio manager; worked as writer for BBC Television, initially as first scriptwriter of *Z Cars*, 1962–64; freelance, since 1964. Recipient: two Screenwriters Guild Awards. Address: William Morris Agency, 31-32 Soho Square, London W1V 6AP, England.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1961	<i>A Chance of Thunder</i>
1962–65	<i>Z Cars</i>
1964	<i>Parade's End</i>
1966	<i>Talking to a Stranger</i>
1968	<i>The Gambler</i>
1977	<i>Fathers and Families</i>
1982	<i>Smiley's People</i> (co-writer, with John Le Carré)

#### TELEVISION SPECIALS

1958	<i>Break Up</i>
1958	<i>After the Party</i>
1959	<i>The Small Back Room</i>
1959	<i>Dancers in Mourning</i>
1960	<i>Death of a Ghost</i>
1961	<i>A Woman Comes Home</i>
1961	<i>By Invitation Only</i>
1962	<i>The Second Curtain</i>
1962	<i>Look Who's Talking</i>
1963	<i>A Place of Safety</i>
1964	<i>The Pretty English Girls</i>
1964	<i>I Took My Little World Away</i>
1964	<i>Time Out of Mind</i>
1964	<i>Houseparty</i>
1965	<i>The Make-Believe Man</i>
1965	<i>Fable</i>
1965	<i>Horror of Darkness</i>
1965	<i>A Man Like Orpheus</i>
1966	<i>Some Place of Darkness</i>
1966	<i>A Game—Like—Only a Game</i>



John Hopkins

Photo courtesy of the British Film Institute

1969	<i>Beyond the Sunrise</i>
1970	<i>The Dolly Scene</i>
1971	<i>Some Distant Shadow</i>
1972	<i>That Quiet Earth</i>
1972	<i>Walk into the Dark</i>
1972	<i>The Greeks and Their Gifts</i>
1976	<i>A Story to Frighten the Children</i>
1976	<i>Double Dare</i>
1987	<i>Codename Kyril</i>

#### FILMS

*Two Left Feet*, with Roy Baker, 1963; *Thunderball*, with Richard Maibaum, 1965; *The Virgin Soldiers*, with John McGrath and Ian La Frenais, 1969; *Divorce—His, Divorce—Hers*, 1972; *The Offence*, 1973; *Murder by Decree*, 1980; *The Power*, with John Carpenter and Gerald Brach, 1983; *The Holcroft Covenant*, with George Axelrod and Edward Anhalt, 1985.

#### STAGE

*This Story of Yours*, 1968; *Find Your Way Home*, 1970; *Economic Necessity*, 1973; *Next of Kin*, 1974; *Losing Time*, 1979; *Valedictorian*, 1982; *Absent Forever*, 1987.

#### PUBLICATIONS

*Talking to a Stranger: Four Television Plays*. London: Penguin, 1967.

"A Place of Safety," published in *Z Cars: Four Scripts From the Television Series*, edited by Michael Marland. London: Longman, 1968.

"A Game—Like—Only a Game," published in *Conflicting Generations. Five Television Plays*, edited by Michael Marland. London: Longman, 1968.

*This Story of Yours*. London: Penguin, 1969.

*Find Your Way Home*. London: Penguin, 1971; New York: Doubleday, 1975.

*Losing Time*. New York: Broadway Play Publishing, 1983.

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See also *Z Cars*

## HOUR GLASS

### U.S. Variety Program

**H**our Glass was a seminal, if largely forgotten, variety program airing on NBC-TV from May 1946 to February 1947. It is historically important, however, in that it exemplified the issues faced by networks, sponsors, and advertising agencies in television's formative years. The program was produced by the J. Walter Thompson agency on behalf of Standard Brands for their Chase and Sanborn and Tenderleaf Tea lines. It took sponsor and agency several months to decide on the show's format, eventually choosing variety for two reasons: it allowed for experimentation with other forms (comedy sketches, musical numbers, short playlets, and the like), plus Thompson and Standard Brands had previously collaborated on the successful radio show *The Chase and Sanborn Hour*.

The lines of responsibility were not completely defined in those early years, and the nine-month run of *Hour Glass* was punctuated by frequent squabbling among the principals. Each show was assembled by seven Thompson employees working in two teams, each putting together a show over two weeks in a frenzy of production. The format was familiar to *Chase and Sanborn Hour* listeners in that the program accentuated star power as the means of drawing the largest audience. *Hour Glass* featured different performers every week, including Peggy Lee and—in one of the first examples of a top radio star appearing on network television—Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy in November 1946. The show also showcased filmed segments produced by Thompson's Motion Picture Department; these ranged from short travelogues to advertisements. Every episode also included a ten-minute drama, which proved one of the more popular portions of the show.

It must have been the curiosity factor that prompted some stars to appear on the show because they certainly were not paid much money. *Hour Glass* had a talent budget of only \$350 a week, hardly more than scale for a handful of performers. Still, Standard Brands put an estimated \$200,000 into the program's

nine-month run, by far the largest amount ever devoted to a sponsored show at that time.

Although Thompson and Standard Brands representatives occasionally disagreed over the quality of individual episodes, their association was placid compared to the constant sniping that was the hallmark of the agency's relationship with NBC. It started with unhappiness over studio space, which Thompson regarded as woefully inadequate, and escalated when the network insisted that a NBC director manage the show from live rehearsals through actual broadcast. The network was similarly displeased that Thompson refused to clear their commercials with NBC before air time.

In February 1947 Standard Brands canceled *Hour Glass*. They were pleased with the show's performance in terms of beverage sales and its overall quality, yet were leery about continuing to pour money into a program that did not reach a large number of households (it is unclear if the show was broadcast anywhere other than NBC's interconnected stations in New York and Philadelphia). The strain between NBC and Thompson played a role as well. Still, *Hour Glass* did provide Thompson with a valuable blueprint for the agency's celebrated and long-running production, *Kraft Television Theatre*.

—Michael Mashon

# EMCEE

Helen Parrish (1946)

Eddie Mayehoff

**PRODUCER** Howard Reilly

# PROGRAMMING HISTORY

• NBC

May 1946–March 1947

Thursday 8:00-9:00

See also Advertising, Company Voice; Advertising Agency

## THE HOWDY DOODY SHOW

### U.S. Children's Program

**T**he *Howdy Doody Show* was one of the first and easily the most popular children's television show in the 1950s and a reflection of the wonder, technical fascination, and business realities associated with early television. While Howdy and his friends entertained American children, they also sold television sets to American parents and demonstrated the potential of the new medium to advertisers.

The idea for *Howdy Doody* began on the NBC New York radio affiliate WEAJ in 1947 with a program called *The Triple B Ranch*. The three Bs stood for Big Brother Bob Smith, who developed the country bumpkin voice of a ranch hand and greeted the radio audience with, "Oh, ho, ho, howdy doody." Martin Stone, Smith's agent, suggested putting Howdy on television and presented the idea to NBC television programming head Warren Wade. With Stone and Roger Muir as producers, Smith launched *Puppet Playhouse* on 17 December 1947. Within a week the name of the program was changed to *The Howdy Doody Show*.

Children loved the Doodyville inhabitants, because they were a skillfully created, diverse collection of American icons. The original Howdy marionette was designed by Frank Paris and in keeping with Smith's voice was a country bumpkin; however, in a dispute over licensing rights Paris left the show with the puppet. The new Howdy, who premiered in March 1948, was an all-American boy with red hair, forty-eight freckles (one for each state in the union), and a permanent smile. Howdy's face symbolized the youthful energy of the new medium and appeared on the NBC color test pattern beginning in 1954.

Smith treated the marionettes as if they were real, and as a result, so did the children of America. Among the many unusual marionettes on the show was Phineas T. Bluster, Doodyville's entrepreneurial mayor. Howdy's grumpy nemesis, Bluster had eyebrows that shot straight up when he was surprised. Bluster's naive, high-school-aged accomplice, was Dilly Dally, who wiggled his ears when he was frustrated. Flub-a-dub was a whimsical character who was a combination of eight animals. In *Howdy and Me*, Smith notes, "Howdy, Mr. Bluster, Dilly, and the Flub-a-Dub gave the impression that they could cut their strings, saunter off the stage, and do as they pleased."

Although the live characters, particularly the native Americans Chief Thunderthud and Princess Summerfall Winterspring, were by modern standards stereotypical and often clownish, each had a rich heritage interwoven into the stories. These were prepared by Eddie Kean, who wrote the scripts and the songs until 1954, and Willie Gilbert and Jack Weinstock, who wrote scripts and song lyrics thereafter. For example, Smith (born in Buffalo, New York) was transformed into Buffalo Bob when he took his place in the story as the great white leader of the Sigafoose tribe. Chief Thunderthud (played by Bill LeCornec) of the mythical Ooragnak tribe ("Kangaroo" spelled backward) introduced



The Howdy Doody Show

the word "Kawabonga," an expression of surprise and frustration, into the English language. One of the few female characters in the cast was the beloved Princess Summerfall Winterspring of the Tinka Tonka tribe, who was first introduced as a puppet, then transformed into a real, live princess, played by Judy Tyler.

*The Howdy Doody Show* also reflected America's fascination with technology. Part of the fun and fantasy of Doodyville were crazy machines such as the Electromindomizer that read minds and the Honkadoodle that translated Mother Goose's honks into English. Television's technical innovations were also incorporated into the show. On 23 June 1949 split-screen capabilities were used to join Howdy in Chicago with Buffalo Bob in New York, one of the first instances of a cross-country connection. Howdy also ushered in NBC's daily color programming in 1955.

*The Howdy Doody Show* was immediately successful and was NBC's first daily show to be extended to five days a week. In 1952 NBC launched a network radio program featuring Howdy, and in 1954 *Howdy Doody* became an international television hit with a Cuban and a Canadian show, using duplicate puppets and local talent, including Robert Goulet as Canadian host, Timber Tom.

As amazing as it may now seem, there were published concerns over violent content in *Howdy Doody*, but though



the action in Doodyville generally involved slapstick, parents generally supported the show. Much of the mayhem was perpetrated by a lovable, mischievous clown named Clarabell Hornblow. Clarabell was played by Bob Keeshan who later became Captain Kangaroo. His pratfalls were generally accidents, and the most lethal weapon on the show was his seltzer bottle. Moreover, educational material was consciously incorporated both into the songs and the stories; for example, young viewers received a lesson in government when Howdy ran for President of the kids of America in 1948. The educational features of the program made the Doodyville characters attractive personal promoters both for the show and for the sale of television sets.

And even before the advent of the Nielsen ratings, *Howdy Doody* demonstrated its ability to draw an audience both for NBC and for possible advertisers. In 1948, children's shows were often provided as a public service either by the networks or the stations. When Howdy ran for President of all the kids, Muir suggested that they offer free campaign buttons. They received 60,000 requests, representing one-third of the American homes with television sets. Within a week their advertising time was sold out to major advertisers, such as Colgate Palmolive Peat Company. Although the producers were careful about what they advertised, they were very aggressive about marketing products they selected, incorporating product messages into songs and skits.

The producers also recognized the potential for merchandising. In 1949 the first *Howdy Doody* comic book was published by Dell and the first *Howdy Doody* record was released, selling 30,000 copies in its first week. There were also *Howdy Doody* wind-up toys, a humming lariat, a beanie, and T-shirts, among other licensed products.

Although extremely popular, the demise of *The Howdy Doody Show* demonstrated the financial realities of the new medium. In 1956 the early evening time slot became more attractive to older consumers, and the show was moved to Saturday morning. Although it continued to receive high ratings, the expense was eventually its downfall, and it was taken off the air on 24 September 1960, after 2,343 programs.

The most famous moment in the history of *The Howdy Doody Show* came during the closing seconds of the final show when Clarabell, who did not speak but communicated through pantomime and honking his horns, surprised the audience by saying, "Good-bye, kids." The reality continues to be that the rich, live-action performances that filled early children's programming are too costly for modern, commercial television. The show was briefly brought back to television as *The New Howdy Doody Show* in August 1976, but was canceled in January 1977, after only 130 episodes.

—Suzanne Hurst Williams

#### CAST

<i>Buffalo Bob Smith</i>	Bob Smith
<i>Clarabelle Hornblow (Clown)</i>	Bob Keeshan
	Henry McLaughlin
	Bob Nicholson
	Lew Anderson
<i>Story Princess</i>	Arlene Dalton
<i>Chief Thunderthud</i>	Bill Lecornec
<i>Tim Tremble</i>	Don Knotts
<i>Princess Summerfall Winterspring</i>	Judy Tyler
	Linda Marsh
<i>Bison Bill (1954)</i>	George "Gabby" Hayes
<i>Howdy Doody (voice)</i>	Bob Smith
<i>Howdy Doody (voice, 1954)</i>	Allen Swift
<i>Phineas T. Bluster (voice)</i>	Dayton Allen
<i>Double Doody (voice)</i>	Bob Smith
<i>The Flubadub (voice)</i>	Dayton Allen
<i>Traveling Lecturer</i>	Lowell Thomas, Jr.

#### PUPPETEERS

Rhoda Mann, Lee Carney, Rufus C. Rose

**PRODUCERS** Martin Stone, E. Roger Muir, Simon Rady

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 2,543 Episodes

• NBC

December 1947–September 1960

Non-Primetime

#### FURTHER READING

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———. *Say Kids! What Time Is It?* Boston: Little, Brown, 1987.

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Gould, Jack. "Hail Howdy Doody!" *New York Times*, 14 November 1948.

Grossman, Gary H. *Saturday Morning TV*. New York: Dell, 1981.

"Six-Foot Baby-Sitter." *Time* (New York), 27 March 1950. Smith, Buffalo Bob, and Donna McCrohan. *Howdy and Me*. New York: Penguin, 1990.

"Stars on Strings." *Time* (New York), 17 January 1949.

Stewart, R. W. "Busy Bob Smith." *New York Times*, 2 May 1948.

"Television Reviews: Puppet Television Theatre." *Variety* (Los Angeles), 31 December 1947.

"TV for the Kids." *Newsweek* (New York), 22 November 1948.

See also Children and Television

## HOWERD, FRANKIE

British Comedian

Frankie Howerd was a popular post-war stand-up comedian, who survived many changes in the humour tastes of the British nation to remain a television favourite until his death in 1992. From an early age he decided he wanted to be an actor, despite bouts of nervousness and a recurring stammer, but after suffering rejection from the Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts, he decided instead to become a stand-up comic. However, this route seemed equally closed to him as he failed numerous auditions. During World War II he joined the army, but failed to impress as an entertainer and was turned down by the military entertainment organisation, ENSA (Entertainments National Service Association—but better known by the troops as Every Night Something Awful). This rejection, however, did not deter Howerd who still performed for his comrades in arms, learning to control his stammer and develop a line of patter. Following the war Howerd's rise was dramatic. He toured the provinces in a stage show, *For the Fun of It*, in 1946, and although placed at the bottom of the bill he hit upon the clever ruse of changing his name from Howard to Howerd. This meant that his name was more noticeable simply because people assumed it was a misprint. And if the name was spelt incorrectly as the more normal Howard (an easy mistake) the comedian could complain and get some appeasement—perhaps larger lettering on the next poster or a longer spot or even extra money.

In 1947 he presented his comedy act in the radio series *Variety Bandbox* and soon became a hit with the listening public. His comic persona was becoming defined. Influenced by the comedians of his time, especially his great idol Sid Field (one of Britain's greatest comic talents from the 1930s to his death in 1950), Howerd had, by the end of the 1940s, developed a strong style of his own. His tactic was to deliver jokes and appear in sketches almost reluctantly as if forced there by circumstance. It was as if he had something better to do, and if the audience didn't respond to the lines in the right way, then he didn't care. Indeed, his offhand statement to such indifference "Oh please yourself" became one of his great catchphrases, getting a huge laugh as the audience identified with the character.

Success on radio increased his standing in stageland but many of the venues were closing down as the era of music hall was drawing to an end. Sadly, as his stock rose, the circuit itself was closing down. Many of his comic contemporaries were crowding the radio waves and some (like Charlie Chester and Terry-Thomas) had even gotten their own shows on the increasingly popular medium of television. In 1952 Howerd got his first television series, *The Howerd Crowd*, an hour-long entertainment with scripts by Eric Sykes. Howerd had a good face for television, long and lugubrious, and the small screen enabled him to use his exaggerated facial expressions to good effect. He appeared a few more times in that period but he was about to enter one of the quiet phases of his career.



Frankie Howerd

Photo courtesy of the British Film Institute

Howerd made his feature film debut in 1954, a major role in *The Runaway Bus*, and he had a small but memorable part in *The Ladykillers* the following year; it was such film roles and occasional radio appearances that kept him occupied throughout the rest of the 1950s. His television career throughout this period was in the doldrums and, with each year bringing in less work than the year before, he seemed to be on a familiar path that led to obscurity. Then in 1962 Howerd's career was suddenly and dramatically resurrected when he did a stand-up routine in Peter Cook's Establishment Club, an American style comedy cabaret club specialising in satire. With a script by Johnny Speight, Howerd was a big hit. It seemed his style of innuendo and ad-libbed asides had a place in the new world of anti-establishment comedy. The following year Howerd consolidated his revitalised reputation with an appearance on the BBC's controversial and groundbreaking satire series *That Was the Week That Was*. In the space of a year he was re-established as a major comedy star, and became a familiar face on television as a guest star or leading artist in variety shows. He headlined his own show again, *Frankie Howerd* (1964–66), this time with scripts from Galton and Simpson, mixing an introductory stand-up routine with a long-form sketch that continued the same

theme. Later the series *The Frankie Howerd Show* (1969) was made by ATV for the ITV network and Howerd also appeared in one-off entertainments such as *The Howerd Hour* (1968) made by ABC for the ITV network.

In 1970 Howerd had his biggest TV success with *Up Pompeii!* (BBC 1970) a period-piece sitcom set in ancient Pompeii and inspired by the American stage musical *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*, in which Howerd had appeared (as Prologus and Pseudolus) in its British stage version. A pilot episode of *Up Pompeii!* in 1969 raised enough interest and the series began the following year. Howerd played the slave Lurcio who commented on and got involved in the various comings and goings in his master's household. His master was Ludricus Sextus and most of the main characters in the plots had punnish names, e.g. Ammonia, Erotica, Nausius, Prodigus. The shows (scripted by Talbot Rothwell, one of the writers of the bawdy *Carry On ...* film series) were peppered with innuendo and smutty references and also allowed Howerd free rein to talk directly to camera and deliver his typically weary asides about how awful the show was. This method of combining a pseudostand-up routine with plot—coupled with Howerd's conspiratorial relationship with the viewing audience which allowed him to step in and out of character—gave the series a unique, almost theatrical feel which lingered long in the public psyche despite the fact that only thirteen episodes were made (14 with the pilot). Such was its popularity that an Easter special *Further up Pompeii!* aired on the BBC in 1975 and a revival also called *Further up Pompeii!* was made by the commercial London Weekend Television in 1991. It also spawned a feature film version in 1971 (followed by two others on similar themes, a medieval romp, *Up the Chastity Belt* in 1971 and a World War I version *Up the Front* in 1973). On TV in 1973 the format was reworked as *Frankie Howerd in Whoops Baghdad* (BBC 1973), which ran for six episodes and featured Howerd as Ali Oopla, bondservant to the Wazir of Baghdad.

Howerd actually improved with age. His face, lined and wrinkled with doleful bags under his eyes, became even more expressive, allowing him to suggest any number of things with a raise of the eyebrows, his impossibly deep frown, or his wide-eyed aghast look. The face was perfectly fitted to his camp delivery, and his confidential asides and world-weary looks were given added authenticity. In 1975 Howerd appeared in an abortive pilot *A Touch of the Cassanovas* for Thames TV and made the series *The Howerd Confessions* for the same company the following year. But British tastes were changing. The anarchic comedy wave that emerged in the wake of the punk rock phenomenon began to be taken seriously by television companies by the early 1980s and there was a backlash against Howerd's sexual innuendo style of humour in favour of full frontal comedy attacks on taboo subjects. After his Yorkshire TV series *Frankie Howerd Strikes Again* (1981), Howerd once again found it harder to come by work. His 1982 sitcom *Then Churchill Said to Me* was made but shelved by the BBC; in 1985 he was chosen

as front-man in an ill-fated and ill-timed attempt to make *The Gong Show* (Gambit productions for C4)—a British version of the successful U.S. show.

However, some of the younger audiences began to rediscover and reassess the old comedians and Howerd once again found himself back in favour—appearing to rapturous college students similar to his success at the Establishment Club. Indeed, evidence of Howerd's regained popularity can be found from his appearance in 1987 on LWT's live new wave comedy showcase *Saturday Live*; it meant that the producers considered Howerd "hip" enough for their audience. Although this appearance didn't have the sort of impact his previous comeback (on TW3) had had, it nonetheless heralded another revival and he again was a regular face on TV as he appeared in the young people's sitcom *All Change* (Yorkshire TV 1989). A series of his concerts were filmed for television, the most revealing of which was *Live Frankie Howerd on Campus* (LWT 1990). Howerd, back in demand, was as busy as ever.

Two revealing TV documentaries contain much of the essence of Howerd's style and craft: 1990s *Ooh Er, Missus—The Frankie Howerd Story from Arena* (the BBC's art documentary series) and Thames Television's *Heroes of Comedy—Frankie Howerd* (1995).

—Dick Fiddy

FRANKIE HOWERD. Born Francis Alex Howard in York, England, 6 March 1922. Attended schools in Woolwich, London. Served in Royal Artillery during World War II. Made stage debut, as an amateur, at the age of 13; insurance clerk; performed in camp concerts during World War II; after the war became a favourite in radio's *Variety Bandbox*; first television show, 1952; made film debut, 1954; star of revue, stage and television comedy, pantomime and film. Order of the British Empire, 1977. Recipient: Variety Club of Great Britain Showbusiness Personality of the Year Award (twice). Died in London, 19 April 1992.

#### TELEVISION SERIES (selection)

1952	<i>The Howerd Crowd</i>
1969	<i>The Frankie Howerd Show</i>
1970	<i>Up Pompeii!</i>
1973	<i>Frankie Howerd in Whoops Baghdad</i>
1976	<i>The Howerd Confessions</i>
1981	<i>Frankie Howerd Strikes Again</i>
1982	<i>Frankie Howerd: Then Churchill Said to Me</i>
1989	<i>All Change</i>
1990	<i>Live Frankie Howerd on Campus.</i>

#### TELEVISION SPECIALS

1973	<i>Whoops Baghdad!</i>
1975, 1991	<i>Further up Pompeii!</i>

#### FILMS

*The Runaway Bus*, 1954; *An Alligator Named Daisy*, 1955; *The Ladykillers*, 1955; *Jumping for Joy*, 1956; *A Touch of the Sun*, 1956; *Further Up the Creek*, 1958; *Three Seasons*, 1961;

*Watch It Sailor!*, 1961; *The Fast Lady*, 1962; *The Cool Mikado*, 1962; *The Mouse on the Moon*, 1963; *The Great St. Trinian's Train Robbery*, 1966; *Carry On Doctor*, 1967; *Carry On Up the Jungle*, 1969; *Up Pompeii*, 1971; *Up the Chastity Belt*, 1971; *Up the Front*, 1972; *The House in Nightmare Park*; *Crazy House*, 1973; *Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*, 1978; *Trial By Jury*, 1983.

#### RADIO

*Variety Bandbox*, 1946–52.

## HUGGINS, ROY

U.S. Producer

Roy Huggins is a prolific and influential producer who created several of the most enduring dramatic series in the history of television, including *Maverick* (1957–62), *77 Sunset Strip* (1958–64), *The Fugitive* (1963–67), and *The Rockford Files* (1974–80). Huggins has spent much of his career in television as a producer for two large studios, Warner Brothers and Universal. Working within these studios, Huggins served as producer or executive producer on made-for-television movies, miniseries, and more than twenty dramatic series. While Huggins supervised a wide range of projects, many of which were simply studio assignments, he was one of the first writer-producers to emerge once television production shifted to Hollywood in the 1950s. Many of his series bear the distinctive stamp of his irreverent, self-deprecating wit and his fondness for characters who operate on the margins of society.

As a civilian employee of the U.S. government during the war, Huggins spent his spare time writing hard-boiled crime fiction, inspired by the work of Raymond Chandler. In 1946 his first novel, *The Double Take*, was published. Huggins sold several serialized mysteries to *The Saturday Evening Post*, and soon published two more novels, *Too Late for Tears* and *Lovely Lady, Pity Me*. When Columbia Pictures purchased the rights to *The Double Take* in 1949, Huggins recognized an opportunity for more steady employment and signed to adapt the script. From here he entered the movie industry, working as a contract writer at Columbia and RKO. In 1952 he wrote and directed the feature film *Hangman's Knot*, a Randolph Scott western produced by independent producer Harry Joe Brown for Columbia. Afterwards, he signed a contract with Columbia, where he worked as a staff writer until 1955.

Huggins made the transition to television in April 1955, when Warner Brothers hired him as a producer for its inaugural television series, *Warner Brothers Presents*, an omnibus series which featured three alternating dramas, *King's Row*, *Casablanca*, and *Cheyenne*. Huggins agreed to produce *King's Row*, but after creating the series he was reassigned to *Cheyenne* in order to salvage the faltering series, which faced

#### STAGE

*For the Fun of It*, 1946; *Ta Ra Rah Boom De Ay*, 1948; *Out of This World*, 1950; *Dick Whittington*; *Pardon My French*; *Way Out in Picadilly*; *Wind in the Sassafras Trees*; *Charley's Aunt*; *A Midsummer Night's Dream*; *Mr. Venus*, 1958; *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*, 1962.

#### PUBLICATIONS

*On the Way I Lost It* (autobiography), 1976.  
*Trumps*, 1982.

withering reviews from both critics and sponsors. Huggins rescued *Cheyenne* by recycling scripts from Warner Brothers movies such as *Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (1948), often simply inserting the character of Cheyenne Bodie (Clint Walker) into familiar stories from the studio vaults. These changes brought the series a measure of respect as an "adult" western and made it the studio's first full-fledged hit.

Huggins immediately moved from *Cheyenne* to *Conflict* (1956–57), a short-lived anthology series that alternated



Roy Huggins

Photo courtesy of Broadcasting and Cable

with the western. During the production of *Conflict* Huggins met James Garner, an actor who perfectly embodied his wry sense of humor. When Warner Brothers asked Huggins to create a new series, he thought immediately of Garner and tailored *Maverick* as a star vehicle. In a crowded field of TV westerns, *Maverick* quickly moved into the top ten and won an Emmy for Best Western in 1958.

*Maverick* was a refreshing antidote to the strained seriousness of so many westerns, including *Cheyenne*, but it was also ground-breaking because it redefined the heroic protagonist and brought a sly self-mockery to television drama. For the first time, Huggins built a series around a flawed central character, a reluctant hero who lives on the fringes of society. Huggins wanted Bret Maverick to have none of the "irritating perfection" of TV's typical western heroes. Instead, Maverick is a much more complicated character than those found at the center of most dramatic series up to that time. Although obviously charming, he is an unrepentant rascal whose moral code is molded by expediency, greed, and the need for self-preservation. As Garner and co-star Jack Kelly, who played brother Bart Maverick, proved adept at balancing a subtle blend of adventure and comedy, Huggins guided the series in the direction of comedy. While generally sending up the entire western genre, Maverick soon began to needle its more serious competitors, offering razor-sharp parodies of *Gunsmoke* and *Bonanza*. The touch of irony that Huggins brought to the western genre in *Maverick*—an irreverent blend of drama and comedy—has become one of the defining characteristics of dramatic series in the subsequent years.

During the second season of *Maverick*, Huggins created the detective series *77 Sunset Strip* which was based loosely on his novel, *Lovely Lady, Pity Me*. *77 Sunset Strip* revived the crime drama on television, much as *Maverick* had revived the western, by injecting a healthy dose of humor into a genre trapped in grim rites of law and order. In place of the stolid cops who governed most crime series, *77 Sunset Strip* brought the hard-boiled private detective into the endless summer of Los Angeles circa 1958. Starring Efrem Zimbalist, Jr., and Roger Smith as private detectives Stuart Bailey and Jeff Spenser, the series defined Sunset Boulevard as the epicenter of hipness on television, a sun-drenched world of cocktails, cool jazz, and convertibles.

*77 Sunset Strip* lacked the satirical edge of *Maverick*, because after producing the pilot episode Huggins had no responsibility for the series. Nor did he have anything to do with the clones generated by the Warner Brothers brass—*Hawaiian Eye* (1959–63), *Bourbon Street Beat* (1959–60), and *Surfside 6* (1960–62). Huggins also stopped producing *Maverick* after the second season, wearied by the pace of production at Warner Brothers and by the studio's tight-fisted finances. As a matter of policy, Warner Brothers refused to share profits with its television personnel—including Huggins, its most gifted and indispensable producer. Huggins was directly responsible for the studio's three most successful series, but was not even given credit for having created *Maverick* and *77 Sunset Strip*, which studio

executives claimed had been based on properties already owned by the studio.

Huggins left Warner Brothers and in October 1960 became the vice-president in charge of television production at 20th Century-Fox. This proved to be a strange interlude in his career, because while he was only able to place one series in prime time, that series stirred up an inordinate amount of controversy. *Bus Stop* (1961–1962), adapted from the play by William Inge, was set in a small town in Colorado, a way-station on an otherwise endless highway. The central location served as the premise for an anthology series featuring the stories of wandering, disenfranchised characters who passed through the bus stop. The program gained national notoriety when an episode titled "A Lion Walks Among Us" starred pop icon Fabian as a charismatic psychopath who commits several cold-blooded murders. In the climate of criticism that was soon crystallized in a speech by the chair of the Federal Communications Commission, (Newton Minow's "vast wasteland" speech), the episode became a target of television critics and politicians, who seized upon it in order to decry television's degrading influence on American culture.

Stung by the criticism of the series, 20th Century-Fox placed Huggins in a kind of administrative limbo by refusing to allow him to develop other series and essentially waiting for his contract to expire. Huggins used the unexpected free time to write a stinging rebuttal of Minow that appeared in *Television Quarterly*. In writing the article Huggins became one of the few members of Hollywood's creative community to defend the artistic merit of commercial, popular culture and to question Minow's essentially elitist criticism of television. He criticized Minow and other cultural elitists for allowing their contempt for kitsch—"their dread of being caught in a profane mood"—to cloud their judgment. Huggins's essay amounted to a sophisticated and subtle defense of popular culture in an era when television producers did not make artistic claims for their work. "The public arts," he wrote, "are created for a mass audience and for a profit; that is their essential nature. But they can at times achieve truth and beauty, and given freedom they will achieve it more and more often."

After the debacle at Fox, Huggins returned to graduate school at University of California, Los Angeles, determined to get his Ph.D. and to leave television behind. He needed a bankroll and came up with the idea of creating a series that he could sell to another producer, then sit back and watch the residuals roll in. This series was *The Fugitive*, which he sold to independent producer Quinn Martin after overcoming ABC's initial resistance to a series with an escaped convict as its central character. The story of Dr. Richard Kimble (David Janssen), suspected of murdering his wife and forced to flee the police while in pursuit of the actual killer, carried the mythic resonance of quest narratives from *The Odyssey* to *Les Misérables*. Huggins wanted to update the western by placing its wandering hero in a contemporary setting. In transposing the stock figure of the wanderer from the mythic landscape of the West to the

landscape of 1960s America, he created a new and unsettling dramatic hero for television, a rootless, paranoid loner, the most unsettled character on the New Frontier of Kennedy-era America. The quest—the ongoing tension between pursuit and capture—was new to prime-time series and gave *The Fugitive* a powerful narrative momentum which paid off in the record-setting ratings for the final episodes. *The Fugitive* did not exhibit Huggins's characteristic sense of humor, but it developed his fascination with heroic outcasts and revealed his skepticism toward what he considered the American "cult of optimism."

In 1963 Huggins gave up his plans of graduate school and accepted a job as a vice president in the television division at Universal, where he spent the next 18 years. During this period, Universal became the predominant creator of dramatic series, often accounting for much of the NBC schedule throughout the 1960s. Huggins adapted to the programming formats that evolved over the years at Universal, producing series, made-for-TV movies, and miniseries. He began by producing *The Virginian* (1962–71) and *Kraft Suspense Theatre* (1963–65). He created and produced *Run for Your Life* (1965–68), a variation on *The Fugitive* in which attorney Paul Bryan (Ben Gazzara) sets off on adventurous journey after discovering that he has a mysterious fatal illness and only two years to live.

In 1969 Huggins set up an independent production company, Public Arts, at Universal and began a series of co-productions with the studio. He created *The Lawyers* segment of the omnibus series *The Bold Ones* (1969–73) and produced several other series, including *Alias Smith and Jones* (1971–73), *Toma* (1973–74), and *Baretta* (1975–78). The crown jewel of Huggins's period at Universal is certainly *The Rockford Files*, which he co-created with Stephen J. Cannell. Huggins produced *The Rockford Files* for only two seasons, but his influence is unmistakable in the self-deprecating, slightly disreputable private eye played by James Garner.

In the late 1970s Huggins turned to producing miniseries, including *Captains and Kings* (1976) and *Arthur Hailey's Wheels* (1978). His association with Universal ended in 1980, when he left to concentrate on writing. In 1985 he returned to television at the request of his former protégé Stephen J. Cannell to produce *Hunter* (1984–1991). Recent feature-film versions of *The Fugitive* (1993) and *Maverick* (1994) have been fantastic successes at the box office. Their success is a tribute to Huggins's lasting importance as one of television's great storytellers.

—Christopher Anderson

**ROY HUGGINS.** Born in Littlefield, Washington, U.S.A., 18 July 1914. Educated at the University of California, Los Angeles, 1935–41. Married: Adele Mara. Worked as a special representative of the U.S. Civil Service, 1941–43; industrial engineer, 1943–46; screenwriter, 1952–55; producer, Warner Brothers Television, 1955–60; vice president of 20th Century-Fox Television, 1960; producer, MCA Revue, Universal Television, 1963–80; president of production company, Public Arts, Inc., Universal City, California; writer, director, producer for television, since 1968.

#### TELEVISION SERIES (producer)

1955–56	<i>Warner Brothers Presents: King's Row</i> (creator)
1955–63	<i>Warner Brothers Presents: Cheyenne</i>
1956–57	<i>Conflict</i>
1957–62	<i>Maverick</i> (creator)
1957–60	<i>Colt .45</i> (creator)
1958–64	<i>77 Sunset Strip</i> (creator)
1961–62	<i>Bus Stop</i>
1962–71	<i>The Virginian</i>
1963–67	<i>The Fugitive</i> (also creator)
1963–65	<i>Kraft Suspense Theatre</i>
1965–68	<i>Run For Your Life</i> (also creator)
1969–73	<i>The Bold Ones</i>
1971–73	<i>Alias Smith and Jones</i>
1973–74	<i>Toma</i>
1974–80	<i>The Rockford Files</i> (creator)
1975–78	<i>Baretta</i>
1976	<i>City of Angels</i> (creator)
1984–91	<i>Hunter</i>

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

1974	<i>This Is the West</i>
1974	<i>The Story of Pretty Boy Floyd</i>
1976	<i>The Invasion of Johnson County</i>

#### TELEVISION MINISERIES

1976	<i>Captains and Kings</i>
1978	<i>Arthur Hailey's Wheels</i>

#### FILMS (writer)

*Pushover*, 1954; *Fuller Brush Man*, 1948; *Good Humor Man*, 1950; *Sealed Cargo*, 1951; *Woman in Hiding*, 1949; *Hangman's Knot*, 1952; *Gun Fury*, 1953; *A Fever in the Blood* (producer only), 1961.

#### PUBLICATIONS

*The Double Take* (novel). New York: Morrow, 1946.  
*Too Late for Tears* (novel). New York: Morrow, 1947.  
*Lovely Lady, Pity Me* (novel). New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1949.  
 "The Bloodshot Eye: A Comment on the Crisis in American Television." *Television Quarterly* (New York), August 1962.

#### FURTHER READING

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 Marc, David, and Robert J. Thompson. *Prime Time, Prime Movers: From I Love Lucy to L.A. Law—America's Favorite TV Shows and the People Who Created Them*. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1995.

See also Cannell, Steven J.; *Cheyenne*, *Fugitive*, *Rockford Files*, *Warner Brothers Presents*



## HUNTLEY, CHET

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

Chet Huntley is most famous for his role as co-anchor of the critically acclaimed and highly rated *The Huntley-Brinkley Report*. This evening newscast, which first appeared in October 1956 on NBC, ushered in the modern era for television evening news. *The Huntley-Brinkley Report* introduced an innovative broadcast style, cutting between Huntley in New York and David Brinkley in Washington, D.C. The energy, pace, and style of the program was clearly a step beyond the more conventional work of "news readers" who had preceded the new format.

Huntley's rise to broadcast news stardom began during his senior year at the University of Washington when he landed his first broadcasting job at Seattle's KPCB radio. His roles for the station ranged from writer and announcer to salesman, and his salary was a mere \$10 a month. These modest beginnings led to several short stints at radio stations in the northwest, but by 1937 Huntley settled in Los Angeles. He worked first at KFI Los Angeles, and then at CBS News in the west. He stayed with CBS for 12 years until he was lured to ABC in 1951. His tour of the networks was complete when NBC enticed him to New York in 1955 with talk of a major TV news program.

Huntley first worked with Brinkley in 1956 while co-anchoring the Republican and Democratic national conventions of that year. The NBC duo successfully garnered the largest share of the convention television audience, and as a result, the Huntley-Brinkley team was born. *The Huntley-Brinkley Report's* audience was estimated at 20 million, and in 1965, a consumer research company found that, as a result of their hugely successful news program, both Huntley and Brinkley were more recognizable to American adults than such famous stars as Cary Grant, James Stewart or the Beatles.

Throughout his impressive career, however, Huntley developed a reputation for airing his personal opinions on-air, and he was once accused of editorializing with his eyebrows. In the 1950s, he candidly criticized Senator Joseph McCarthy's outrageous allegations of Communist sympathy among government officials and members of Hollywood's film industry.

As a cattle owner in his native Montana, Huntley's endorsements for the beef industry during the 1960s again brought criticism from other professionals. His only apparent disagreement with his partner came during 1967, when Huntley crossed an American Federation of Television and Radio Artists' picket line, claiming that news anchors did not belong in the same union as "actors, singers, and dancers."

Despite his critics, Huntley received an estimated \$200,000 salary from NBC during the height of *The Huntley-Brinkley Report's* time on the air. He also earned several prestigious news industry awards. He was named the International Radio and Television Society's "Broadcaster of the Year" in 1970.

*The Huntley-Brinkley Report's* ceremonial closing ("Good night, David," "Good night, Chet") would have



Chet Huntley

been heard for the last time on 1 August 1970, when Huntley retired from broadcasting, but Brinkley altered his words to "Good-bye, Chet." As he signed off, Huntley left his audience with one final plea: "Be patient and have courage—there will be better and happier news some day, if we work at it."

Huntley retired to his native Montana, where he worked to develop the Big Sky resort. His love for the state and its people is evident in his memoir, *The Generous Years: Remembrances of a Frontier Boyhood*.

—John C. Tedesco

CHET HUNTLEY. Born in Cardwell, Montana, U.S.A., 10 December 1911. Educated at the University of Washington. Married: 1) Ingrid Rolin (divorced, 1959); children, two daughters; 2) Tipton Stringer. Began career as a radio announcer, KPCB, Seattle, Washington; announcer, disk jockey and writer, Spokane, Washington, and Portland, Oregon; joined KFI, Los Angeles, 1937; CBS News, Los Angeles, 1939–51; newscaster and correspondent, ABC television, 1951–55; newscaster and correspondent, NBC television, 1955–70; teamed with David Brinkley as co-anchor, *The Huntley-Brinkley Report*, 1956–70; retired to Montana, 1960, to pursue business interests. Recipient: Alfred I. duPont Award, George Polk Memorial Award, two Overseas



Press Club Awards; eight Emmy Awards, with Brinkley.  
Died 20 March 1974.

**TELEVISION**

1956-70     *The Huntley-Brinkley Report*

**PUBLICATION**

*The Generous Years: Remembrances of a Frontier Boyhood.*  
New York: Random House, 1964.

**FURTHER READING**

Fensch, Thomas, editor. *Television News Anchors: An Anthology of Profiles of the Major Figures and Issues in United States Network Reporting.* Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1993.

Frank, Reuven. *Out of Thin Air: The Brief Wonderful Life of Network News.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991.

See also Anchor; Brinkley, David; News, Network

# I

## I, CLAUDIUS

British Historical Serial

**I**, *Claudius*, a 13-episode serial produced by BBC/London Film Productions and first aired on BBC-2 in 1976, made its American debut on the Public Broadcasting Service in November 1977 as an installment of *Masterpiece Theatre*, sponsored by Mobil Corporation. The production was based on two novels by poet and essayist Robert Graves, *I, Claudius: From the Autobiography of Tiberius Claudius, Born B.C. X, Murdered and Diefied A.D. LIV* (1934), and *Claudius the God and His Wife Messalina* (1935). Adapted for television by Jack Pulman, *I, Claudius* chronicles the slide of Roman civilization in the first century A.D. into unrelenting depravity during the reigns of the four emperors who succeeded Julius Caesar—Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius. Its themes of decadence, which included brutal assassinations, sadistic gladiatorial contests, incest, forced prostitution, adultery, nymphomania, and homosexuality, and its scenes of nudity and orgiastic violence, including a gruesome abortion, while toned down somewhat from the BBC original, nevertheless pushed the limits of moral acceptability on American television at the time.

Anchored firmly in the genre of fictional history, *I, Claudius* portrayed real historical figures and events, but, according to Woodward, “with the license of the novelist to imagine and invent.” While Graves drew extensively from Claudius’s biographer Suetonius, among others, for the historical material in the novels, he framed the story by using Claudius himself as the autobiographical narrator of his 13-year reign as emperor and the reigns of his three predecessors. At the outset of the drama, Claudius is seen as a lonely old man perusing various incriminating documents from which he is constructing his “history.” His project was prophesied by the Cumaen sibyl many years earlier when Claudius visited her and was told to write the work, seal and bury it where no one will find it. Then, according to the sibyl, “1900 years from now and not before, Claudius shall speak.” The remainder of the serial is backstory, recounting the unbridled ambition, domestic intrigue, bloodlust and sexual dysfunction of Rome’s ruling elite.

Claudius is among the most fascinating dramatic personae of Roman history. A weak and sickly youth, repressed by a stern tutor as a child, physically deformed and suffering from a severe stammer, he was an outsider in the royal family, considered an idiot and, as Kiefer puts it,

“utterly unsuited for all the duties expected of him as a young prince.” As an adult, he was never taken seriously as a future ruler of Rome. Ironically, however, Claudius was ostensibly the most intelligent of the lot. A shy man of considerable culture inclined toward a life of quiet scholarship, he knew Greek well, and wrote several works on history (now lost), including two on the Etruscans and the Carthaginians. In the Imperial Rome of his day, however, obsessed with the exercise of power through treachery and brute force, such preoccupations of the mind were considered little more than idle pastimes.

While Claudius was wise in matters of history, he was apparently far less so in matters requiring discernment of human character. His repression as a child led to his weak reliance on other people as an adult, especially the ruthless women in the Imperial family. Nevertheless, Claudius was not the “complete idiot.” He was consul under Caligula; and when chosen by the soldiers to be emperor, following Caligula’s murder, he demonstrated many excellent administrative qualities. He annexed Mauretania, and in A.D. 43 he landed in Britain, which he made a Roman province. During his reign the kingdoms of Judea and Thrace were reabsorbed into the empire.

The character of Claudius (played with great intelligence and wit by Derek Jacobi) is clearly the linchpin that provides dramaturgical continuity throughout the serial, as both historical actor and observer/commentator. If one were to assume for a moment that *I, Claudius* is history (which it is not), a professional historian would question Claudius’s motivation for presenting his “history” as he has done here. Self-interest might be a driving force for portraying himself in the best possible light given the less-than-sanguine historical epoch in which he assumed a major role.

In fact, *I, Claudius* does precisely that. Claudius is the much misunderstood and frequently mocked “good guy”—the “holy fool”—amidst a rogue’s gallery of psychopaths, most notably Livia (played to fiendish perfection by Sian Phillips), the scheming wife of Augustus, and Claudius’s grandmother, who methodically poisons all possible candidates who might assume the emperor’s throne over her weak son Tiberius upon Augustus’s death; and the ghoulish and crazed Caligula (played by John Hurt, whose memorably hyperbolic performance might be classified as a caricature if the subject were anyone but Caligula). Set against



I, Claudius

*Photo courtesy of the British Film Institute*

the likes of such characters, Claudius comes off looking like a Saint. But was he in reality?

While reviewers generally accepted the presentation as accurate, the actual biography seems quite different. Suetonius's treatment of Claudius which, while questioned by some modern scholars as likely exaggerated in some details, is nevertheless accepted in large measure as an accurate reflection of the man. According to Suetonius, Claudius "overstepped the legal penalty for serious frauds by sentencing such criminals to fight with wild beasts." He "directed that examination by torture and executions for high treason should take place in full before his eyes . . . . At every gladiatorial game given by himself or another, he ordered even those fighters who had fallen by accident . . . to have their throats cut so that he could watch their faces as they died." This sadistic streak in Claudius, which Suetonius also notes in other passages, is absent from the BBC serial, and for good reason, for it would make the character far less sympathetic and thereby subvert the melodramatic "good vs. evil" contrast established throughout.

In another area, that of sexuality, the historical record again comes into conflict with the fictional treatment. According to Suetonius, Claudius's "passion for women

was immoderate." In the television version, Claudius is clearly portrayed more as a hapless victim of duplicitous women (and a staunch protector of virtuous women) than as a lecher.

The historical record does, however, include the positive side of Claudius's character so much in evidence in the BBC presentation. He often appears as "a gentle and amiable man," as when he published a decree that sick and abandoned slaves should have their freedom and that the killing of such a slave should count as murder.

Claudius was a man grounded in his cultural milieu. His sadism, while tempered by erudition and amiability, should nonetheless be acknowledged. At the same time, his behavior can properly be contextualized by noting that that not only in Imperial Rome, but also in the Republic preceding it (which Claudius held in high regard), criminals, when condemned to death, were routinely taken to the amphitheater to be torn to pieces by wild beasts as a public show.

The historical character Claudius is a complex man full of contradictions, and, one could reasonably argue, dramatically more resonant than the sanitized emperor offered viewers of *I, Claudius*. The BBC production is, nevertheless, excellent entertainment featuring superb ensemble acting

and expert direction by Herbert Wise. Its treatment of deviant behavior is sensitive, seeking to avoid the titillation evidenced in so much of today's violent Hollywood fare. Its scenes of debauchery and carnage seem safely distanced (by two thousand years) from our present milieu, and may even allow us to feel good that the contemporary world seems less debased by comparison, if we bracket out such collective barbarity as Nazi and Khmer Rouge genocide. But the nagging issue of historical veracity remains.

The problem is that *I, Claudius* is symptomatic of a general tendency to fictionalize history in popular media, from which the broad public, as Woodward rightly points out, "mainly receives whatever conceptions, impressions, fantasies, and delusions it may entertain about the past." As a consequence, not only may the general populace internalize a distorted picture of historical persons and events, but also be deprived of the invaluable opportunity to better understand its collective past and apply that knowledge critically and constructively to the present. People today, in the thrall of the media popularizers of history, are less likely than their forebears to read the work of professional historians, whose scholarly ethics require them to "disappoint" those among the laity or designing politicians who would "improve, sanitize, gentrify, idealize, or sanctify the past; or, on the other hand . . . discredit, denigrate, or even blot out portions of it." Thus is left open the door to the demagoguery of self-interested revisionist history.

Predictably, discussion of *I, Claudius* in the popular press prior to its American television debut focused not on such questions of historical veracity, but rather on how American audiences might react to its presentation of sex and violence. As Brown noted, the serial "is a chancy venture for American public television and one that got on the national service . . . on sheer merit." Mobil Corporation, the Masterpiece Theatre sponsor, was informed by WGBH-TV, the Boston public station who puts together the Masterpiece Theatre package, that some scenes might cause audience discomfort. Mobil responded that it had no reservations about the program and felt *I, Claudius* to be television of "extraordinary quality." Nonetheless, WGBH did make selective edits for the American version without prompting by Mobil. These included shortening a scene featuring bare-breasted dancers, and eliminating what might be considered a blasphemous comment by a Roman soldier on the Virgin Birth, some gory footage of an infant being stabbed to death, and bedroom shots featuring naked bodies making love. WGBH defended these and other excisions by arguing that viewers in some parts of the United States would be disturbed by their inclusion.

*I, Claudius* became one of the more critically acclaimed Masterpiece Theatre offerings and attracted a loyal following, which today can revisit the fictionalized life and times of Emperor Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus, a.k.a. Claudius I, on the cable arts network Bravo.

—Hal Himmelstein

# CAST

<i>Claudius</i> . . . . .	Derek Jacobi
<i>Augustus</i> . . . . .	Brian Blessed
<i>Livia</i> . . . . .	Sian Phillips
<i>Tiberius</i> . . . . .	George Baker
<i>Caligula</i> . . . . .	John Hurt
<i>Sejanus</i> . . . . .	Patrick Stewart
<i>Piso</i> . . . . .	Stratford Johns
<i>Herod</i> . . . . .	James Faulkner
<i>Germanicus</i> . . . . .	David Robb
<i>Agrippina</i> . . . . .	Fiona Walker
<i>Messalina</i> . . . . .	Sheila White
<i>Drusilla</i> . . . . .	Beth Morris
<i>Antonia</i> . . . . .	Margaret Tyzack
<i>Drusus</i> . . . . .	Iain Ogilvy
<i>Castor</i> . . . . .	Kevin McNally
<i>Macro</i> . . . . .	Rhys Davies
<i>Nero</i> . . . . .	Christopher Biggins
<i>Gratus</i> . . . . .	Bernard Hill
<i>Pallus</i> . . . . .	Bernard Hepton
<i>Narcissus</i> . . . . .	John Carter
<i>Marcellus</i> . . . . .	Christopher Guard
<i>Agrippa</i> . . . . .	John Paul
<i>Julia</i> . . . . .	Frances White
<i>Octavia</i> . . . . .	Angela Morant
<i>Vipsania</i> . . . . .	Sheila Ruskin
<i>Thrasylus</i> . . . . .	Kevin Stoney
<i>Young Claudius</i> . . . . .	Ashley Knight
<i>Pylades</i> . . . . .	Guy Siner
<i>Livy</i> . . . . .	Denis Carey
<i>Plautius</i> . . . . .	Darian Angadi
<i>Livilla</i> . . . . .	Patricia Quinn
<i>Lucius</i> . . . . .	Simon MacCorkindale
<i>Postumus</i> . . . . .	John Castle
<i>Praxis</i> . . . . .	Alan Thompson
<i>Placina</i> . . . . .	Irene Hamilton
<i>Domitius</i> . . . . .	Esmond Knight
<i>Sergeant</i> . . . . .	Norman Rossington
<i>Titus</i> . . . . .	Edward Jewesbury
<i>Lollia</i> . . . . .	Isabel Dean
<i>Monatanus</i> . . . . .	James Bree
<i>Pollio</i> . . . . .	Donald Eccles
<i>Junius</i> . . . . .	Graham Rowe
<i>Gershom</i> . . . . .	George Pravda
<i>Vitellius</i> . . . . .	Roy Purcell
<i>Calpurnia</i> . . . . .	Jo Rowbottom
<i>Cestius</i> . . . . .	Neal Arden
<i>Martina</i> . . . . .	Patsy Byrne
<i>Sabinus</i> . . . . .	Bruce Purchase
<i>Helen</i> . . . . .	Karin Foley
<i>Gallus</i> . . . . .	Charles Kay
<i>Silius Caecina</i> . . . . .	Peter Williams
<i>Varro</i> . . . . .	Aubury Richards
<i>Poppaea</i> . . . . .	Sally Bazely
<i>Caesonia</i> . . . . .	Freda Dowie
<i>Silanus</i> . . . . .	Lyndon Brook

<i>Asprenas</i> . . . . .	James Fagan
<i>Marcus</i> . . . . .	Norman Eshley
<i>Domitia</i> . . . . .	Moirra Redmond
<i>Plautius</i> . . . . .	Roger Bizley
<i>Xenophon</i> . . . . .	John Bennett
<i>Agrippinilla</i> . . . . .	Barbara Young
<i>Caractacus</i> . . . . .	Peter Bowles
<i>Britannicus</i> . . . . .	Graham Seed
<i>Octavia</i> . . . . .	Cheryl Johnson

**PRODUCER** Martin Lisemore

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 1 100-minute episode; 11 c. 50-minute episodes

• BBC

20 September 1976–6 December 1976

## I LOVE LUCY

U.S. Situation Comedy

**I** *Love Lucy* debuted on CBS in October 1951 and was an immediate sensation. It spent four of its six prime-time seasons as the highest-rated series on television and never finished lower than third place. Eisenhower's presidential inauguration in January 1953 drew twenty-nine million viewers; when Lucy gave birth to Little Ricky in an episode broadcast the next day, forty-four million viewers (72% of all U.S. homes with TV) tuned in to *I Love Lucy*. When it ceased production as a weekly series in 1957, *I Love Lucy* was still the number one series in the country. And its remarkable popularity has barely waned in the subsequent decades. Since passing into the electronic museum of reruns, *I Love Lucy* has become the Mona Lisa of television, a work of art whose fame transcends its origins and its medium.

Television in the 1950s was an insistent domestic medium, abundant with images of marriage and family. The story of *I Love Lucy*'s humble origins suited the medium perfectly, because it told of how a television program rescued a rocky marriage, bringing forth an emotionally renewed and financially triumphant family. After a relatively successful career in Hollywood, Lucille Ball had spent three years with actor Richard Denning in a CBS radio sitcom, *My Favorite Husband*. When CBS asked her to move into television, she agreed—but only if her real husband, Desi Arnaz, were allowed to play her TV husband. Arnaz, a one-time contract performer at RKO Pictures, was a moderately successful musician and orchestra leader who specialized in Latin pop music. His touring schedule placed a tremendous strain on the marriage, and they wanted to be together in order to raise a family. The network and prospective sponsors balked at the casting of Arnaz, fearing that his Cuban accent—his ethnic identity—would alienate

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See also History and Television

television viewers. To dispel doubts, Ball and Arnaz created a nightclub act and toured during the summer of 1950. When the show proved to be a huge success, CBS agreed to finance a pilot starring husband and wife.

In 1951 agent Don Sharpe negotiated a contract with CBS and sponsor Philip Morris cigarettes for Desilu, the couple's new production company, to produce *I Love Lucy*. CBS and the sponsor insisted that the program be broadcast live from New York, to take advantage of network production facilities in what was still predominately a live medium. For personal reasons Ball and Arnaz wanted to stay in Hollywood, but they also wanted to take advantage of movie industry production facilities and to ensure the long-term value of their series by capturing it on film. Syndication of reruns had not yet become standard procedure, but television's inevitable growth meant that the return on serious investment in a television series was incalculable. The network finally agreed to the couple's demands, but as a concession asked Ball and Arnaz to pay the additional cost of production and to accept a reduced fee for themselves. In exchange Desilu was given 100% ownership of the series—a provision that quickly turned Ball and Arnaz into the first millionaire television stars.

*I Love Lucy* reflected the couple's own family life in the funhouse mirror of a sitcom premise. To this extent, *I Love Lucy* resembled several other vaguely autobiographical showbiz family sitcoms of the 1950s, such as *The George Burns and Gracie Allen Show* (1950–58), *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* (1952–66), and *The Danny Thomas Show* (1953–64). Lucille Ball and Desi Arnaz played Lucy and Ricky Ricardo, a young married couple living in a converted brownstone on the upper east side of Manhattan. Ricky is the orchestra leader for the Tropicana nightclub; Lucy is a



I Love Lucy

frustrated housewife who longs to escape the confinement of her domestic role and participate in a larger public world, preferably to join Ricky in show business. They were joined by Vivian Vance and William Frawley, who played Ethel and Fred Mertz, former vaudeville performers who are the Ricardos' landlords.

Conflicts inevitably arise when Lucy's fervent desire to be more than a housewife run up against Ricky's equally

passionate belief that such ambitions in a woman are unseemly. This dynamic is established in the pilot episode—when Lucy disguises herself as a clown in order to sneak into Ricky's nightclub act—and continues throughout the entire series. In episode after episode Lucy rebels against the confinements of domestic life for women, the dull routines of cooking and housework, the petty humiliation of a wife's financial dependence, the straightjacket of demure feminin-

ity. Her acts of rebellion—taking a job, performing at the club, concocting a money-making scheme, or simply plotting to fool Ricky—are meant to expose the absurd restrictions placed on women in a male-dominated society. Yet her rebellion is forever thwarted. By entering the public sphere she inevitably makes a spectacular mess of things and is almost inevitably forced to retreat, to return to the status quo of domestic life that will begin the next episode.

It is possible to see *I Love Lucy* as a conservative comedy in which each episode teaches Lucy not to question the social order. In a series that corresponded roughly to their real lives, it is notable that Desi played a character very much like himself, while Lucy had to sublimate her professional identity as a performer and pretend to be a mere housewife. The casting decision seems to mirror the dynamic of the series; both Lucy Ricardo and Lucille Ball are domesticated, shoehorned into an inappropriate and confining role. But this apparent act of suppression actually gives the series its manic and liberating energy. In being asked to play a proper housewife, Ball was a tornado in a bottle, an irrepressible force of nature, a rattling, whirling blast of energy just waiting to explode. The true force of each episode lies not in the indifferent resolution, the half-hearted return to the status quo, but in Lucy's burst of rebellious energy that sends each episode spinning into chaos. Lucy Ricardo's attempts at rebellion are usually sabotaged by her own incompetence, but Ball's virtuosity as a performer perversely undermines the narrative's explicit message, creating a tension which cannot be resolved. Viewed from this perspective, the tranquil status quo that begins and ends each episode is less an act of submission than a sly joke; the chaos in between reveals the folly of ever trying to contain Lucy.

Although *I Love Lucy* displayed an almost ritualistic devotion to its central premise, it also changed with each passing season. The first season presented the Ricardos as a young couple adjusting to married life and to Lucy's thwarted ambitions. The second and third seasons brought the birth of Little Ricky and focused more often on the couple's adjustment to being parents—particularly the question of how motherhood would affect Lucy's ambition. The fourth season saw Ricky courted by a Hollywood studio. The Ricardos and Mertzes took a cross-country automobile tour and eventually landed in Hollywood, where Lucy wreaked havoc in several hilarious encounters with celebrity guest stars. During the fifth season the Ricardos returned to New York, but then soon left for a European tour—a sitcom variation of *Innocents Abroad*. The sixth and final season found the Ricardos climbing the social ladder as the series shifted toward family issues. Ricky bought the Tropicana nightclub, renaming it Club Babalu. Plots began to revolve around five-year-old Little Ricky (Richard Keith). Finally, the Ricardos joined the exodus to the suburbs, abandoning New York for a country home in Connecticut, where they were joined by the Mertzes and by new neighbors Betty and Ralph Ramsey (Mary Jane Croft and Frank Nelson).

The creative team behind *I Love Lucy* was remarkably consistent over the years. Writers Jess Oppenheimer, Madelyn Pugh, and Bob Carroll, Jr., had written *My Favorite Husband* on radio, and they accompanied Ball to television. Oppenheimer served as the series producer, while Pugh and Carroll were the writers. Together the three would sketch out episode ideas—many of which were based on scripts from the radio series. Pugh and Carroll would write the script, and Oppenheimer would edit it before production. This pattern continued, regular as clockwork, for four entire seasons in which the trio wrote each and every episode—an incredible achievement considering the pace of television production. In the fifth and sixth seasons Bob Schiller and Bob Weiskopf joined as a second writing team. Jess Oppenheimer left to take a job at NBC after the fifth season, and Desi Arnaz, who had served as executive producer since the beginning, stepped in to replace him as producer. While in production as a weekly series, *I Love Lucy* had only three directors: Marc Daniels (1951–52), William Asher (1952–55, 1956–57), and James V. Kern (1955–56). Much of the quality of the series is a result of this unusually stable production team.

The production process was unique for filmed television. Recognizing the economic importance of the work they produced, Arnaz and Ball still faced the difficulty that shooting the series on film generally meant shooting with one camera on a closed soundstage. But they also wanted to capture the spontaneity of Ball's comic performances, her interaction with other performers and her rapport with a live audience. Arnaz recruited famed cinematographer Karl Freund to help solve the problem. Freund was a respected Hollywood craftsman who had begun his career in Germany working with directors Robert Weine and Fritz Lang. In the United States he had a long career at MGM, where he shot several films with Greta Garbo and won an Academy Award in 1937 for *The Good Earth*. Freund adapted the live-TV aesthetic of shooting with multiple cameras to the context of film production—a technique already used with limited success by others in the telefilm industry. Freund developed a system for lighting the set from above, since it would not be possible to change the lighting during a live performance. With three cameras running simultaneously in front of a studio audience, *I Love Lucy* was able to combine the vitality of live performances with the visual quality of film. Although the technique was not generally used outside of Desilu until the 1970s, it is now widely used throughout the television industry.

During the network run of *I Love Lucy*, Desilu became the fastest rising production company in television by capitalizing on the success of *I Love Lucy*, which earned over \$1 million a year in reruns by the mid-1950s. From this foundation Desilu branched out into several types of production, a process of expansion that began with an investment of \$5,000 in 1951 and saw the staff grow from 12 to 800 in just 6 years. Desilu produced series for the networks and for syndication (*December Bride*, *The Texan*) and contracted to shoot series for other producers (*The Danny Thomas Show*).



In October 1956 Desilu sold the rights to *I Love Lucy* to CBS for \$4.3 million. With the help of this windfall profit, Desilu purchased RKO studios—the studio at which Ball and Arnaz had once been under contract—for \$6.15 million in January 1958. The success of *I Love Lucy* created one of the most prolific and influential television production companies of the 1950s.

By 1957, Arnaz, Ball, and the entire production team had grown weary of the grinding pace of series production. Desilu ceased production of the weekly series after completing 180 episodes. The familiar characters stayed alive for three more seasons through thirteen one-hour episodes, many of which appeared as installments of the *Westinghouse-Desilu Playhouse* (1958–1960).

—Christopher Anderson

#### CAST

<i>Lucy Ricardo</i> . . . . .	Lucille Ball
<i>Ricky Ricardo</i> . . . . .	Desi Arnaz
<i>Ethel Mertz</i> . . . . .	Vivian Vance
<i>Fred Mertz</i> . . . . .	William Frawley
<i>Little Ricky</i> (1956–57) . . . . .	Richard Keith
<i>Jerry</i> . . . . .	Jerry Hausner
<i>Mrs. Trumbull</i> . . . . .	Elizabeth Patterson
<i>Caroline Appleby</i> . . . . .	Doris Singleton
<i>Mrs. MacGillicuddy</i> . . . . .	Kathryn Card
<i>Betty Ramsey</i> (1957) . . . . .	Mary Jane Croft
<i>Ralph Ramsey</i> (1957) . . . . .	Frank Nelson

**PRODUCERS** Jess Oppenheimer, Desi Arnaz

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 179 Episodes

#### • CBS

October 1951–June 1957	Monday 9:00–9:30
April 1955–October 1955	Sunday 6:00–6:30
October 1955–April 1956	Sunday 6:30–7:00
September 1957–May 1958	Wednesday 7:30–8:00
July 1958–September 1958	Monday 9:00–9:30
October 1958–May 1959	Thursday 7:30–8:00
July 1959–September 1959	Friday 8:30–9:00
September 1961	Sunday 6:30–7:00

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See also Arnaz, Desi; Ball, Lucille; Comedy, Domestic Settings; Family on Television

## I SPY

### U.S. Adventure/Espionage

*I Spy*, which ran on NBC from 1965 to 1968, was a Sheldon Leonard Production which chronicled the exploits of fictional characters Kelly Robinson (Robert Culp) and Alexander Scott (Bill Cosby). Robinson and Scott, who posed as a professional tennis player and his personal trainer, were in reality spies for the United States. *I Spy* was a whimsical adventure show with a hip wit characteristic of the espionage genre in the 1960s. But rather than being drawn in the cartoonish James Bondian style, Robinson and Scott were fully realized characters who displayed a range of feelings and concerns uncharacteristic of spy television heroes. They bled, got headaches, and often doubted themselves and their role in global affairs.

The Cold War has often been considered a generative force for the television espionage programs. The genre of spy fiction, which arguably began its 1960s cinematic version with *Dr. No*, made its way to television in 1964 with *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* Many imitators followed, but *I Spy*

was a departure from the style established in earlier shows. In this series, Robinson and Scott did not battle against shadowy organizations of global evil, such as THRUSH from *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* or SPECTRE from James Bond films. Rather, the show recognized political tensions of the day. *I Spy* unashamedly acknowledged the role of the United States in the arena of world espionage.

Virtually the entire first season was filmed on location in Hong Kong and other Asian locales. Leonard, as well as producers David Friedkin and Morton Fine, had no qualms about spending money to avoid a "backlot" look to the show. Associate producer Ron Jacobs and location manager Fuad Said worked with both their own "Cinemobile" and film crews from NBC News Asian bureaus to get much of the location footage used in that first season. The second season was filmed almost exclusively in Greece, Spain, and other Mediterranean locations, using similar techniques.

But the series did not depend exclusively on exotic location and "realism" for its narratives. It also looked at the personal side of espionage and the toll it could take on those who practiced it. The characters would often admit and lament the fact that they had to fight the forces of evil on their level. Unlike many shows of the genre, *I Spy* dealt with agents dying cruel deaths, burning out on the spy game, and often even doubting the nature of orders from superiors. This questioning of authority was more at home in programming based on the "counterculture" pitched toward the youth of the times. Yet Cosby and Culp more often than not straddled the fence between rebellion and allegiance despite the fact that after the premiere of *I Spy*, *New York Times* television critic Jack Gould called it a show "looking for a style and attitude."

*I Spy* was one of the first dramatic shows to feature an African-American male as a leading character. Producer Leonard was certain of Cosby's talents but the network had grave doubts about casting an untested stand-up comedian in a dramatic lead. The network's concerns were quickly dispelled by Cosby's deft and multifaceted talent—a talent which garnered him three consecutive Emmys as Best Male Actor in a Dramatic Television series between 1965 and 1968. Originally, the role of Alexander Scott was to have been that of a bodyguard for Kelly Robinson. Both Cosby and Culp conferred with the three producers (Leonard, Friedkin, and Fine) and the decision was made to have Robinson and Scott as equals. Cosby also stated that racial issues would not be dealt with on *I Spy*. This "color blind" approach freed the show from having to impart a message each week and instead allowed it to succeed by emulating the conventions of the genre of espionage adventure. *I Spy* also showcased the talents of other African-American actors of the time, including Godfrey Cambridge, Ivan Dixon, and Eartha Kitt. As a result of its ostensible neutrality on race relations, African-Americans could be heroes or villains with a minimum of political overtones.

Though never a Top Twenty show, *I Spy* enjoyed three successful years on NBC. Bill Cosby in particular enjoyed very high Q ratings (audience appreciation ratings) for the run of the show. In 1994, an *I Spy* reunion movie was broadcast. But more than a quarter century had passed since Robinson and Scott last toiled to preserve world security and the viewing audience was not as welcoming as it had been.

—John Cooper

#### CAST

*Kelly Robinson* . . . . . Robert Culp



*I Spy*

*Alexander Scott* . . . . . Bill Cosby

**PRODUCERS** Sheldon Leonard, David Friedkin, Mort Fine

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 82 Episodes

• NBC

September 1965–

September 1967

Wednesday 10:00-11:00

September 1967–September 1968    Monday 10:00-11:00

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See also Cosby, Bill; Leonard, Sheldon; Spy Programs

## INDEPENDENT PRODUCTION COMPANIES

In the American system of advertiser supported television independent production companies and independent producers create and produce programming independently

of a sponsor or network's direct influence. While networks still license, schedule and help fund independently produced programming—as well as maintain liaisons who may mon-

itor and/or censor weekly episodes—the casting, writing and directing remain the responsibility of the independent producer. Since the mid-to-late 1950s, when television switched from live to filmed shows, independent production companies have accounted for the majority of television programming.

According to William Boddy's *Fifties Television* (1993), the rise of independent production companies is rooted in the mid-1950s, when networks successfully wrestled program control away from sponsors. In the golden age of live television, when programming originated from New York, sponsors not only controlled a majority of the shows, but were also responsible for their production. Many sponsors also owned the network time slots during which their shows aired. As the number of companies desiring TV advertising increased, the networks found that controlling the time slots would allow them to realize higher profits through multiple sponsorships and the sale of spot advertising. Networks also found they could reduce production costs by airing filmed shows (telefilms) that were produced either by the network or—even better—by independent production companies which absorbed the high cost of production. Through the 1970s, many independent production costs were underwritten by commercial sponsors.

Independence did not mean autonomy for these producers. Underwriting sponsors could interfere with and influence production. Furthermore, networks obtained many of the rights and a significant financial share of the programs, primarily through deals made by funding the pilot episode and allowing it a place on the network's schedule. While the 1971 Financial Interest and Syndication Rules (Fin-Sin) would eventually limit the network's ability to syndicate independently produced material, the network's control over scheduling still affords them incredible power. Indeed, in the late 1990s changes in the Fin-syn Rules are restoring network powers of program ownership and syndication and therefore encouraging networks to once again become directly involved in program production.

There were literally hundreds of independent producers and syndicators in the early 1950s who provided first-run syndicated programs, as well as previously released theatrical films, to local stations. As the networks solidified their control over local affiliates—thus controlling the bulk of local prime time programming—fewer markets remained open for independents. And as networks became obsessed with insuring hit programs, they began working with only those independents who had proven track records; by the late 1950s, only a handful of independents survived.

One of the first independent production companies, Telecom Incorporated, was launched in 1944 by William Pine and William Thomas. But in 1951 it was Jerry Fairbanks, Jr., who became the first independent producer to sell a series, *The Public Prosecutor*, to a television network; Fairbanks is also credited with devising the three-camera filming system that was used for this series. This technique became key to later off-network (rerun) sales and syndica-

tion. In 1953, Hal Roach, Jr., who inherited a fortune from his father, the king of the two-reel comedies, made the first telefilm deal that included pilot financing. The largest of the early independents was Frederick W. Ziv, a radio syndicator who entered television in 1948. According to Boddy, Ziv was convinced that American viewers wanted escapism in their entertainment. Responding in kind, Ziv provided such first-run syndicated series as *The Cisco Kid* (1950), *I Led Three Lives* (1953), *Highway Patrol* (1955), and *Seahunt* (1957) to local stations across the nation, many of which were not yet connected to the network's coaxial cable. By 1959, Ziv and CBS accounted for one-third of the revenues made from television's syndicated programming. Ziv later sold out to United Artists.

The most significant of the early independent production companies was Desilu, founded in 1951 by Lucille Ball and Desi Arnaz. Desilu was as much the result of the couple's personal desire to bolster their faltering relationship (which they failed to do) as it was a part of their quest to amass a fortune (which they did). The marital problems that eventually resulted in the couple's divorce began long before *I Love Lucy*, when Arnaz's work as a band leader had him constantly on the road. In 1950, Ball, a Hollywood B-actress who found success in the radio comedy *My Favorite Husband*, was preparing to make the transition to television. Hoping the series would take Arnaz off the road, Ball insisted that CBS agree to let Arnaz co-star. Ball later requested the couple produce the show as a filmed series through their own production company.

While the story of Desilu is quite romantic—a company built by the stars' futile desire for happiness and love—ownership of a production company had numerous financial benefits (as Bing Crosby, one of the earlier independent TV producers, had already learned). First, it allowed the actors to share in the profits brought by off-network telecasts, as well as share in other subsidiary and foreign rights. Furthermore, it allowed the stars to channel their money through various corporate holdings, taking their profits in capital gains. *I Love Lucy* and Desilu set many precedents, none the least of which being the profit potential that lay in the ownership of television programming. Today, as in earlier periods of television history, the major lure of independent production is the possibility of huge profits rising from syndicated sales of properties owned by the production company. With this goal in mind independent production companies and the studios with which they often work are willing to sink considerable sums of their own money into production costs, hoping to recoup the deficit when the series is sold into syndication.

Using a financial base constructed on this system, Desilu, and its hit sitcom *I Love Lucy*, built a production empire that, by the late 1950s, rivaled the size and output of the biggest motion picture studios. At the same time, it solidified the position of the telefilm and the independent producer's role in the medium. Under the leadership of Arnaz, who popularized the use of the three-camera system

which had recently been improved by Al Simon, a producer for Ralph Edward's *Truth or Consequences* (1950), Desilu not only produced a number of its own series, but served as a studio for numerous other independents, including Danny Thomas and Quinn Martin.

Thomas is perhaps the most successful independent producer. A nightclub comedian and singer, Thomas was tired of life on the road and sought the more stable life of a sitcom performer. Indeed, the title of his semi-autobiographical series, *Make Room for Daddy* (1953), was based on the line Thomas' kids used when their occasional father returned home. Riding the series' success, Thomas became the star tenant of Desilu, producing such successful hits as *The Real McCoys* (1957), *The Andy Griffith Show* (1960), *The Dick Van Dyke Show* (1961), and *Gomer Pyle, USMC* (1964). Each of these shows had a complex financial structure. For example, *Gomer Pyle* was produced by Andy Griffith's Ashland productions, which itself was owned in conjunction with Thomas' star disciple Sheldon Leonard, who worked under Thomas. To make matters more complicated, Desilu made money as the studio and CBS got its cut from syndication.

At least Thomas had a good sense of humor regarding the convoluted nature of the business side of independent production. A 1964 episode of *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, "It Wouldn't Hurt Them To Give Us a Raise," finds Van Dyke's character Rob Petrie uncovering the multiple corporations responsible for producing the mythical *Alan Brady Show*, for which Petrie served as head writer. *The Dick Van Dyke Show* itself was produced by Calvada productions, which was a partnership of Carl Reiner, Sheldon Leonard, Dick Van Dyke and Danny Thomas. Production costs for Van Dyke's series were underwritten by sponsors Proctor and Gamble and Lorillard.

Quinn Martin, one of TV's golden age writers, is another independent whose career started with Desilu. In 1959, Martin, who had written for *Desilu Playhouse*, was approached to write a two-hour TV movie based on the book *The Untouchables*. When the show became a series, Martin remained as its producer. By the end of the series run in 1963, Martin formed his own QM Productions and launched a number of hits that dominated the 1960s and 1970s, including *The Fugitive* (1963), *The FBI* (1965), *Cannon* (1971), *The Streets of San Francisco* (1972) and *Barnaby Jones* (1973). Martin forged a highly stylized tone with each of his productions, the most obvious example being his use of act numbers and epilogues in each of his series. His climactic finale to *The Fugitive* also set the precedent for today's season and series' finales.

Long before Martin developed his singular narrative style, Jack Webb, with his series *Dragnet*, had become the master of formula drama. Webb's independent company, Mark VII Productions, began in 1949 when he sold *Dragnet* to NBC radio. When the series moved to TV in 1952, it became an instant hit; indeed, during the 1953-54 season, *Dragnet* was bested only by *I Love Lucy*. Webb's narrative style, coupled with the series' bare bones production, made

it possible to convey a dramatic story with very little action, movement, or cost. Webb based his *Dragnet* stories on true-life incidents that came from actual police files. He had experimented with this on radio with his 1946 series *One Out of Seven*, whose plots were based on actual headlines. *Dragnet* ran until 1959, and was later revived in 1967; the new color series ran until 1970. Webb brought his true-life style to numerous other series, the most popular being *Adam-12* (1968) and *Emergency* (1972). Like Quinn Martin, Webb remained a prominent, if not dominant, force in television for well over twenty years.

Another prolific 1960s independent telefilm producer was Filmways, which began as a producer of advertising commercial productions, then branched into television. Filmways' fortune grew when the company linked with independent producer Paul Henning, creator and producer of *The Beverly Hillbillies*. Henning was a radio writer who made the transition to television by writing for *Burns and Allen* (1950) before creating his first series, *The Bob Cummings Show*, in 1955. In 1962, Henning drew from his southern roots to create *The Beverly Hillbillies*. The series, which capitalized on the growing success of rural based sitcoms launched by Thomas, was one of the few break-away hits in TV history; in other words, it debuted and remained in the top 20 throughout its nine-year run. *The Beverly Hillbillies* spun-off two other successful Henning hits, *Petticoat Junction* (1963) and *Green Acres* (1965). Between Henning and Thomas, the Nielsen ratings were dominated by a crop of rural sitcoms.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, one of the continuing complaints against independent telefilm production was that it was formulaic and two-dimensional. Indeed, most, but certainly not all, telefilmed dramas and comedies paled in comparison to the thought-provoking, well-written live anthology programs the telefilm had replaced. While each body of telefilm had a style unique to its producer—the Henning rural sitcoms, for example, were much more irreverent than those produced by Thomas—they each catered to the prevailing norm of providing the "least-objectionable" programming, where real-world relevance was divorced from entertainment (a strategy explaining why *Gomer Pyle* never went to Vietnam). In 1971, however, two independent production companies—Grant Tinker and Mary Tyler Moore's MTM Enterprises, and Norman Lear and Bud Yorkin's Tandem Productions—brought back the vitality and relevance of TV's lost age of live drama.

Television's move toward relevance was predicated by CBS' desire to capture a more sophisticated demographic; indeed, while a show like *The Beverly Hillbillies* would play well overall, it failed to capture upscale viewers with greater disposable income. Nevertheless, relevant programming could not be accomplished simply through a new philosophy—there had to be a product. Independent producers MTM and Tandem provided it.

Lear, who had worked as a writer in early television, became disillusioned by the medium after the rise of telefilms. In the 1960s, he and partner Bud Yorkin launched

Tandem, an independent feature-film company. After producing a series of marginally successful films, Lear returned to television to challenge its existing rule of "least-objectionable" programming. Lear's *All in the Family*, based on Johnny Speight's British series *Till Death Us Do Part*, was like nothing which had preceded it. Grounded in the conflict between a working-class bigot and his liberal son-in-law, *All in the Family* took on civil rights, Vietnam, sex and other relevant issues that had only been touched, with limited success, by a few other series, including *Julia* (1968) and *Room 222* (1969).

After a brief period of adjustment, American viewers made *All in the Family* a continuing top-ten favorite. Through spin-offs such as *Maude* (1972), *Good Times* (1974) and *The Jeffersons* (1975), in addition to such hits as *Sanford and Son* (1972), and *One Day at a Time* (1975), Lear quickly became the king of relevant sitcoms. However, while Lear brought important issues to the forefront of American entertainment, he also proved that racy issues and a degree of vulgarity would be tolerated by American viewers. Thus, sitcoms of lesser quality, such as *Three's Company* (1977) or *Married... With Children* (1987), also found roots in *All in the Family*.

One year earlier, MTM Enterprises had emerged to attempt relevance in a more sophisticated manner. Mary Tyler Moore had become famous as Laura Petrie in the *The Dick Van Dyke Show*. In early 1970, Moore was reunited with Van Dyke in a variety special; CBS was impressed by the viewer's response. Eager to woo Moore back to series television, CBS gave her and husband Grant Tinker the go-ahead to form an independent production company that would produce a vehicle for Moore. The result was *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, one of the most critically acclaimed sitcoms in television history.

Unlike *All in the Family*, which was brash and loud, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* provided its relevance through highly defined, understated characters who developed as the series progressed. Rather than attack issues head on, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* met them with subtlety and grace. As the series progressed, MTM Enterprises grew, producing a series of successful and critically acclaimed sitcoms including *The Bob Newhart Show* (1972), *Rhoda* (1974), *Phyllis* (1975), and *WKRP in Cincinnati* (1978). Unlike Tandem shows, which were highly dependent upon the singular style of Lear, the MTM series developed their style from the ensemble of writers and producers enlisted by Tinker. MTM, more than any other independent, became a true "writer's company." Not since the days of live TV had being a television writer carried so much status. To this day, MTM represents a standard for quality television which has been equaled only by those companies spawned by former MTM alumni, including *Taxi*'s (1978) John Charles Walter's Company and *Cheers*'s (1982) Charles Burrows-Charles Productions.

Unlike Lear, MTM Enterprises also began developing dramatic series, including *Lou Grant* (1977), *Hill Street Blues* (1981), and *St. Elsewhere* (1982). MTM dramas placed social conscience over raw drama and the impact of these

series can be seen in modern programs such as *NYPD Blue* (1992), *ER* (1994), and *Chicago Hope* (1994), also produced by independents.

Another significant producer of drama to emerge during the 1970s was Stephen J. Cannell, who, in conjunction with Roy Huggins and MCA-Universal, produced the 1974 NBC series *The Rockford Files*. Cannell formed his own production company in 1980, producing a series of action/adventure hits such as *The A-Team* (1983), *Hunter* (1984), *Wiseguy* (1987), and *The Commish* (1991).

Among the most successful independent producers concentrating on one-hour drama is Aaron Spelling. Unlike Cannell, however, Spelling has continued to cross generic lines, and is defined more by his sense of light entertainment sought by large portions of the viewing audience, than by any particular style. From *The Mod Squad* in the 1960s, through *The Love Boat*, *Fantasy Island*, *Charlie's Angels* and *The Rookies* in the 1970s, *Dynasty* in the 1980s, to *Beverly Hills 90210* and *Melrose Place* in the 1990s, Spelling has been a major participant in American television programming. Seen by some as a master of schlock entertainment, he was also co-producer of *Family*, one of the most prestige laden series of the late 1970s. Working with various partners in various corporate arrangements Spelling has fashioned an true independent production empire.

According to David Marc and Robert J. Thompson's *Prime Time Prime Movers* (1992), the most significant force in 1970s and 1980s drama was Lee Rich, a former advertising executive and television producer. Rich's Lorimar Productions found instant success with *The Waltons* (1972), and lasting fortune with such hits as *Eight Is Enough* (1977), *Dallas* (1978), and *Falcon Crest* (1981). Although *The Waltons* launched a mini-revival of family entertainment, it was *Dallas* and *Falcon Crest* that garnered the most viewers. By bringing the soap opera format to prime time, Lorimar also paved the way for continuing storylines in modern episodic television. Rich left Lorimar in 1986; the company was later sold to Warner Communications.

The rise of these and other dramas produced by independents tended to dominate Nielsen ratings, giving rise to concerns that the sitcom had outlived its usefulness. Then came Carsey-Werner productions. Marcia Carsey and Tom Werner were ABC executives who started their own production company in the early 1980s. As long-time fans of Bill Cosby, Carsey and Werner yearned to find him a suitable vehicle—the result was *Cosby*, which debuted in 1984. Aside from proving itself a wildly successful hit for Carsey-Werner, Bill Cosby, and NBC, *Cosby* revitalized the foundering sitcom format. By 1988, Carsey-Werner had also developed *A Different World* and *Roseanne*, in the tradition of Desilu and Danny Thomas, Carsey-Werner claimed credit for the most successful series of their time.

Marcia Carsey is not the first successful female independent producer. Indeed, while Desi Arnaz gets much of the credit for Desilu, one cannot ignore Lucille Ball's active role in the company. Ann Sothern also took an active interest in Anso productions, which produced *The Ann Sothern Show* (1958).

Susan Harris, who began her career working with Norman Lear in the 1970s, produced such hits as *Soap* (1977), *Benson* (1979), *The Golden Girls* (1985), and *Empty Nest* (1988). Diane English was the independent producer responsible for *My Sister Sam* (1986) and *Murphy Brown* (1988), and Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, in conjunction with her husband Harry Thomason, formed Mozark Productions, which produced *Designing Women* (1986) and *Evening Shade* (1990).

Like the programming itself, independent production has changed significantly since the early days of telefilm. Rather than depending on sponsors to underwrite production costs, the modern independent works in conjunction with a group of production companies, with major investment dollars coming from the television divisions of such studios as Warner Brothers, Twentieth Century-Fox and MCA-Universal. Indeed, it is not uncommon to see three or four production logos at the end of a contemporary series, with each company representing the stars, producers, and distributor's stake in production.

—Michael B. Kassel

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See also Australian Production Companies; British Production Companies; Canadian Production Companies; Bochco, Steven; Cannell, Steven J.; Carsey, Marcy; Charles, Glen and Les; English, Diane; Harris, Susan; Henning, Paul; Lear, Norman; Marshall, Garry; Martin, Quinn; Moore, Mary Tyler; Spelling, Aaron; Thomas, Danny; Thomas, Tony; Tinker, Grant; Webb, Jack; Witt, Paul Junger

## INDEPENDENT TELEVISION SERVICE

The U.S. Congress amended the Public Broadcasting Act in 1988 by creating a separate fund for independent productions called ITVS (Independent Television Service). ITVS was merely the latest attempt to implement some of public broadcasting's earliest goals: that public television would be independent of commercial interests and would become—in the words of the Carnegie Commission in 1967—"the clearest expression of American diversity, and of excellence through diversity." By 1988, however, many saw the Public Broadcasting Service as neither independent nor diverse.

The very organizing logic of network television in the United States—that it act for us in the public interest, operate under government regulation, and define itself economically by the "mainstream"—has meant that television encouraged a consensual cultural "inside" and a marginalized "outside." By delegating to television the authority to provide a balanced view of the world and to serve the mass audience, many individual and cultural voices have been underrepresented. While intellectual and

artistic cultures have demeaned television's mass mentality from the start in postures of voluntary cultural exclusion, it was the civil rights crisis in the 1960s, by contrast, that highlighted television's involuntary forms of ethnic, racial, and gender bias. Even as underground filmmakers, newsreel activists, and video artists at the time forged the notion of "independent" media as an alternative to the networks, a more public crisis over television's exclusionary practices challenged the government to recast its relationship to broadcasting. The formation of National Educational Television (NET), its successor the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), and the funding arm, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) were all attempts to correct the narrow interests that democratically minded critics saw at the root of network television. Public television's mandate was to open up and diversify television in both an aesthetic and social sense. Different types of stories and perspectives on American culture were to emerge, even as the very notion of an independent perspective would be part of the PBS niche that followed.

Yet, by the late 1980s, many liberal critics complained that PBS had failed in its mission to diversify television and to give voice to those without one. The presence of advertising spots in major PBS affiliate stations, Fortune 500 corporate sponsorship of programs, and the generic monotony that came from a limited diet of nature documentaries, high-culture performing, and British imports proved to such critics that, far from fulfilling its function, PBS represented rigid class interests of the most limited type. This was in fact corporate, rather than independent, television. A direct result of this organized critique was the formation of ITVS.

With advocacy from the Association of Independent Video and Filmmakers and its publication *The Independent*, a coalition of independent producers from major cities across the country publicly criticized contradictions at the root of public broadcasting's "failure": administrative overheads at PBS and CPB consumed the lion's share of public subsidies from the government, panels that awarded program development and production funds were ingrown networks, and PBS affiliate stations along with a select group of insider companies now fulfilled the role of "independents." Apart from token programming ghettos (the TV "labs" and new artists "workshops" at WNET and WGBH, segment producing spots on *Frontline*, and half-hour anthologies of experimental work on affiliates WTTW, WNED, and KQED), independent work that engaged radical political, racial, or sexual politics was essentially absent. PBS seemed unresponsive to such issues and ITVS organizers took their critique directly to the source of PBS subsidies—Congress.

The resulting federal mandate required that CPB negotiate directly with the National Coalition of Independent Public Broadcasting Producers (NCIPBP) to develop programs through ITVS. ITVS's \$6 million yearly budget was to be allocated without oversight or interference by any existing funding entity, including CPB and PBS. But the independence guaranteed by direct-to-producer subsidies also brought with it a lasting complication for ITVS: freed of PBS/CPB intrusions into program development, ITVS also lost any guarantee of final broadcast on PBS stations. While public broadcasters protested that federal funds would now go to programs that had little chance of carriage on the stations that they controlled, ITVS countered that up-front development money—not carriage—had always been the historic problem for independents.

By May 1990 complications arose on both sides. Spun as an "overhead-versus-production funding" struggle, CPB complained of NCIPBP's unrealistic assumptions about support; ITVS criticized CPB's refusal to cover basic post-production, packaging and promotion costs. Many others noted that very little television had actually been developed by ITVS—and none broadcast.

From St. Paul, Minnesota, ITVS aimed to develop "innovative" series and single programs. Topics were identified, professional panels constituted, and "requests for proposals" announced. Open calls received as many as 2000 submissions; focused topics were as few as 75. By 1993–1994, numerous series were finally in production or distribution. *Declarations* collaged video essays around ITVS's charter notion of free speech; *TV Families* serialized family diversity as an antidote to network television's one dimensional paradigm; *Stolen Moments* tackled AIDS in the context of urban street culture, hip-hop and jazz; and *The United States of Poetry* and *Animated Women* brought their artistic subcultures to after-prime PBS affiliate audiences.

While some ITVS programs were picked up by many PBS stations, others were less successful. ITVS's quarterly *Buzzwords*, however, defended the organization's uneven successes by pointing to the critical acclaim given some individual works—like Marlon Riggs' *Black Is...Black Ain't*—at the Berlin, San Francisco, and Sundance film festivals.

Two complications built into ITVS from the start continue to dog the organization's future: carriage and overhead. Despite a new rhetoric of "audience-driven programming" in 1995, ITVS remains weakest in its ability to deliver programming to a national audience. Second, although ITVS was designed to prevent the overhead and administrative skimming that characterized CPB/PBS, many independents by 1995 began to question the ability of ITVS to deal with such problems as the "identity politics" that skewed awards, or the "insiders" that comprised funding panels. The criticism that ITVS is simply a reemergent bureaucracy that constrains independence is exacerbated by the fact that its \$6 million yearly budget for program development is minuscule by commercial industry standards.

Statistically and economically, then, ITVS cannot possibly act as a programming advocate for the thousands of independents that were publicly linked to it by NCIPBP and Congress. Systemic dissension and broadcaster resistance alike may pale, however, before a greater threat to ITVS. The victory of the "Contract with America" in November 1994 placed PBS squarely on the federal budgetary chopping block. If congressional initiatives succeed in making the market public broadcasting's new patron, then the tentative foothold that ITVS maintains will probably slip along with the Carnegie Commission's defining notions of independence and diversity.

—John Thornton Caldwell

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## INDIA

The Indian television system is one of the most extensive systems in the world. Terrestrial broadcasting, which has been the sole preserve of the government, provides television coverage to over 90% of India's 900 million people. By the end of 1996 nearly 50 million households had television sets. International satellite broadcasting, introduced in 1991, has swept across the country because of the rapid proliferation of small scale cable systems. By the end of 1996, Indians could view dozens of foreign and local channels and the competition for audiences and advertising revenues was one of the hottest in the world. In 1995, the Indian Supreme Court held that the government's monopoly over broadcasting was unconstitutional, setting the stage for India to develop into one of the world's largest and most competitive television environments.

Broadcasting began in India with the formation of a private radio service in Madras in 1924. In the same year, the British colonial government granted a license to a private company, the Indian Broadcasting Company, to open Radio stations in Bombay and Calcutta. The company went bankrupt in 1930 but the colonial government took over the two transmitters and the Department of Labor and Industries started operating them as the Indian State Broadcasting Corporation. In 1936, the corporation was renamed All India Radio (AIR) and placed under the Department of Communications. When India became independent in 1947, AIR was made a separate department under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.

The early history of radio broadcasting in independent India is important because it set the parameters for the subsequent role of television in the country. At independence, the Congress government under Jawaharlal Nehru had three major goals: to achieve political integration, economic development and social modernization. Broadcasting was expected to play an important role in all three areas.

The most important challenge the government faced at independence was that of forging a nation out of the diverse political, religious, geographic and lingual entities that composed independent India. In addition to the territories ruled directly by the British, over 500 hundred "independent" princely states had joined the new nation, some quite reluctantly. The country immediately found itself at war with Pakistan over one of those states—Kashmir. The trauma of the partition of the country into India and Pakistan and the violence between Hindus and Muslims had further weakened the political stability of the country. Broadcasting was harnessed for the task of political nation building. National integration and the development of a "national consciousness" were among the early objectives of All India Radio. Broadcasting was organized as the sole preserve of the chief architect of this process of political integration—the State. The task of broadcasting was to help in overcoming the immediate crisis of political instability that followed Independence and to foster the long-term process of political

modernization and nation building that was the dominant ideology of the newly formed state.

Broadcasting was also charged with the task of aiding in the process of economic development. The Indian Constitution, adopted in 1950, mandated a strong role for the Indian State in the economic development of the country. The use of broadcasting to further the development process was a natural corollary to this state-led developmental philosophy. Broadcasting, was especially expected to contribute to the process of social modernization, which was considered an important pre-requisite of economic development. The dominant development philosophy of the time identified the problems of development as primarily internal to developing countries. These endogenous causes, to which communication solutions were thought to exist, included traditional value systems, lack of innovation, lack of entrepreneurial ability and lack of a national consciousness. In short, the problem was one of old ideas hindering the process of social change and modernization and the role of broadcasting was to provide an inlet for the flow of modern ideas.

It was in the context of this dominant thinking about the role of broadcasting in India that television was introduced in 1959. The government had been reluctant to invest in television until then because it was felt that a poor country like India could not afford the medium. Television had to prove its role in the development process before it could gain a foothold in the country. Television broadcasts started from Delhi in September 1959 as part of All India Radio's services. Programs were broadcast twice a week for an hour a day on such topics as community health, citizens duties and rights, and traffic and road sense. In 1961 the broadcasts were expanded to include a school educational television project. In time, Indian films and programs consisting of compilation of musicals from Indian films joined the program line-up as the first entertainment programs. A limited number of old U.S. and British shows were also telecast sporadically.

The first major expansion of television in India began in 1972, when a second television station was opened in Bombay. This was followed by stations in Srinagar and Amritsar (1973), and Calcutta, Madras and Lucknow in 1975. Relay stations were also set up in a number of cities to extend the coverage of the regional stations. In 1975, the government carried out the first test of the possibilities of satellite based television through the SITE program. SITE (Satellite Instructional Television Experiment) was designed to test whether satellite based television services could play a role in socio-economic development. Using a U.S. ATS-6 satellite and up-link centers at Ahmedabad and Delhi, television programs were beamed down for about 4 hours a day to about 2,400 villages in 6 states. The programs dealt mainly with in- and out-of-school education, agricultural issues, planning and national integration. The program was fairly successful in demonstrating the effectiveness of satel-

lite based television in India and the lessons learnt from SITE were used by the government in designing and utilizing its own domestic satellite service INSAT, launched in 1982.

In these early years television, like radio, was considered a facilitator of the development process and its introduction was justified by the role it was asked to play in social and economic development. Television was institutionalized as an arm of the government, since the government was the chief architect of political, economic and social development in the country.

By 1976, the government found itself running a television network of eight television stations covering a population of 45 million spread over 75,000 square kilometers. Faced with the difficulty of administering such an extensive television system television as part of All India Radio, the government constituted Doordarshan, the national television network, as a separate department under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Doordarshan was set up as an attached office under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting—a half-way house between a public corporation and a government department. In practice, however, Doordarshan operated much like a government department, at least as far as critical issues of policy planning and financial decision-making were concerned. Doordarshan was headed by a director general appointed by the I and B Ministry. The ministry itself and sometimes the office of the director general as well, was and continues to be, staffed by members of India's civil services.

In 1982 television began to attain national coverage and develop as the government's pre-eminent media organization. Two events triggered the rapid growth of television that year. INSAT-1A, the first of the country's domestic communications satellites became operational and made possible the networking of all of Doordarshan's regional stations. For the first time Doordarshan originated a nation-wide feed dubbed the "National Programme" which was fed from Delhi to the other stations. In November 1982, the country hosted the Asian Games and the government introduced color broadcasts for the coverage of the games. To increase television's reach, the government launched a crash program to set up low and high power transmitters that would pick-up the satellite distributed signals and re-transmit them to surrounding areas. In 1983 television signals were available to just 28% of the population; this had doubled by the end of 1985 and by 1990 over 90% of the population had access to television signals.

In 1976 a significant event in the history of Indian television occurred, the advent of advertising on Doordarshan. Until that time television had been funded through a combination of television licenses and allocations from the annual budget (licenses were later abolished as advertising revenues began to increase substantially). Advertising began in a very small way with under 1% of Doordarshan's budget coming from advertising revenues in the 1976-77 season. But the possibility of reaching a nation

wide audience made television look increasingly attractive to advertisers after the introduction of the "National Programme" in 1982. In turn, Doordarshan began to shift the balance of its programming from educational and informational programs to entertainment programs. The commercialization of Doordarshan saw the development of soap operas, situation comedies, dramas, musical programs, quiz shows and the like. By 1990 Doordarshan's revenues from advertising were about \$300 million, accounting for about 70% of its annual expenditure.

By 1991, Doordarshan's earlier mandate to aid in the process of social and economic development had clearly been diluted. Entertainment and commercial programs had begun to take center stage in the organization's programming strategies and advertising had come to be Doordarshan's main source of funding. However, television in India was still a modest enterprise with most parts of the country getting just one channel, except for the major cities which received two channels. But 1991 saw the beginnings of international satellite broadcasting in India and the government launched a major economic liberalization program. Both these events combined to change the country's television environment dramatically.

International satellite television was introduced in India by CNN through its coverage of the Gulf War in 1991. Three months later Hong Kong based StarTV (now owned by Rupert Murdoch's News Corp.) started broadcasting five channels into India using the ASIAT-1 satellite. By early 1992, nearly half a million Indian households were receiving StarTV telecasts. A year later the figure was close to 2 million and by the end of 1994, an estimated 12 million households (a little less than one-fourth of all television households) were receiving satellite channels. This increase in viewership was made possible by the 60,000 or so small scale cable system operators who have mushroomed across the country. These systems have redistributed the satellite channels to their customers at rates as low as \$5 a month. Taking advantage of the growth of the satellite television audience, a number of Indian satellite based television services were launched between 1991 and 1994, prominent among them ZeeTV, the first Hindi satellite channel. By the end of 1994 there were 12 satellite based channels available in India, all of them using a handful of different satellites. This number was expected to double by the end of 1996, with a number of Indian programmers and international media companies like Turner Broadcasting, Time-Warner, ESPN, CANAL 5 and Pearsons PLC, seriously considering the introduction of new satellite television services for India.

The proliferation of channels has put great pressure on the Indian television programming industry. Already the largest producer of motion pictures, India is poised to become a sizable producer of television programs as well. With Indian audiences clearly preferring locally produced program over foreign programs, the new television services are spending heavily on the development of indigenous programs. The number of hours of television program-

ming produced in India has increased 500% from 1991 to 1996 and is expected to grow at an ever faster rate until the year 2000.

Despite the rapid growth of television channels from 1991 to 1996, television programming continues to be dominated by the Indian film industry. Hindi films are the staple of most national channels and regional channels rely heavily on a mix of Hindi and regional language films to attract audiences. Almost all Indian films are musicals and this allows for the development of inexpensive derivative programs. One of Doordarshan's most popular programs, *Chitrahaar*, is a compilation of old film songs, and all the private channels, including ZeeTV and music video channels like MTV Asia and Channel V, show some variation of *Chitrahaar*. A number of game shows are also based on movie themes. Other genres like soap operas, talk shows and situation comedies are also gaining in popularity, but the production of these programs has been unable to keep up with demand, hence the continuing reliance on film based programming.

International satellite programming has opened up competition in news and public affairs programming with BBC and CNN International challenging Doordarshan's long standing monopoly. Most of the other foreign broadcasters, for example, ESPN and the Discovery Channel, are focusing on special interest programming. Only StarTV's STAR Plus channel offers broad-based English-language entertainment programs. Most of its programs are syndicated U.S. shows, for example soap operas like *The Bold and the Beautiful* and *Santa Barbara* and talk shows like *Donahue* and *Oprah*. However, STAR Plus has a very small share of the audience in India and even this is threatened by the launch of new channels.

A peculiar development in television programming in India has been the use of hybrid English-Hindi program formats, popularly called "Hinglish" formats, which offer programs in Hindi and English on the same channel and even have programs, including news shows, that use both languages within a single telecast. This takes advantage of the audience for television (especially the audience for satellite television) which is largely composed of middle-class Indians who have some knowledge of English along with Hindi, and who colloquially speak a language that is primarily Hindi intermixed with words, phrases and whole sentences in English.

Commercial competition has transformed Doordarshan as well and it is scrambling to cope with the changed competitive environment. Satellite broadcasting has threatened Doordarshan's audiences and self-preservation has spawned a new ideology in the network which is in the process of reinventing itself, co-opting private programmers to recapture viewers and advertising rupees lost to ZeeTV and StarTV. In 1994, the government ordered Doordarshan to raise its own revenues for future expansion. This new commercial mandate has gradually begun to change Doordarshan's perception of who are its primary constituents—from politicians to advertisers.

The government's monopoly over television over the years has resulted in Doordarshan being tightly controlled by successive governments. In principle, Doordarshan is answerable only to Parliament. Parliament lays down the guidelines that Doordarshan is expected to adhere to in its programming and Doordarshan's budget is debated and approved by Parliament. But the guidelines established by Parliament to ensure Doordarshan's political neutrality are largely ignored in the face of the majority that ruling parties have held in Parliament. Doordarshan has been subject more to the will of the government than the oversight of Parliament. Successive governments and ruling political parties have used Doordarshan to further their political agendas, weakening its credibility as an neutral participant in the political process. There have been periodic attempts to reconstitute Doordarshan into a BBC-like public corporation, but governments have been reluctant to relinquish their hold on such a powerful medium.

The government drew its right to operate the country's broadcasting services as a monopoly from the Indian Telegraph Act of 1885 which empowers the government with the exclusive right to "establish, maintain and work" wireless services. In addition, the Constitution lists broadcasting as the sole domain of Parliament, effectively shutting out the states from making any laws with regard to television. Within the ambit of these provision it was assumed that media autonomy or liberalization in any form was the prerogative of the government to grant. But the government's monopoly was challenged in the Indian Supreme Court in 1995. The court held that the government monopoly over broadcasting was unconstitutional and while the government has the right to regulate broadcasting in the public interest, the Constitution forbids monopoly control over any medium by either individuals or the government. The court directed the government to establish an independent public authority for "controlling and regulating" the use of airwaves. The court's decision holds out the promise of significant structural changes in Indian broadcasting and the possibility that terrestrial television may finally free itself from governmental control.

It is evident that over time the state's control over television will continue to diminish. As its revenue structure begins to change and Doordarshan begins to respond to increasing commercial pressures, the character of its programming will begin to increasingly reflect the demands and pressures of the market place. In the meantime, caught between the government and the market, Doordarshan continues to struggle to maintain its mandate of public service programming. But the Supreme Court's recent decision ordering the government to establish an independent broadcasting authority to regulate television in the public interest holds the promise of allowing Indian television to escape both the stifling political control of the state and the commercial pressures of the market. There are a number of other constituencies like state governments, educational institutions, non-govern-

mental organizations and social service agencies who can participate in a liberalized broadcast system. The Supreme Court has provided an opportunity to develop a broad based television system. How the country responds to this opportunity in the next few years will determine the future of broadcasting in India in the next century.

—Nikhil Sinha

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## INSPECTOR MORSE

### British Police Program

This lushly produced and melancholy series was made by Zenith for Central Independent Television, to critical and popular acclaim, between 1987 and 1993. In Britain, the series gained audiences of up to fifteen million, and it has been widely exported, contributing internationally to the image of an England of dreaming spires, verdant countryside and serious acting. It was also one of the first programmes on British television to be commercially sponsored, in this case by the narratively appropriate "Beamish Stout", whose logo appeared on the later series. Originally based on detective novels by Colin Dexter featuring Chief Inspector Morse and Detective Sergeant Lewis, the series was developed to increasingly include Dexter's characters in new scripts by, among others, Julian Mitchell, Alma Cullen, Daniel Boyle and Peter Buckman. Of the twenty-eight films broadcast, nine are based on Dexter stories, as is the "return by popular demand" Morse "special", *The Way Through the Woods*, made in 1995 after the series was declared finished and transmitted in November.

Shot on film, in Oxford, the individual stories were broadcast in two-hour prime-time slots on British networked commercial television, contributing significantly to the reputation for quality garnered for independent television by series such as *Brideshead Revisited* (Granada) and *The Jewel in the Crown*. This reputation was enhanced by the increasing willingness of theatrical actors such as Janet Suzman, Sheila Gish and Sir John Gielgud to guest in the series. However, the series also staked its claim to be "quality television" through continual high cultural reference, particularly the use of literary clues, musical settings and Barrington Pheloung's theme music. Thus, the very first *Morse*, *The Dead of Jericho* (6 January 1987) investigates the murder of a woman with whom Morse (no forename ever) has become romantically involved through their shared membership of an amateur choir. The opening titles intercut shots of Oxford colleges to a sound track of the choir singing, while Morse plays a competing baroque work loudly on his car

stereo. Morse spends some large part of the film trying to convince the skeptical Lewis that "Sophocles did it" after finding that the murdered woman has a copy of *Oedipus Rex* at her bedside and her putative son has damaged his eyes. He is, characteristically, wrong—but right in the end.

Almost symmetrically, but with the rather more splendid setting of an Oxford ceremony for the conferring of honorary degrees testifying to the success of the series, the final film, *Twilight of the Gods*, not only uses a Wagnerian title but weaves the opera through the investigation of an



Inspector Morse

apparent assassination attempt on a Welsh diva. The significance of music in the series for both *mise-en-scene* and character—it is repeatedly shown to be Morse's most reliable pleasure apart from good beer—can be seen at its most potent in the regular use of orchestral and choral work as the soundtrack to a very characteristic Morse shot, the narratively redundant crane or pan over Oxford college buildings. This juxtaposition, like Morse's old and loved Jaguar, insists that although the programme may be about murder, it is murder of the highest quality. The plots, which frequently involve the very wealthy—and their lovely houses—tend to be driven by personal, rather than social factors. Morse's Oxford is full of familial and professional jealousies and passions rather than urban deprivation, unemployment and criminal sub-cultures.

Within these relatively reliable and familiar parameters of a certain kind of Englishness—perhaps most manifest in the way in which Inspector Morse, despite skillful and repeated contemporary reference, somehow seems to be set in the past, and is therefore cognate with *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*, Agatha Christie's *Poirot* and *Miss Marple* in a genre we might call "retro-expo" crime, rather than *Between the Lines* or *The Bill*—it is the casting of John Thaw as Morse which most significantly shapes the series. This has two main aspects apart from the continuing pleasures of Thaw's grumpy, economical—and in contrast to some of his guest co-stars—profoundly televisual performance. Firstly, John Thaw, despite a long television history, is best known in Britain as the foul-mouthed, insubordinate, unorthodox Inspector Regan of *The Sweeney*, a show first broadcast in the 1970s and regarded as excessively violent and particularly significant in eroding the representational divide between law enforcers and law-breakers (an erosion in which, for example, Don Siegel's film with Clint Eastwood, *Dirty Harry*, was seen as particularly significant). That it should be Thaw who once again appears as "a good detective, but a bad policeman" in a series which eschews instinct and action for intuition and deduction offers a rich contrast for viewers familiar with *The Sweeney*. However, it is the partnership between Thaw and Kevin Whately (originally a member of the radical 7.84 theatre group, and subsequently a lead in his own right as Dr. Jack Kerruish of *Peak Practice*) which drives the continuity of the series and offers pleasures to viewers who may not be at ease with Morse's high cultural world.

For if Morse, the former Oxford student and doer of cross-words, is the brilliant loner who is vulnerable to the charms of women of a certain age, it is Lewis, happily married with children, who, like Dr. Watson, does much of the leg-work and deduction, while also nurturing his brilliant chief. But it is also Lewis, a happy man, who often fails to understand the cultural references ("So do we have an address for this Sophocles?"), who, in the most literal sense, brings Morse down to earth—to popular television.

—Charlotte Brunsdon

#### CAST

<i>Chief Insp. Morse</i> . . . . .	John Thaw
<i>Detective Sgt. Lewis</i> . . . . .	Kevin Whately
<i>Max</i> . . . . .	Peter Woodthorpe
<i>Dr. Grayling Russell</i> . . . . .	Amanda Hilwood
<i>Chief Supt. Bell</i> . . . . .	Norman Jones
<i>Chief Supt. Strange</i> . . . . .	James Grout
<i>Chief Supt. Holdaby</i> . . . . .	Alun Armstrong

**PRODUCERS** Ted Childs, Kenny McBain, Chris Burt, David Lascelles, Deidre Keir

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 28 120-minute episodes

#### • ITV

6 January 1987–20 January 1987  
 25 December 1987–22 March 1988  
 4 January 1989–25 January 1989  
 3 January 1990–24 January 1990  
 20 February 1991–27 March 1992  
 26 February 1992–15 April 1992  
 6 January 1993–20 January 1993

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See also *Miss Marple*, *Sherlock Holmes*, Thaw, John

## INTERACTIVE TELEVISION

**I**nteractive television (ITV) represents the convergence of interactive technology and television which allows the exchange of information between the sender and the receiver. Potentially, it offers increased control over programming content by enabling the viewer to immediately respond to the programming—and even alter it. By offering such control, interactive television has the potential to redef-

ine what producers of television and viewers mean by "television" and to redefine communication processes in society.

One of the first television programs to encourage audience interaction was Jack Barry's *Winky Dink and You*, a children's show broadcast from 1953 through 1957 on CBS. The interaction was created through the use of cellophane overlay that children could buy at local stores and then

attach to the television set. In the program, the cartoon character Winky Dink encountered many problems, such as being chased to the edge of a cliff by a tiger. Viewers were then asked to help Winky Dink escape from the tiger by drawing a bridge on the cellophane overlay.

Interactive television in its more modern form ostensibly began in 1964, with AT&T's picture telephone introduced at the New York World's Fair. With this technology users could see as well as hear each other. It was not widely adopted for a number of reasons, but picture telephones were eventually found to be useful in some criminal justice settings and in business settings for video conferencing.

During the 1970s, the most publicized interactive television experiment was QUBE. QUBE was an interactive cable service offered by Warner Communications to subscribers in Columbus, Ohio. QUBE customers were given set-top decoder boxes with five buttons. Subscribers could participate in game shows, call plays in a college football game, take part in electronic town meetings, simulate a vote on the Academy Awards, participate in a newspaper survey and more. Viewers pushed the appropriate button(s), and their choices were recorded by a computer. When the results were tallied, they were announced on-screen. Unfortunately, the QUBE system was too expensive to maintain and eventually went out of business.

In the late 1980s and 1990s, cable companies and telephone companies began a complex strategy of competition and cooperation in an effort to define the future of interactive television. AT&T and Bell Atlantic conducted interactive television services trials with groups of employees in the Chicago and Washington, D.C. areas. From these trials, AT&T and Bell Atlantic reported strong interest in educational programs for children and games where households competed against each other. In another joint venture, TCI, AT&T, and US West conducted a test of movies-on-demand in the Denver area. And, under a TCI and Viacom alliance, fiber optic lines were laid in the San Francisco Bay Area in order to link several Bay area cable systems to serve as a basis for interactive services provided by the two companies.

As of the mid-1990s only two interactive television services were in operation. Interactive Network, a service in California and Illinois, required a special terminal costing a few hundred dollars and had high monthly charges. Interaction took place not on the TV screen but on a small display attached to the terminal. Services consisted of playing along with TV game shows and trying to anticipate the next play sporting events, but provided no original content. Videoway, a service in Montreal installed at about the same time, developed a large subscriber base with its service that required no hardware costs, a low monthly fee and enabled interaction directly on the TV screen. Videoway's service differed from Interactive Network in that it provided original content, including daily interactive news programming, games and original programming for children.

Interactive television has been conceived in several different forms and configurations. At a most basic level, it is a system that connects the viewer with the broadcaster. The

home shopping channels, for example, provide a simple form of interaction by asking viewers to call in and order merchandise and occasionally putting callers on the air. Similar techniques are used in opinion polls in which viewers call one telephone number to register a favorable vote and another to register an unfavorable one.

In a more complex form, ITV is a system that broadcasts an audio/video signal to and from a certain point. The most common form of this is the live news broadcast from the location of an event. Because of the satellite connection, the reporter and news anchor are able to see and hear each other and converse. President Bill Clinton often made use of this technology to hold "town meetings" across the country and to appear at conventions he could not attend personally.

Satellite transmission of two signals is also used in educational settings, particularly in distance learning situations. By broadcasting a signal from one classroom where the instructor is teaching to another remote classroom with more students and in turn, broadcasting the signal from the remote classroom, a "true" class can be held which includes questions and answers from the remote classroom.

The more recent configurations of interactive television integrates computers, television and in some cases cable lines or fiber optic telephone lines. As technology advances, computer power, data compression and decompression, and the systems needed to carry ITV have advanced to the point where video and audio signals can be digitized, sent over high-speed networks to home personal computers or TV set-top conversion boxes enabling viewers to send responses back to the point of origin. Available services using this configuration include video-on-demand (movies available 24 hours a day with full rewind and fast forward capabilities), near video-on-demand (movies available at 15-20 minute intervals with no rewind or fast forward capabilities), shopping services, video games (some that allow competition with other ITV subscribers), limited interactive news programming, and educational programming. Experts predict that entertainment and education applications have the greatest potential for growth.

One final developing technology sure to have an impact on interactive television is on-line computer services such as the Internet. These services allow interaction with individuals and large groups of users and are rapidly moving toward more video and audio based transmissions.

The future of interactive television is unclear. No one is sure how ITV will be delivered to homes or even what ITV will look like. What is certain is that when it does arrive, ITV will change the medium of television in ways that audiences and producers have not yet begun to imagine.

—Patti Constantakis-Valdez

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- See also Satellite; Television Technology

## INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS UNION

The instantaneous transmission of news and information across the globe was made possible in the 1830s by the invention of the telegraph, the invention that gave rise to the word "telecommunications." The electric telegraph machine was created through the efforts of Morse, Wheatstone and Cooke, and telegraphy began in England in 1837.

In the early days of cross-national communication, messages were encoded on a telegraph machine and sent to the bordering country for transcription, usually by a national post office, and then sent to their destination. Messages could not be sent directly from a source in one country to a receiver in another country because a common code was not used.

The need for technical standardization was recognized by Prussia and Austria and in October 1849, these two countries made the first attempt to link telegraph systems with a common code. One year later, an agreement between these two countries, Bavaria and Saxony created the Austro-German Telegraph and Union. The success of this first union gave rise to additional unions such as the International Telegraph Union, then later to the International Radio Conferences, and finally, in 1865, to the International Telecommunications Union (ITU). Today, the ITU is the sole regulating institution with power to regulate the transfer of data throughout the world.

In 1947 the ITU became an agency in the United Nations. According to a 1982 ITU convention report the purposes of the ITU are as follows: (1) to maintain and foster rational use of telecommunications and to offer technical assistance; (2) to promote and improve efficient use of technical equipment and operations; and (3) to coordinate and promote a positive world environment for the achievement of the above goals.

As the speed of telecommunications inventions increases, so does the importance of the ITU. The evolution of telecommunications technology during the twentieth century is so great that telecommunications affects almost every aspect of life and the role of the ITU continues to extend into new areas of concern. The three major areas of jurisdiction for the ITU are:

- (1) distribution of radio and satellite services and assignments;
  - (2) establishment of international telecommunications standards; and
  - (3) regulation of international information exchange such as telephony, telegraphy, and computer data.
- The ITU also plays a vital role in telecommunications assistance for developing countries.

One hundred and sixty countries within the United Nations (UN) have representatives in the ITU. Each of these countries gets one vote on ITU decisions. The general meeting of the ITU is held once every few years and is called the Plenipotentiary Conference. The chief objective of this conference is to review and revise the *ITU Convention*, which is the governing document of the union. The one-country, one-vote format often leads to voting blocks based on country alliances, and creates the political nature of the ITU.

The voting blocks and the tenets of the New World Information Order threaten the existence of the ITU. Many



Courtesy of ITU



developing countries in the UN want to break the dominant flow of information from northern industrialized countries to southern developing countries. The northern industrialized countries want to continue the "free flow" of information while the developing countries in the south want a balanced flow to ensure control of socio-cultural development.

A second aspect that threatens the existence of the ITU is the fact that the speed at which technological changes occur is greater than the ITU's international standards process can accommodate. Thus, several other standards organizations have developed such as the T1 Committee of the Exchange Carriers Standards Association in the United States, the Telecommunications Technology Committee (TTC) in Japan, and the European Telecommunications Standards Institute (ETSI). These regional standards organizations (RSOs) offer a more homogeneous membership than the ITU which makes the standardization process quicker.

In response to the RSOs, the ITU has streamlined its standards process and has restructured its voting rules so that decisions can be made by ballot between Plenipotentiary Conferences. It remains to be seen whether the ITU will maintain its status as the world's telecommunications regulatory body.

—John C. Tedesco

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See also Standards and Practices; Television Technology

## INTERNATIONAL TELEVISION PROGRAM MARKETS

### MIDEM/MIPCOM/MIP-TV/MIP-ASIA

Television has always been traded, exchanged, bought and sold. It would be fair to say, however, that for a good part of the history of this medium commerce in television travelled along what Nordenstreng and Varis called, in 1974, "a one-way street"—from the United States and to a lesser extent Great Britain, to the rest of the world. Now, however, this situation is changing. The pressures of globalisation, the spread of postfordist models of production, and the emerging dynamism of many alternative centres of production make the idea of "world television" less fanciful. A more appropriate metaphor for depicting international television might now be Michael Tracey's (1988) notion of a "patchwork quilt". This image implies interconnectedness in a world system. One cause for this newer pattern of world television is the very practical need for co-financing arrangements caused by the impossibility of funding high-end product domestically. A second factor in the newer arrangements is the continuing dependency of most programming services on some degree of imported television.

Today, then, there is a world market for television. The main players in this market are producers, distributors and

broadcasters. The subsidiary players are government agencies, financiers, packagers and sales agents. The stages on which the players appear are the markets held several times a year in the United States, Europe and more recently in Asia. The most important of these markets are MIP-TV (held in April in Cannes), MIPCOM (held in October in Cannes), the American Film Market, or AFM (held in Los Angeles in January), the Monte Carlo market, and the National Association of Television Programming Executives, NATPE (held in the United States in March). Another major site affecting television trade is the annual unveiling of the new programs from the major U.S. suppliers, usually in the month prior to the start of the fall U.S. television season. Here eager broadcasters from the importing countries anxiously view Hollywood's wares to try to guess what will play with their domestic audiences.

Some of these sales conventions are well established. The MIDEM organisation, which runs the MIP events, started in the 1950s and is now owned by Reed International, the publishing company. Others are just beginning; MIP Asia began in December 1994 in Hong Kong. MIP-

TV, the longest running of the markets, attracted 400 exhibitors and 9500 participants from 99 countries in 1994. MIPCOM (International Market for Television, Video, Cable and Satellite Films and Programs) which began life in the early 1980s as an "obscure sibling" to the long running MIP-TV in spring, is held in the northern fall, also in Cannes. It grew fast to become, by the late 1980s, the second biggest event after MIP-TV, and now is a huge meeting of the world's television buyers and sellers, with the established players dominant. The October 1993 MIPCOM attracted 1705 participating companies and over 8000 individual participants representing 36 countries. Xavier Roy, chief executive of the Midem organisation believes the event can accommodate expansion to 12-15,000 participants.

In these big markets, programming is often bought or rejected sight-unseen, in job lots, based on company reputation or distributor clout. Very broad, rough and ready, genre expectations are in play. Decisions to purchase programs not central to the schedule are frequently made on such grounds, even though they seem arbitrary. Conversely, there is a tradition amongst some European public broadcasters of scrutinising possible foreign acquisitions extremely closely. In this atmosphere it is difficult for the new company, the offbeat product or the unusual concept to be discovered. (For its first foray as a seller into MIPCOM in 1993, the U.S. documentary cable channel Discovery tarted up their profile by dressing their stall as a movie set. Actors were employed to create live action scenarios around a World War II theme to coincide with Discovery's use of Normandy landing documentaries as their flagship programs.)

These markets are the places where buyers can view the programs on sale from various producers, distributors and sales agents. But just as crucially it is the place where the players can circle each other at screenings and parties in the attempt to set up or consolidate partnerships which can help to finance the next

project. If there is one thing true about "world" television it is that it works on a basis of personal contact. Experienced distributor Bruce Gordon, Head of Paramount International, has described the international television market as a club. And not all players in this club are equal. The most powerful are the U.S. networks, the representatives of the Hollywood studios, the major broadcasters, both commercial and public service, from the richest regions—Japan and Europe, the emerging new pay services like Star TV and Canal Plus and perhaps some of the biggest television distributors, eg., Germany's Kirsch Group, whose large holdings of library material give them considerable economic clout. Given the multiplication of television distribution channels throughout the world, it is likely that the international markets will continue to grow in importance. New participants will need to find ways to place themselves within the structures of power and exchange already controlled by these more established institutions and individuals.

—Stuart O. Cunningham

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See also Format Sales, International

## IRELAND

The country Ireland is constituted by two nation-states. Northern Ireland consists of six counties of the province of Ulster and is part of the United Kingdom. The television service provided in its broadcast area is that of the BBC, Channel 4 and ITV. The local member of the ITV network is Ulster Television, which both acts as a broadcaster of the ITV service and produces programs for inclusion in the local transmission of the service. Ireland, sometimes known as Eire, is an independent republic and consists of the remaining 26 counties of the country. Irish television is here considered as that television service that obtains in the republic, although, as will become clear, the British service has a strong determining role on the Irish service.

Through the nineteenth and twentieth century, the Irish state—whether operating from London or Dublin—

has been characterised by a high degree of authoritarian control, both coercive and ideological. The Irish Free-State, founded in 1922, resumed control of all broadcasting in the 26 counties to head off a possible attempt by British Marconi to establish itself in the country, but also to help in the ideological task of establishing a nationalist identity. Until 1960, the state, through an agency of the Department of Posts and Telegraph—Radio Eireann—provided a broadcast service through a single radio network. The service was financed through a combination of licence fee and advertising. The service was extremely conservative in its programming and was only tolerated by most of its listeners. In fact, Radio Eireann did not have an audience monopoly. Households on the east coast and near the Northern Ireland border could also receive the BBC and Radio Luxembourg.

It was this proximity to British television broadcasting in the late 1950s that partly forced the Irish government's hand so far as the inauguration of an Irish television service was concerned. The 1960 Broadcasting Act legislated the establishment of a television service which began in 1962. Like the radio service, Irish television was to be financed through a combination of licence fees and advertising revenue. The service, consisting of a single national channel, was put under the control of Radio Telefis Eireann (RTE). The latter was a revamped version of the radio provider, now becoming an independent public authority. This was a significant move of liberalisation, in line with the government's own moves to "modernise" Ireland to make it attractive to transnational capital investment. And indeed television has acted as a Trojan Horse so far as the liberalisation of social and cultural values in Ireland is concerned. However, this has not lessened attempts by the state to keep a tight control on the forms of political debate on Irish television. In general this has led to poor relations between RTE and most Irish politicians. Thus, for example, in 1969, following political unrest in Northern Ireland, the government imposed direct censorship over RTE news and current affairs. When in 1972, RTE interviewed a spokesperson for the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA), a paramilitary group defending Catholics in Northern Ireland, the Irish government dismissed the RTE board and appointed its own members. In 1978 the government favourably considered allowing the BBC to be relayed to those parts of the country not already picking up its signal. Instead, it had to bow to public opinion by allowing RTE to begin a second television network. The broadcaster, however, was not allowed to increase licence fees or its advertising rate so that its financial position, and therefore its capacity to produce local programs, was significantly weakened.

Technological and ideological pressures also were at work that would erode RTE's monopoly in Irish television. Since 1970, the authority had operated its own cable network, RTE Relay, renamed Cablelink in 1988. Cablelink is the largest cable operator in Europe and provides about two-thirds of television households in the Irish Republic with the British broadcast television service, later complemented by the European services Superchannel and Sky. By the early 1990s, Cablelink was beginning to carry advertising, thereby diminishing RTE's potential revenue. In addition there was also the possibility that Cablelink might be sold to a private operator, thereby providing direct competition to RTE's broadcast service. However, the government was also interested in weakening RTE's position and saw a further opportunity to do so with moves throughout Europe to open up broadcast television to private, commercial interests. The 1988 Broadcast and Wireless Telegraphy Act formally broke the television broadcast monopoly of RTE. A new broadcast body, the Independent Radio and Television Commission, was established to oversee the introduction of privately owned radio and television stations in

Ireland. Several commercial radio stations have since gone on the air. A private commercial television station, TV3, was announced in 1990 but never began broadcasting. Nevertheless the threat of commercial competition remains. Most worrying from the point of view of an Irish television service was the fact that the government was prepared to allow a private television station to collect more advertising revenue than RTE while having no specific obligations so far as local content was concerned.

The increased commercial competition as well as the low revenue generated through the licence fee has affected RTE's capacity to produce local content. In 1965, Irish programs constituted some 60% of material transmitted. This figure has fallen to around 36% by 1990. In a schedule dominated by imported programs, RTE's own programs—particularly those with mass appeal—are especially important as "flagship" programs in the schedule. These include Gay Byrne's *The Late Show* (Friday night), *Glenroe* (Sunday) and *Fair City* (Tuesday and Thursday). The latter two are popular soap operas in a "public-service" tradition while the former is a talk show with a strong sense of community which is not afraid to discuss social issues. RTE exists in a commercial television environment where it is no match for its principal rival, ITV. To attempt to maintain its general ratings both for its imported programs and its local programs, RTE is forced to engage in a scheduling strategy of parallel programming with British television, especially ITV. It buys some of the latter's most popular programs, such as *Coronation Street*, which it then programs against the same program on ITV.

Like many other public broadcasters in Europe, RTE finds itself in an increasingly grim situation. The Irish State has charged RTE with the task of fostering an Irish cultural identity yet has, over the past 25 years, increasingly withheld the resources that would enable to do so more effectively. Cross-national transmission has always posed a fundamental threat to the service and recent developments in technology, ideology and financial arrangements have made that task even more difficult.

—Albert Moran

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See also European Union: Television Policy

## ISRAEL

Television was late in coming to Israel. By introducing television only in 1968, the nation lagged long behind most Western countries and even the neighboring Arab countries. Establishment opposition to television during the two preceding decades (since the founding of the state) was strong enough to prevent earlier initiatives and suspicion of television was manifold. There was the fear that book reading would decline; that newly developed Israeli culture and language, still in need of nurturing, would be swamped by imported, mostly U.S. junk; that national integration would be weakened by entertainment; and that politics would become less ideological, that is, less oriented to issues, more to charismatic personalities (Katz, 1971). All these considerations were overcome when, following the Six Day War, Israel found itself in charge of two million Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank. The establishment of television was originally conceived by the government as a bridge to the Arab population in the occupied territories, which theretofore had been exposed only to broadcasts from the Arab countries. That this was indeed the overriding reason may be shown in the (unrealistic and un-realizable) decision whereby nascent Israel television was supposed to broadcast more hours in Arabic than in Hebrew.

Until the introduction of television, radio was the central medium of national integration, serving as a Hebrew teacher to the masses of new immigrants, providing a focus for the development of a shared Israeli culture, and for the celebration of holidays. Radio also played a crucial role in the surveillance of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The history of Israeli broadcasting began underground. *Kol Yisrael* (Voice of Israel), the Hebrew Radio, started transmitting illegally during the last years of British Mandatory Rule, as a means for mobilizing for the national struggle. With the founding of the state, radio was installed in the prime minister's office, to act in the service of government information. The listening public was spoon-fed, as the new state was considered still vulnerable, still fighting for the full realization of Zionism, and the political establishment was used to secrecy from its pre-state struggle of fighting with the British.

In 1965, however, Israel Radio became a public authority, modeled on the BBC, administered by a largely independent board, and financed by a user's license fee. According to the new rules, it gained a much more independent status, but it remained, nevertheless, under constant pressure to "behave." Its directors preserved the notion of responsibility toward the public, focusing mainly on information and enrichment, not on entertainment.

In addition to its national networks, Israel Radio broadcast to two kinds of communities outside Israel. A channel of news programs and commentary in Arabic—prepared in Egyptian, Syrian, and Iraqi dialects—was directed to the neighboring countries, engaging in propaganda wars with the Arab counterparts. The Voice of Zion to the Diaspora

(which started in Hebrew, English and Arabic, expanding to many other languages) addressed the Jewish public abroad.

In the early 1970s, the placid monopolism of Israel Radio was shaken. Unexpected competition took the form of a pirate radio station—"the Voice of Peace"—which adopted a light informal style, very different from the buttoned-up British tradition of Public Radio. The Israel Army Radio—a channel in which professionals and young soldiers cooperate during their army-service in producing spirited and inventive programs—had expanded during this period, starting its own news and current events department. Above all television was going to steal radio's centrality in the society. In response, Israel Radio branched out into a number of channels, adding a light channel for young listeners, a classical music channel (in FM), and keeping its main channel, for news and current events, always open to live reporting. While radio remained the focus of society in times of crisis, it had to hand over centre-space to television.

The first television in Israel was educational, founded in 1966, with programs for schools only. This project had no problem winning government approval because making use of the medium for an instrumental function was ideologically acceptable. Television for the general public (as mentioned above) was sneaked in only following the Six Day War, when it could be justified as a means to fill the indisputable role of telling the Israeli version of the Arab-Israel conflict to the Palestinians under occupation. Not quite in line with this definition, its opening assignment was the broadcasting of the military parade on Independence Day.

A decision to incorporate television into the existing authority for Public Broadcasting carried severe consequences for its development. Because staff was recruited from the radio, professionals earned the same low wages, and moved into television with their already tenured positions. This caused a lack of mobility, and made it almost impossible to recruit new talent. Moreover, cultural conflicts added to these industrial problems. Israel Television's first challenge in this arena, brought by the National Religious Party over the violations of the Sabbath, was in the very fact of broadcasting on Friday nights. The controversy was overcome in a citizen's appeal (for relief) to the Supreme Court.

For the next 25 years Israel had only one television channel, which divided its time between daytime Educational Television and Public Broadcasting, which started transmissions in the late afternoon (children's and Arabic programs), ending with the national anthem at 12:00.

Publicly owned and managed, and financed by the license fee, the new television was modeled on the BBC. A number of significant deviations, however, make it more politicized, and more dependent on Parliamentary control than its British model. In Britain, the queen, on the advice of the government, appoints the Board of Governors, who appoint the director general. In Israel, the government itself

appoints the director general, on the recommendation of the Board of Governors. Moreover, the Board of Governors in Israel consists of representatives of the various parties, and does not follow the British precedent according to which its members should represent "the great and the good". In Israel, the Ministry of Finance retains indirect control of the license fee (as it is in charge of approving the annual budget), decides on the amount of license-fee increase to keep up with inflation, and finances the budgetary deficits.

Television's income suffers from the fact that 20% of Israelis escape paying the license fee. External financing from "public service advertisements" and corporate "sponsorship" slowly crept into the system, eventually amounting to 50% of the revenues. But these corporate-based revenues shrunk to almost nothing with the establishment of a second commercial channel.

The second television channel started its official existence only in 1991 (although unofficially it went on air in 1986, with the excuse of "occupying" a wavelength). Again, following the British example, it was also public, but financed by advertising rather than by license fee. Broadcasting on the second channel is divided among three companies, each of which broadcasts two days a week in rotation, and a news company, financed by the three.

The monopoly of Public Broadcasting was undermined also by the various technological changes, offering easy alternatives to national television for segmented audiences. Video cassette recorders sold rapidly (2/3 of the population by 1996), giving rise to ubiquitous video rental libraries. Satellite broadcasts from Europe and the United States are received by roof "dishes," and pirate cable channels speeded the legislation of cable television.

By 1995, the penetration of cable reached 60% of Israeli households, with about 30% share of viewing (Nossek and Adoni, 1996). Cable television offers 40 channels, six of which—children, family, sports, films, science, and shopping—are assembled by the cable companies, who also provide Hebrew subtitles, announcements, promos, and a small number of originally-produced programs. Local production consist of sports and children's programs, and time is allocated for public access programs.

The second channel, originally defined as public, has brushed aside this definition and behaves like a commercial channel in every way. Aiming for the lowest common denominator, in order to increase advertising profits, it has started a ratings war with the first channel, in which the latter, restricted by its adherence to its aims as public service as well as by inferior financing is bound to be the loser.

A major consequence of the multiplication of channels is the marginalization of television news. Until the establishment of the second channel an evening news program was broadcast at 9:00 P.M., serving as the sole focus for prime time viewing, and providing a common agenda for public debate. Over 60% of Israelis watch regularly, and, in consequence, the medium of television was regarded as supplying more information than entertainment (Katz and

Gurevitch, 1976). Indeed, one side effect of the focus on news production was that locally produced entertainment shows remained poor, and local drama was virtually nonexistent. This made the news even more central, the best drama in town.

During the first twenty-five years of Israel Television, actual drama series consisted mainly of American, but also British, imports. Usually, only one such series was aired on prime time. *Kojak*, *Starsky and Hutch*, *Dallas*, and *Dynasty*, and the British dramatic serial *Upstairs, Downstairs*, may be listed among the "best-sellers." The attraction of *Dallas*—which exceeded all others in popularity (Liebes and Katz, 1993)—may be understood in terms of its concerns with family relations and primordial themes. British comedies (*Yes, Minister*, *Are You Being Served?*) and detective series (*Inspector Morse*) were popular, but imports of more high-brow series were stopped, following the major failure of the prestigious *Brideshead Revisited*, based on the Evelyn Waugh novel. More recently, programs such as *Hill Street Blues*, *The Cosby Show*, and *Northern Exposure*, representing a plurality of American TV genres, were successfully shown. *Cheers* is the only program in the Public Channel's history which was rejected by the Israeli audience and taken off the screen.

In recent years American programs have gained more popularity than their British counterparts, as the abundance of American shows have increasingly socialized viewers to American conventions and styles of production. Unlike most European countries, which use dubbing for the translation of imported programs, Israel Television continues to use Hebrew subtitles. In defence of subtitles, television's policy makers argue that a considerable number of Israelis understand foreign languages, that there is virtually no illiteracy in Israel, and that dubbing "looks bad." The harsh competition imposed on the public channel limited its capacity to buy new series (and new films), and these are now shown on the second channel and on cable.

Israel Television did produce high quality current-affairs programs (*Mabat Sheni*) often based on investigative reporting, and made various attempts at producing Israeli sitcoms (such as *Krovim krovim*), which were not very successful but nevertheless popular. Highlights in the history of Israel Television include the documentary series on the history of Zionist settlement in Israel (*Amud Haesh*) modeled on the British *The World at War*; an inventive series of political satire (*Nikuy Rosh*), which drew heavy attack from the political establishment, and gave rise to a number of Israeli comedy stars; and one-time television films, which touched on central controversies in Israeli society, notably by prize-winning television director Ram Levi (whose film *Hirbat Hiza*, showing Israeli soldiers evacuating an Arab village during the 1948 war, was broadcast only years after its production).

Beyond creating an integrative focus for the society in daily life, Israel Television also took an active part in the formation of holidays—creating secular alternatives to traditional rituals (for example, by showing a classical movie);

complementing the traditional content (dramatizing the Passover Seder); taking the viewers to the event (the public reading of the book of Esther, on Purim, or the holocaust observance ceremony); or by creating the event itself (such as the annual Bible Quiz, invented for the Day of Independence) (Katz, 1988).

In times of crisis broadcasting takes over the function of surveillance and social integration. As the more accessible of the two media, radio is still being listened to in public buses—in total silence at moments of crisis; it is used by the Army for fast mobilization of its reserve forces, and stands in for the outdated alarm system on the rooftops when it is time to go to the air-shelters (the “sealed rooms” of the Gulf War). While television took over as the *ceremonial* medium of integration, radio adapted itself by switching to open-ended programming, always interruptible by the latest news of any conflict, relaying regards from soldiers away from home to their families, instructing the people in Northern Kiriath Shmona to spend the night in shelters, summoning soldiers to their reserve units by reading out the appropriate slogans for rehearsing an emergency mobilization, or for enacting a real one.

In critical moments, however, television also becomes the focus for sharing the national trauma, and for reflecting on its meaning. This may be best illustrated by the role it played during the week following the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, in November 1995. Similar to Americans in the wake of the Kennedy assassination, Israelis could not disconnect themselves from the television set. Television acted as a locus for sharing the grief, pointed out the various “sacred” arenas for people who wanted to go out and mourn in public, and provided a forum for debating the ideological rift in which the assassination was rooted.

Television has also been a central factor in historic events which became landmarks in the collective memory of Israelis. The live broadcasting of Egyptian President

Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in 1977 is the best example for illustrating the crucial part played by television in influencing public opinion (Liebes-Plesner, 1984; Dayan and Katz, 1993). Israelis fell in love with Sadat, thus making peace (and the sacrifice of territories and strategic distance) possible. The various stages towards peace with Jordan and the Palestinians, in 1993–95, were celebrated by media events, which endowed them with (various degrees of) public legitimacy, reuniting the by-now segmented audiences from a multiplicity of channels to sharing one vision and reinstating themselves as members of one society (Liebes and Katz, 1995).

—Tamar Liebes

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## ITALY

In the bars of the 1950s, Italian television became popular when crowds of Italians, women as well as men, left their homes to meet after supper and look at the first huge success of Italian public television. The attraction was *Lascia o raddoppia* (*Double Your Money*), a quiz show imported from the United States by a young showman, Mike Bongiorno (who continued to host shows through the 1990s). The crowds watched television and discussed the contest, fiercely favouring or opposing this or that game player.

In August 1996, the board of administrations of RAI, the public radio and television company, made decisions concerning the directors and vice directors of all the news and programs departments in RAI—the third such change of executives in four years. For three days, all Italian newspapers dedicated the lead article to the subject, and contin-

ued with two or three inside pages filled with comments, backgrounds, and feature stories. As on previous occasions, the nominations of RAI department directors have been an important conversation topic. This level of attention in the press, and the concern about public opinion by RAI would be seen as quite unusual in most other countries; even in Italy, there is no similar interest with regard to other kinds of companies. Television is not only a conversation topic in terms of the content and programs it presents to audiences, but for itself.

#### Beginnings and Developments

The official history of Italian television began on 3 January 1954. RAI was the only television network transmitting news and prime time programs.

A state-owned entity was created in 1924 as a radio company, URI, and was heavily controlled by the national government, at that point a fascist regime. For years, and despite transformations in government, the same company (which simply changed its name—in 1924 URI, in 1927 EIAR, in 1944 RAI), remained a monopoly. RAI was the only producer of radio news and programs, the only broadcaster through different channels, and the only owner of technical installations and repeaters. From 1954 to 1976, the history of Italian television is the history of RAI, for the monopoly was extended to television, with the same concentration established during the radio era.

In 1954, the reconstruction period ended and a new phase of industrialization began, with huge transformation of the country. Until the end of the 1960s millions of Italians relocated inside the country, from south to north, from small villages to large cities, from agriculture to industry. This was a period of great transformation. Television, contrary to the expectations of intellectuals and politicians, was an immediate success. At first, for most people, television viewing was public viewing: in the bars, the cinemas, the houses of the richest families. In the 1960s, when a second channel began programming (4 November 1961), television reached a nationwide audience and family viewing began. In a country still characterised by a high level of illiteracy, television became the most widespread media, in contrast to the traditional low circulation of the daily press (among the lowest in the world) and the irregularity of school attendance (especially in the south). Radio and cinema had benefited during the 1940s and 1950s from high audience rates, but television overcame them in a few years.

The unexpected success of television, coincident with the unexpected great transformation of the country and the rapid growth of national income, explains why the medium became an important political issue. While private entrepreneurial groups tried to create alternatives to the state monopoly of radio and television, the Corte Costituzionale (a high court which oversees the Constitution), ruled on 13 July 1960 that the television monopoly was legal. Just a few years after the beginning of regular programming, then, "television" and RAI (as the only broadcaster and producer), became the makers of two different kinds of histories. One was the history of a new medium, which concerned technological evolution, the quantity and quality of programs produced and broadcast, and the audience reactions. The other was the history of the power struggles between political parties, and businesses of various kinds. The struggles were for the control both of legislation and the resources related to RAI—from the control of news and electoral campaigns, to the control of advertising, to the production of fiction, variety shows, and other forms of popular culture.

### **The Struggles for Television Power**

In post-war Italy, after the end of fascism and World War II in 1945, the form of the state changed from monarchy to a republic, established by a referendum in 1946. The parlia-

ment, made up of two chambers with slight differences, was now elected by the people, including for the first time the vote of women. Governments are formed as expressions of the majority of parliament. With the exception of the first five years of the republic (1948-1953) during which the Catholic party, the Christian Democrats (DC), received an absolute majority, all governments have been coalitions of political parties with the DC having a relative majority. The governing coalitions are opposed on the left by a very strong Communist party (PCI) and on the right by a small neo-fascist party (MSI). The Communist party is the strongest among western countries. It is very influential among trade unions and intellectuals and receives the absolute majority of votes in the central regions of Italy: Emilia-Romagna, Toscana, and Umbria. This kind of political geography lasted, with minor changes, until the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Communist regimes of Eastern Europe (1990). During this period the coalition governments of Italy were usually constructed from a conflictual alliance between the Christian Democrats and the Socialist party (PSI). In the years immediately following World War II, the Socialist party had been allied with the Communist party, but from the 1960s it was autonomous, and attempted, unsuccessfully, to compete for the vote of the working class. With the success of television viewing, RAI, as a state monopoly under the control of the government, became the main and the most visible stake in the Italian spoils system.

Television became important as a matter of public debate and political struggle on the Italian scene. All political parties have been united by the idea of maintaining RAI as a state monopoly, because every one hoped to win a share of television power by getting more votes in the elections. Indeed, this happened when the Socialist party entered into the governing coalition during the 1960s, and when the Communist party became more influential during the second half of the 1970s.

Italian television has not only been a public service institution, in the European tradition. It is also—mainly—a central means of power controlled by the Christian democrats, the Catholic culture and the Roman Church. It does not work as a self-supporting industry. Rather, it receives financial resources from both advertising and from fees paid by subscribers. Advertising is sold to firms at low prices and in a very discriminating way, depending on the political power of the organizations and institutions involved. Automobile advertising, for example, was forbidden because FIAT, the Italian automobile company, did not want other cars to be seen on the screen.

During the 1970s these situations began to change. On 14 April 1975, a new reform law gave RAI a new regulatory structure. The main powers—nomination of the board of administration, and control over policies—were transferred from the government to parliament. Even more significantly, a year later, on 28 July 1976, the Corte Costituzionale issued a new ruling which allowing the transmission of radio and television programs at local level.



With that decision the era of competition had begun and the media system entered a period of change which continued through the 1990s.

In 1977 colour television was finally allowed by government decisions. And, at the end of 1979, RAI began a third channel, partly devoted to regional news programs. Hundreds of local radio and television stations mushroomed throughout the country, but no cable television could be created because of legal restrictions.

Still, the television scene is changing rapidly. RAI no longer holds monopolies for radio or television: half of its radio audience has gone. Even within the company, RAI is no longer monolithic. Radio and television channels have their own news departments, budgets, and political and cultural outlook. They compete among themselves and with private broadcasters for audience. Influence, power, resources, and audiences are broadly divided across three segments: the major portion goes to the Catholic sector, the second to the Socialists, the third part to the Communists. Meanwhile, in the private sector the greatest competition has come from the media empire created by Silvio Berlusconi.

Under the new legal structure permitting local broadcasting, Berlusconi was able to build a network made by three channels: Canale 5, Italia 1, and Rete 4. These local and regional broadcasting systems were unified by a common management and strategy within Fininvest, the company created to oversee the media operations. They were financially supported by Pubitalia, a firm specialising in the collection of advertising revenues. The extraordinary and very rapid success of private television in Italy was due mainly to one factor: a large number of new companies which had flourished in the roaring 1960s and 1970s had no way to reach Italian markets with their advertising. Yet after years of hard work, of social and political unrest, consumers were ready to accept new styles of living and to enter the era of mass consumption. Berlusconi and his management understood this need and provided an answer—a private television system which for the first time in the European scene offered a scheduling and programming policy oriented by marketing philosophy.

The three channels were shaped to be strong competitors with the public channels. They began to gain audience in all time periods where the RAI offerings were weak: afternoon television for children, late afternoon television for women, evening television for youngsters, late evening television for intellectuals, and so on. Canale 5 was shaped as a general channel for mass audience, while Italia 1 was shaped for an audience of youngsters, and Rete 4 for women. At the beginning, private television was especially successful among northern-Italian and large-city audiences, where there was a higher level of income and consequently a more widespread acceptance of consumption. Successful programs included American films and American series and serials (such as *Dallas* and *Dynasty*), game shows, Latin American *telenovelas*, new formats of Italian variety shows, and Japanese cartoons for children. By the end of the 1980s, the competition between the private and public networks

was at its height and the audience more or less divided in two equal parts. The financial resources coming from advertising grew seven times in about twelve years, and, although the greatest part went to the private network, the overall media system, RAI and daily press included, increased their revenues as well. While at the end of the 1970s the percentage of advertising expenditure on the gross national product was the lowest among industrial countries, at the end of 1980s it reached 6%.

On 6 August 1990, after years of discussion and struggle among the main political parties, a new law was passed by parliament which recognised that a new television system had emerged from the rough competition between RAI and Fininvest. With the new law, private television systems, at both national and local levels, are obliged to transmit a news program in order to maintain their license. In the 1990s, then, competition began in the news arena. Twelve national channels were recognised by the 1990 law. But the six channels owned by the two main networks, RAI and Fininvest, shared 90% of the audience.

In a way what happened in the second half of the 1980s could be read as a form of Americanisation of Italian television. The media system, previously more directly oriented toward matters of state and politics as was common among European systems, suddenly became more open to market orientations. This shift could be explained by the huge expansion of the Italian economy, led by a large number of small and medium size firms located in the eastern part of Italy, specially in the north and centre regions. The Socialist party (PSI) whose leader Bettino Craxi had long been a successful premier, tried hard to be the leading party of the so-called new Italy that developed from the great transformation of the 1960s and 1970s. For this reason, Craxi and the Socialist party strongly supported Berlusconi and his television strategy, expressing favour for pluralism, a market economy, and consumption, trying to make Italian society similar to American society.

### Television as a New Enemy

In the 1990s television became, more than ever before, if possible, the centre of the Italian scene. Silvio Berlusconi, the owner of Fininvest, made the decision to enter into the political arena, creating a new political movement called *Forward Italy*. "*Forza Italia*" is the slogan that supporters of the national teams in all sports scream during international games. *Forza Italia* was rapidly organized with the help of volunteers—and mainly with the very efficient staff of Fininvest and Pubitalia. The Italian flag was taken as symbol of the movement; a hymn was created; blue, the national colour for sport teams in international competitions, was adopted as the official colour; a coalition with other parties was set up in a few weeks and a nationwide electoral campaign was organised, using marketing techniques, polls, and television spots. The left coalition, led by the PDS, was furious. The two television networks were heavily engaged in the campaign: RAI on the side of the left coalition and

Fininvest on the side of right coalition. To the surprise of most observers, the right coalition of Silvio Berlusconi won the elections of 27 March 1994 and Berlusconi became the head of the national government.

But from the day of the Berlusconi victory a terrible war began. It was not only a war against Berlusconi but against television itself—the new enemy. Politicians, intellectuals, teachers, newspapers, began to organise public meetings and conventions against television. Italians were called to a national referendum against private television. Berlusconi became, for half of the country, evil itself and was unable to resist the attacks—he decided to resign after only seven months. A new government passed a law, which was not approved by parliament, dictating severe restrictions on the use of television in electoral campaigns (practically forbidding the use of television as a propaganda device). In the meantime, advertising revenues decreased rapidly and the entire media system entered a period of recession. Both RAI and Fininvest faced large debts and drastically reduced their investments in fiction production, the most expensive segment of the television industry. The general atmosphere of the country shifted toward pessimism: fear for the future, a strong reduction of private consumption, demands for the restriction of goods and services were all indicators of the national mood, the opposite of the 1980s.

In spite of these views, a June 1995 national referendum against television—mainly against advertising, American series, soap operas, and *telenovelas*, and targeting private television—demonstrated that Italians accept and like private television. The campaign against television continued but began to resemble campaigns of the same kind occurring in other countries. The themes focused on the amount of violence and sex in programming, or on ways of protecting children from television.

### **Scheduling: Programs and Audiences**

The long-lasting success of television in Italy can be explained by the fact that networks and channels were able to meet the demands of Italian people, in different periods of time and circumstances. In spite of restrictive rules and the heavy influence of political parties and leaders, men and women who were in charge of television, at different times and in both private and public television, were able to play a relatively autonomous role and to make television work quite well on a daily basis.

Italian television is created from an original and changing mixture of five different kinds of content: American fiction, Italian fiction, Italian soccer and other sports, Italian songs and shows, Italian news and politics. Each one is bound to strong patterns of Italian culture.

The style of presentation has two main approaches. One is melodramatic, in the 19th century tradition of melodrama and opera. The other is light and ironic, in the tradition of the *commedia dell'arte* (the comedy of art) and of the *avanspettacolo*, a form of popular theater variety show featuring comedians and girls.

In all these forms, Italy is the main subject of Italian television: Italian places and faces, Italian stories, Italian products, Italian sportsmen and women, and teams to be proud of. A second subject is America, focused on notions of the American dream, which many Italians consider as an American version of the Italian dream. European countries and the rest of the world form a minor part of Italian television. Europe and the world are places where Italians go as emigrants, as tourists, and as exporters of goods and services. Fiction is for cultivating dreams and fears; dreams are located elsewhere and mainly in America, fears are located in Italy. Sport is for cultivating national pride. News and politics are for locating oneself in a turbulent world and trying to understand what is going on and how to take part.

The relationship of Italian television to American fiction has specific characteristics. Even prior to television, American mass culture has been the model for Italian entertainment, mainly through films. Throughout the 1950s most American movies were imported, dubbed in Italian, and shown throughout the country in more than eleven thousand cinemas. The first audiences for television, then, looked at television as a different form of movie, and indeed, American films have, for years, been the prime time family viewing on Mondays. American films, and subsequently, American series and serials have provided a considerable part of the offering of television schedules and Italian television channels. Among European channels, Italian television has dedicated more air time to American fiction programs and to foreign films dubbed in Italian.

Another important element of Italian television has been the production of original fiction series which had no model abroad. These were called *teleromanzi* (*telenovelas* or television novels) or *sceneggiati* (adaptations of novels). The stories were presented in six or eight episodes of two hours each, taken from the masterpieces of international literature. They were shot and played in a realistic setting in a mixed style between theatre and film. One of their models is to be found in an Italian post-war invention, the *fotoromanzi*, novels with photographs. These long-running series sold weekly as magazines. They met with huge success and are still produced. Action was slow and all the stories were located in the past, mainly in the 19th century. Prime time Sunday was for years dedicated to family viewing of *teleromanzi*. Since the 1980s this kind of fiction production has no longer been produced in the same way. Italian fiction in the last 15 years has tried to adopt more standard formats with stories now located in contemporary Italy. The most successful of these stories was *La Piovra* (The Octopus), a story about criminal syndicates commonly referred to as the Mafia. Begun in 1984 and still continuing, it is a kind of Italian-style serial comprised of seven miniseries to date.

### **Looking at the Future**

The future of Italian television is uncertain. A law concerning telecommunications, radio, and television was proposed in parliament by the government on 25 July 1996. If ap-

proved, it will open the system to more competition, while preserving an important role for public service and more severe anti-concentration rules. For television, the new law will open the possibility for cable and satellite channels and, consequently, reduce the predominance of terrestrial networks and channels. It will also be possible for the same company to have limited partnerships in different communication businesses: telephone, cellular, television, radio, press, content provider.

The state-owned monopoly of telephone services will become private. In the arena of cellular services there will possibly be a competition among at least three different companies. The 1000 local radio and 500 local television stations will be reduced in number. Pay-TV, which is actually run by one company (Tele+) on three analogic channels will be expanded, as will a rich bouquet of digital European channels.

In the area of broadcast television three groups now compete for participation and dominance. RAI, located in Rome, with three channels and an average audience share of about 45%; Mediaset (previously Fininvest), located in Milan, with three channels and an average share of 43%. Mediaset became a publicly-traded stock company in July 1996 and is no longer the personal property of Silvio Berlusconi. The Cecchi-Gori Group, located in Florence, with two channels and an average share of 6%. Minor national channels, Pay-TV, and local stations get the remaining audience.

Each one of these three main organizations has its own competitive advantage: RAI has the advantages of tradition, the income from fees, no debt, and, more than before, the total support of the centre-left government; Mediaset has the advantages of innovation, the internationalisation of part of its capital, its know-how, and support in parliament from the strongest political party at the opposition. The Cecchi-Gori Group, which is the most powerful Italian film producer and distributor, has the advantages of its control of the copyright to a huge number of Italian and American films. It also has a special relation for copyright of soccer matches. The company is the proprietor of Florence's winning soccer team, "la Fiorentina," and has special agreements with international networks interested in buying copyrights of soccer matches of Italian teams, which can be widely sold to many television channels of Arabic and Latin American countries. In parliament, support comes from Catholic politicians who are part of the centre-left government. Vittorio Cecchi Gori, the main proprietor and the leader of his group, is also a senator of Florence.

These groups face considerable difficulties in the immediate future. The main problems for cable and Pay-TV emerge from the fact that in the last ten years Italian audiences have had the benefit of a huge free offering of programs of many kinds. In each hour of the day, it has been possible to choose among a great variety of fiction, talk shows, variety shows, and game shows.

At the same time, however, large financial resources are no longer readily available to television producers and distributors. Advertising revenues for mass consumption products and services are decreasing and there is a need for more restricted and better defined targets. The fees that Italians pay for public television will not be accepted much longer by the public, yet two thirds of the income for RAI comes from these fees. These problems must be solved in the near future as Italian television reshapes itself once again.

—Giovanni Bechelloni

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See also Berlusconi, Silvio; European Union: Television Policy

## IT'S GARRY SHANDLING'S SHOW/ THE LARRY SANDERS SHOW

### U.S. Situation Comedies

Garry Shandling put aside a successful career as a stand-up comedian to venture into irreverent forms of fictional television with film producers and talent managers Bernie Brillstein (*Ghostbusters*) and Brad Grey. The trio created comedies in 1986 and 1992: the whimsical and warm *It's Garry Shandling's Show* and the darker *Larry Sanders Show*.

The first program began on the cable network Showtime in 1986. After a year, it reached critical success and Shandling relinquished his role as one of Johnny Carson's regular guest hosts on NBC's *Tonight Show*, leaving Jay Leno as the primary alternate behind the desk. Shandling and Leno had replaced Joan Rivers as Carson's principle replacements in 1986 when Rivers began her own talk show—the initial program on the fledgling FOX Broadcasting Company network.

While still in first run on Showtime, *It's Garry Shandling's Show* was licensed by the new FOX Broadcasting Company as part of its second season Sunday evening line-up. Although plagued by low ratings and hence unable to satisfy FOX's expectations, critics praised Shandling's tongue in cheek style. FOX reran the Showtime episodes and then contracted with "Our Production Company" for new installments until 1990.

The program, set in Shandling's condominium in Sherman Oaks, California, featured comic schtick. Shandling played a single man looking for the right woman. He spent his free time with his platonic friend Nancy (Molly Cheek), his best friend's family (Stanley Tucci and Bernadette Birkett) and his single mother. Much of the show mimicked Shandling's own life, including his actual home in Sherman Oaks and his romances (a girlfriend moved in with Shandling's "character" when his personal domestic life changed).

The program began with a monologue, introducing the show. Next came a silly theme song, performed by Randy Newman, including the lyrics "Garry called me up and asked if I could write it" and a whistling segment. The "dramatic action" in each episode was simple, built on such premises as Garry's bad dates, or his discovery of a nude photo of his mother from the 1960s. Each situation was resolved with warmth and whimsy, sometimes with the help of audience members.

His antics included "breaking the fourth wall"—acknowledgement and direct address of the audience, both in the studio and at home, as part of the show. In one episode, Garry told the audience to feel free to use his "apartment" (the set) while he was at a baseball game. Several people from the audience (perhaps extras) left their seats to read prop books and play billiards in front of the cameras as the program segued into its next scene.



Garry Shandling

*It's Garry Shandling's Show* often included guest stars. In the pilot, just after Garry's character moved into the condo, he was robbed. That night he dreamed of Vanna White (appearing on the show) giving away his good underwear and other personal belongings as prizes on *Wheel of Fortune*—for less value than he hoped. His most frequent visitor was his "next-door neighbor," rock musician Tom Petty. In one episode Petty, who usually had appeared with disheveled long hair, loose shirts and tight pants, became part of a neighborhood quartet. He made his entrance walking in line with three middle-aged singers and all four wore (bad) matching plaid wool vests.

Shandling sometimes used other sight jokes, but most often he exploited running verbal gags. These included the unseen ceiling mirror inscribed with the typed motto, "things may be larger than they appear." Another continuing joke involved Larry's ongoing consideration of what to do during the 41 seconds when theme music interrupted the action.

Some episodes, however, were more serious. One of these featured Gilda Radner near the end of her unsuccessful battle with cancer. This show also presented an anti-war Vietnam theme, detailing how one friend's conduct caused

a man to become a prisoner of war. Though the program ended jovially, the action included a darkly lit battle sequence in which uniformed soldiers shot at each other and put holes into Radner's living room set.

Though each episode of the show was scripted, Shandling was known to improvise his lines. If a scene needed three takes, he often performed differently in each iteration as though challenging himself to make each retake funnier than the prior one.

*The Larry Sanders Show*, appearing on HBO since 1992, has been the Mr. Hyde of Garry Shandling's pair of comedies. The program, which mocks behind-the-scenes activities of post-primetime talk shows, paints a more disturbing view of television as a status-bestowing medium. The technique includes intertwining fictional characters with actual guest stars. By 1995, the show received both Emmy nominations and CableAce awards, but the mass audience has had difficulty accessing both the content and the premium cable channel distributing this half hour.

Shandling stars as Larry Sanders, a talk-show host competing with the larger network late night programs. Though Larry is not the biggest fish in the chat pond, it is difficult to realize this from his interactions. He uses his power and position as a celebrity to control his office staff, show crew and at times the general public as portrayed in this fictional world. Larry exposes his deep insecurities only to his executive producer, Artie (veteran character actor Rip Torn) and to his assistant, Beverly (Penny Johnson).

On-screen, Larry is smooth and controlled, but behind the scenes, he is manipulative and disturbed, descending frequently into paranoia and temper tantrums. His interactions with his office employees feature a peculiar style of communication. Each staff member or guest has a clear position in an invisible hierarchy. This situation is accepted because the strong office culture is dominated by constant job insecurity. People with greater clout are allowed to act abusively to those with less status. In one show, it seems clear that a staff member will be fired, but Larry cannot decide which person. Facing the tension mounting within the office, one writer breaks down with anxiety, creates several ugly scenes and—predictably—is chosen to lose his job.

Office relations are not the only story line. Plots derived from typical talk show circumstances include contract renegotiations, strange sponsors needing odd on-air celebrity endorsements, marriages and relationships, problems with guests and difficulty managing public images. During the several years of the program, Larry has been married (to Megan Gallagher), divorced, and involved in a live-in arrangement with another ex-wife (Kathryn Harrold). These relationships have exhibited little tenderness; instead, the unions are portrayed as they fit Larry's profession and lifestyle. If love blocks his career in any way, love ends.

Many of the show's elements are focused on Larry's relationship with his "side-kick" character, Hank Kingsley,

played to perfection by Jeffrey Tambor. Hank is presented as an essentially talentless individual who has made an incredibly successful career by translating his position as hanger-on into hugely recognizable celebrity status. He makes additional money by endorsing cheap products, he gets dates because of his proximity to Larry, and he uses his status to bully other members of the show's staff. Larry tolerates Hank because he is, at once, confidant and pitchman, as responsible for Larry's success as are his own skills.

Shandling used *It's Garry Shandling's Show* to push television to its whimsical extreme. With *The Larry Sanders Show* he presents the funny side of television at its worst. In each case, he explores the medium intelligently and inventively, creating an arena to consider what television can be, rather than continuing the hackneyed stereotypes and norms.

—Joan Stuller-Giglione

### IT'S GARRY SHANDLING'S SHOW

#### CAST

<i>Garry Shandling</i> . . . . .	Garry Shandling
<i>Mrs. Shandling</i> . . . . .	Barbara Cason
<i>Nancy Bancroft</i> . . . . .	Molly Cheek
<i>Pete Schumaker</i> . . . . .	Michael Tucci
<i>Jackie Schumaker</i> . . . . .	Bernadette Birkett
<i>Grant Schumaker</i> . . . . .	Scott Nemes
<i>Leonard Smith</i> . . . . .	Paul Wilson
<i>Ian (1989–90)</i> . . . . .	Ian Buchanan
<i>Phoebe Bass (1989–90)</i> . . . . .	Jessica Harper

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

##### • FOX

March 1988–July 1989	Sunday 9:00–9:30
July 1989	Sunday 9:30–10:00
July 1989–August 1989	Sun 10:00–10:30
August 1989–March 1990	Sun 10:30–11:00

### THE LARRY SANDERS SHOW

#### CAST

<i>Larry Sanders</i> . . . . .	Gary Shandling
<i>Hank Kingsley</i> . . . . .	Jeffrey Tambor
<i>Producer Arthur</i> . . . . .	Rip Torn
<i>Paula</i> . . . . .	Janeane Garofalo
<i>Darlene</i> . . . . .	Linda Doucett
<i>Jeannie (1992–93)</i> . . . . .	Megan Gallagher
<i>Francine (1993–)</i> . . . . .	Kathryn Harrold

**PRODUCERS** Gary Shandling, Brad Grey, Peter Tolan, John Ziffren, Paul Simms

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

##### • HBO

Irregular Schedule

## FURTHER READING

Cohen, Noam. "Meta-musings: The Self-reference Craze." *The New Republic* (Washington, D.C.), 5 September 1988.

Gelman, Morrie. "Crystal, Shandling, HBO Take Home Handful Of Aces." *Variety* (Los Angeles), 21 January 1991.

Martel, Jay. "True Lies." *Rolling Stone* (New York), 8 September 1994.

O'Connor, John J. "The Larry Sanders Show." *The New York Times*, 19 July 1995.

Schleier, Curt. "The Open-and-Shut Life of Garry Shandling." *Emmy* (Los Angeles), June 1995.

Woolcott, James. "The Larry Sanders Show." *The New Yorker*, 21 December 1992.

## I'VE GOT A SECRET

## U.S. Game Show

Many radio and television game shows have their origin in parlour games and it is no surprise to realise that *I've Got a Secret* was based on the game of "Secret, secret, who's got the secret". The format was simple but very durable. Sitting together on one side of a plain, unadorned set, each of four panelists took a 30-second turn questioning and then guessing a contestant's secret. The contestants were a mixture of ordinary people and celebrities and the panelists were invariably celebrities. Each episode used four contestants and, in the American original, one contestant in each episode was a celebrity. Ordinary contestants received a small money prize if they stumped the panel. In the case of the celebrity contestant, the secret was very often related to some element of their fame. Thus the first episode of *Secret* in 1952 featured the actor Boris Karloff's revelation was that he was afraid of mice.

The U.S. version of the program was the longest running and most popular game show in the history of the genre. It began in June 1952 and ran on the CBS network until 1967. However, it was not quite an overnight success. The premiere episode used a courtroom as the set. Host Garry Moore was presented as a judge, the contestants as witnesses under cross-examination, and the panelists as the questioning lawyers. CBS cancelled the program after its first season but almost immediately changed its mind and the program resumed after its summer break. *Secret* became enormously popular and ran for 15 years on network television, a record never equalled by another game show. By the late 1950s it was consistently in the top ten of U.S. television programs; it survived the quiz scandals of 1958-59; its popularity remained intact through the first part of the 1960s. The program was revived for syndication from 1972 to 1973 and also played a short summer stint on CBS in 1976.

*I've Got a Secret* had three hosts in its time on U.S. television—Garry Moore, Steve Allen, and Bill Cullen. Cullen, a long-time panelist was made famous by the program, but many other panelists were already well-known. Among them were Laraine Day, Orson Bean, Henry Morgan, Jayne Meadows, Faye Emerson and Betsy Palmer. *Secret* featured several producers including Allan Sherman who was to have his own career in the early 1960s as a comic singer cum satirist.

The program was originated and produced by the inimitable Mark Goodson and Bill Todman. Their partnership in developing successful game show formats had begun in radio in 1946 and *I've Got a Secret* was one of their earliest programs in television.

—Albert Moran

## HOSTS

Garry Moore (1952-64)

Steve Allen (1964-67)

Bill Cullen (1976)

## PANELISTS

Louise Allbritton (1952)

Laura Hobson (1952)

Walter Kiernan (1952)

Orson Bean (1952)

Melville Cooper (1952)

Bill Cullen (1952-67)

Kity Carlisle (1952-53)

Henry Morgan (1952-76)

Laraine Day (1952)

Eddie Bracken (1952)

Faye Emerson (1952-58)

Jayne Meadows (1952-59)

Betsy Palmer (1957-67)

Bess Myerson (1958-67)

Pat Collins (1976)

Richard Dawson (1976)

Elaine Joyce (1976)

**PRODUCERS** Mark Goodson, Bill Todman, Allan Sherman

## PROGRAMMING HISTORY

## • CBS

June 1952-June 1953	Thursday 10:30-11:00
July 1953-September 1961	Wednesday 9:30-10:00
September 1961-September 1962	Monday 10:30-11:00
September 1962-September 1966	Monday 8:00-8:30
September 1966-April 1967	Monday 10:30-11:00

June 1976-July 1976

Tuesday 8:00-8:30

**FURTHER READING**

Blumenthal, Norman. *The TV Game Shows*. New York: Pyramid, 1975.

Fabe, M. *TV Game Shows*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1979.

Graham, J. *Come on Down!!!: The TV Game Show Book*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1988.

Schwartz, D., S. Ryan, and F. Wostbrock, *The Encyclopedia of Television Game Shows*. New York: Zoetrope, 1987.

See also Quiz and Game Shows



J

## JACKSON, GORDON

Scottish Actor

Gordon Jackson was one of the stalwarts of British television in the 1970s, though he also had extensive stage and screen experience going back to the 1940s. A Scot, he began his career playing small parts in a series of war films made by the Ealing Studios and others. Initially typecast as a weakling, Jackson gradually won recognition as a useful character actor, specializing in stern, well-mannered gents of the "stiff upper lip" variety, often lacking in a sense of humour. His rich Scottish accent, however, balanced this with a certain charm; it was this combination of sternness and warmth that characterized most of his roles on stage and screen.

During the 1950s, Jackson continued to develop his film career and was also busy in repertory theatre, making his debut on the London stage in the farce *Seagulls Over Sorrento* in 1951. Other acclaimed roles on the stage included an award-winning Horatio in Tony Richardson's production of *Hamlet* in 1969, Tesman in Ibsen's *Hedda Gabler*, and Malvolio in *Twelfth Night*. In the cinema he gradually moved from young soldiers and juvenile leads in the likes of *Millions Like Us* (1943), *Tunes of Glory* (1960), and *Whisky Galore* (1949) to major supporting parts in such films as *The Ipcress File* (1965), starring Michael Caine, and *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* (1969), which was adapted from the novel by Muriel Spark. By the 1960s, it was apparently automatic for Jackson's name to crop up whenever a genial, but crusty Scotsman was required, whether the production under discussion was a wartime epic or something more homely.

As a television star, Jackson really came into his own in 1971, when he made his first appearances in the role of Hudson, the endearingly pompous butler in the classic period-drama series *Upstairs, Downstairs*. Over the next five years, Jackson, as one of the central characters in this hugely popular series about Edwardian life, became a household name—a status formally acknowledged in 1975 when he won the Royal Television Society's Best Actor Award (followed later by his being made an Officer of the British Empire). As Hudson, a character the actor himself professed to dislike, Jackson was in turn supportive and dependable and dour and infuriating, not least through his old-fashioned attitudes to the other servants and any inclination they showed to forget their station.

Not altogether dissimilar in this regard was Jackson's other most famous television role, the outwardly contrasting

part of George "The Cow" Cowley in the action adventure series *The Professionals*, which was first seen in 1977. As Cowley, a former MI5 agent and now head of the specialist anti-terrorist unit CI5, Jackson combined a hard-bitten determination and impatience with his wayward operatives Bodie and Doyle (Lewis Collins and Martin Shaw) with genuine (if grudging) concern for their well-being when their lives were in danger. This too became favourite viewing for peaktime audiences in the 1970s, as much through the chemistry of the three main performers as through the somewhat formulaic car-chases and action sequences that were included. The series did have its critics—many people protested at the violence of many episodes (leading the producers to limit explosions to two per story) and others



Gordon Jackson

Photo courtesy of the British Film Institute

refused to accept that Jackson, still firmly associated in their minds with the stuffy Mr. Hudson, could ever be convincing as a tough anti-terrorist chief, notwithstanding his early experience in the Ealing war films.

Also worthy of note were Jackson's always reliable appearances in other classic television programmes, which ranged from *Doctor Finlay's Casebook* to the Australian-made *A Town Like Alice* and *Stars on Sunday* (as host).

—David Pickering

**GORDON CAMERON JACKSON.** Born in Glasgow, Scotland, 19 December 1923. Attended Hillhead High School, Glasgow. Married: Rona Anderson; children: Graham and Roddy. Engineering draughtsman and actor, BBC radio, Glasgow, from 1939; film debut, 1942; debut on London stage, 1951; subsequently specialized in Scottish character roles in films, television and on the stage; best known to television audiences for the series *Upstairs, Downstairs* and *The Professionals*. Officer of the Order of the British Empire, 1979. Recipient: Clarence Derwent Award, 1969; Royal Television Society Award, 1975; Emmy Award, 1976. Died 14 January 1990.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1971–74      *Upstairs, Downstairs*  
1977–83      *The Professionals*

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

1968      *The Soldier's Tale*  
1977      *Spectre*  
1979      *The Last Giraffe*  
1981      *A Town Like Alice*  
1986      *My Brother Tom*  
1987      *Noble House*

#### FILMS

*The Foreman Went to France*, 1942; *Nine Men*, 1943; *Milions Like Us*, 1943; *San Demetrio—London*, 1943; *Pink String and Sealing Wax*, 1945; *The Captive Heart*, 1946; *Against the Wind*, 1948; *Eureka Stockade*, 1948; *Floodtide*, 1949; *Stop Press Girl*, 1949; *Whisky Galore*, 1949; *Bitter Springs*, 1950; *Happy Go Lovely*, 1951; *Lady with a Lamp*,

1951; *Castle in the Air*, 1952; *Death Goes to School*, 1953; *Malta Story*, 1953; *Meet Mr Lucifer*, 1953; *The Love Lottery*, 1954; *The Delavine Affair*, 1954; *Passage Home*, 1955; *Windfall*, 1955; *The Quatermass Experiment*, 1955; *Pacific Destiny*, 1956; *Women Without Men*, 1956; *The Baby and the Battleship*, 1956; *Sailor Beware*, 1956; *Seven Waves Away*, 1957; *Let's Be Happy*, 1957; *Hell Drivers*, 1957; *The Black Ice*, 1957; *Man in the Shadow*, 1957; *Scotland Dances* (voice only), 1958; *Blind Spot*, 1958; *Rockets Galore*, 1958; *Three Crooked Men*, 1958; *Yesterday's Enemy*, 1959; *The Bridal Path*, 1959; *Blind Date*, 1959; *The Navy Lark*, 1959; *Devil's Bait*, 1959; *The Price of Silence*, 1960; *Cone of Silence*, 1960; *Snowball*, 1960; *Tunes of Glory*, 1960; *Greyfriars Bobby*, 1961; *Two Wives at One Wedding*, 1961; *Mutiny on the Bounty*, 1962; *The Great Escape*, 1963; *The Long Ships*, 1964; *Daylight Robbery*, 1964; *Those Magnificent Men in Their Flying Machines*, 1965; *The Ipcress File*, 1965; *Operation Crossbow*, 1965; *Cast a Giant Shadow*, 1966; *Fighting Prince of Donegal*, 1966; *Night of the Generals*, 1966; *Triple Cross*, 1967; *Danger Route*, 1967; *Three to a Cell*, 1967; *Casting the Runes*, 1967; *Talk in Craig*, 1968; *The Eliminator*, 1968; *Negatives*, 1968; *On the Run*, 1969; *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*, 1969; *Run Wild Run Free*, 1969; *Wind v Polygamy*, 1969; *Hamlet*, 1970; *Scrooge*, 1970; *The Music Lovers*, 1970; *Singing Sands*, 1970; *Rain*, 1970; *Allergy*, 1970; *Dickens Centenary*, 1971; *Kidnapped*, 1971; *The Befrienders*, 1971; *Budgie*, 1971; *The Man from Haven*, 1972; *Madame Sin*, 1972; *Square of Three*, 1973; *Places Where They Sing*, 1973; *Places in History*, 1974; *J. M. Barrie Lived Here*, 1975; *Russian Roulette*, 1975; *The Treasure*, 1976; *Supernatural*, 1977; *The Golden Rendezvous*, 1977; *The Medusa Touch*, 1978; *Captain Beaky*, 1980; *Father's Day*, 1982; *Strange But True*, 1983; *The Shooting Party*, 1984; *Shaku Zulu*, 1985; *The Masks of Death*, 1985; *The Whistle Blower*, 1986; *Gunpowder*, 1987.

#### STAGE (selection)

*Seagulls Over Sorrento*, 1951; *Moby Dick*, 1955; *Hamlet*, 1969; *Macbeth*; *Hedda Gabler*; *What Every Woman Knows*; *Noah*; *Twelfth Night*; *Cards on the Table*; *Mass Appeal*.

See also *Upstairs, Downstairs*

## JAFFREY, MADHUR

British Actor/Television Personality/Cookery Host

**M**adhur Jaffrey, born in India, has had a remarkably varied career encompassing acting, directing, and writing. In Britain, it is for her role as a presenter of television cookery programmes that she is most highly renowned and respected.

Professionally, Jaffrey has worked largely in cinema with prominent roles in films such as the Merchant Ivory Production, *Shakespeare Wallah* (1965), for which she was

awarded a prize at Venice, and *The Assam Garden* (1985). Her most prolific role as an actor in recent British television has been the drama series, *Firm Friends* (ITV, 1992 and 1994). Jaffrey plays Jayshree Kapur, cleaning lady turned business partner to white, middle-class Rose (Billie Whitelaw), in a show that is unusual in representing a racially-mixed society without treating this as an issue. While many of the productions Jaffrey has performed in draw on

her cultural background, *Firm Friends* is also involved in unashamedly drawing on her culinary image—the business Jayshree initiate: is selling cooked foods.

Madhur Jaffrey as an actor has not surpassed her popularity as a food presenter. Jaffrey's route into presenting BBC food shows was less than orthodox. While a drama student at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts in London, she wrote to her mother begging her to send simple recipes. In India, her mother obliged, and thus Jaffrey learnt to cook by correspondence, although this was never intended as a career move. She was drawn into cooking as a business, after friends implored her to write a cookery book. Her immense success and appeal may be attributed to her flamboyant yet sensitive style of presentation and the way she has revolutionised and demystified Indian cooking—a cuisine particularly favoured by the British. By introducing authentic Indian cuisine to the British kitchen, Jaffrey radically altered the way British people cook, eat, and think about Indian food. Indeed it is fair to suggest that the ready availability of oriental spices and other Indian ingredients in British supermarkets is a direct result of Jaffrey's television programmes.

The inspirational presentation of food in the three BBC series—*Madhur Jaffrey's Indian Cookery* (1982); *Madhur Jaffrey's Far Eastern Cookery* (1989); and *Madhur Jaffrey's Flavours of India* (1995)—is equaled by the warmth and charm of its presenter. While her shows have been educational from a culinary perspective, they have also proved influential within television culture, as Jaffrey sought to contextualise the cookery by presenting it in the appropriate geographical location. In liberating cookery from the studio-bound format, these shows not only offer the viewing pleasures of a travel show, but also work to redefine popular perceptions of Eastern cultures. Jaffrey focuses on the recipes and their ingredients by presenting a variety of people—mainly cooks, professional and otherwise—and by exploring a wealth of market-places, local lifestyles and regional religions.

The gastronomic travelogue format may no longer be considered revolutionary, as it has developed into a television standard, but Jaffrey remains a guru of British culinary television. Her series are particularly noteworthy for their stylish and sophisticated production values and their attention to detail—for example, Madhur dresses to reflect the cultural background of specific recipes. The greatest appeal of her cookery shows lies in her vibrant approach and personality, with which she has spiced up British television. Madhur Jaffrey has argued that she sees no conflict in her professional double life, as she treats the presentation of food as a performance equal to any acting role.

—Nicola Foster



Madhur Jaffrey

Photo courtesy of the British Film Institute

MADHUR JAFFREY. Born in Delhi, India. Attended local schools in Delhi; Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, London. Settled in England to train as a drama student; subsequently appeared in numerous stage and film productions before establishing reputation as leading authority on Indian food, presenting her own cookery programmes on television and writing best-selling cookery books.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1982	<i>Madhur Jaffrey's Indian Cookery</i>
1989	<i>Madhur Jaffrey's Far Eastern Cookery</i>
1992, 1994	<i>Firm Friends</i>
1995	<i>Madhur Jaffrey's Flavours of India</i>

#### FILMS (selection)

*Shakespeare Wallah*, 1965; *Autobiography of a Princess*, 1975; *The Assam Garden*, 1985.

#### PUBLICATIONS (selection)

*Madhur Jaffrey's World-of-the-East Vegetarian Cooking*. New York: Knopf, 1981.  
*Madhur Jaffrey's Indian Cookery*. London: BBC Publications, 1982.  
*Madhur Jaffrey's a Taste of the Far East*. New York: Carol Southern, 1993.

## JAFFREY, SAEED

### Indian Actor

Saeed Jaffrey is one of Britain's best known and most experienced actors, playing a wide variety of roles in comedy and drama with equal enthusiasm. He started his performing career in India, setting up his own English theatre company in Delhi after completing his post-graduate degree in history. His early theatrical work included roles in productions of Tennessee Williams, Fry, Priestly, Wilde, and Shakespeare. Having completed his studies at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art in London, he went to the United States on a Fulbright scholarship and took a second post-graduate degree in drama from the Catholic University in America. From these firm foundations Jaffrey set out as the first Indian actor to tour Shakespeare, taking his company across the United States and subsequently joining the Actor's Studio in New York, where he played the lead in off-Broadway productions of Lorca's *Blood Wedding*, *Rashomon*, and *Twelfth Night*. Jaffrey is an accomplished stage actor and has appeared on Broadway and at London's West End in a diverse range of characterisations.

His work in television has been just as varied. He appeared as Jimmy Sharma in Channel 4's first "Asian" comedy, *Tandoori Nights* and as the elegiac Nawah in Granada Television's adaptation of *The Jewel in the Crown*. It was arguably his performance as the smooth Rafiq in the BBC cult-classic *Gangsters* that brought him to national recognition, even though he had been acting in both theatre and television for several years previously.

In some ways, Jaffrey's character types have been broadly similar and, like Clint Eastwood, he always plays himself playing a character. His impeccable English accent, his dapper style and his catch-phrases—"My dear boy"—are part of his acting persona. His smooth charm is used to good effect whether he plays the archetypal oily, corrupt Asian businessman or the kindly, knowing father figure. In 1994 he co-starred with Norman Beaton in Michael Abbensett's new TV series, *Little Napoleons*, for Channel 4, playing once again a successful lawyer—cashmere coats, flashy car, doting daughter—who wants political as well as economic power.

Jaffrey's career has spanned several decades and it is still unfortunately the case that he is one of a handful of Indian actors who is regularly in employment, be it for radio, television, or the stage. Although this is good news for him, his prodigious success and his ability to talk the right language means that he is a hard act to follow for younger talent trying to penetrate a hard-faced industry.

—Karen Ross

SAEED JAFFREY. Born in Maler Kotla, India, 1929. Attended the University of Allahabad, M.A. in history; Staff Training Institute, All India Radio; Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, 1956; Catholic University, Washington, D.C., 1956–57, M.A. in drama; Actors' Studio, New York. Married: Madhur (divorced); three children. Radio director, All India Radio, 1951–56; began stage career in India as founder, Unity Theatre, New



Saeed Jaffrey  
Photo courtesy of Saeed Jaffrey

Delhi, 1951–56, as actor, 1954; performed with his own company in U.S. tour of Shakespeare, 1957; various stage performances and tours, 1960s; director of publicity and advertising, Government of India Tourist Office, U.S., 1958–60; began U.S. television career with guest appearances, 1960s; began film career in *The Guru*, 1969, numerous film performances, including roles in *Gandhi*, 1982, *A Passage to India*, 1984, and *My Beautiful Laundrette*, 1986. Member: Actors' Equity Association; Screen Actors Guild; American Federation of Television and Radio Artists.

### TELEVISION

1975–76	<i>Gangsters</i>
1985	<i>Tandoori Nights</i>
1994	<i>Little Napoleons</i>

### TELEVISION MINISERIES

1984	<i>The Far Pavilions</i>
1984	<i>The Jewel in the Crown</i>

### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

1979	<i>The Last Giraffe</i>
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## FILMS

*The Guru*, 1969; *The Horsemen*, 1971; *The Man Who Would Be King*, 1975; *The Wilby Conspiracy*, 1975; *The Chess Players*, 1977; *Hullabaloo Over Georgie and Bonnie's Pictures*, 1979; *Sphinx*, 1981; *Gandhi*, 1982; *The Courtesans of Bombay* (documentary), 1982; *Pandit Nehru* (narrator), 1982; *Masoom*, 1983; *A Passage to India*, 1984; *The Razor's Edge*, 1984; *My Beautiful Laundrette*, 1986; *The Deceivers*, 1988; *Just Ask for Diamond*, 1988; *Partition*, 1988; *Manika*, 1988; *Dil*, 1990; *Masala*, 1991; *Bollywood*, 1994; *Kartavya*, 1995.

## JAMES, SID

## British Comedian

Sid James established himself as a nationally recognised figure in British broadcasting in a groundbreaking radio comedy, *Hancock's Half Hour* in the mid-1950s. But James was a ubiquitous supporting role actor. Appearing in over 150 features during his career, he was best known as a regular character in some of the "Carry On" comedy films (1958-80). He acted in numerous stage comedies and starred in several television series. With the situation comedy, *Bless This House* (ITV, 1971-76), James secured his status as one of the most enduring figures of post-war British popular culture. Clever exploitation of a naturally heavily lined face to produce a variety of put upon expressions endeared him to "Carry On" and television audiences alike. His "dirty" cackle of a laugh embodied a vein of "kiss-me-quick" bawdiness that runs deep in English humour.

Christened Sidney Joel Cohen, Sid James was a South-African-born Jew whose parents worked in the music hall business. James had joined a South African regiment of the British Army in 1939 and soon became a producer in its entertainment unit. As such he was typical of a generation of British performers and writers who learned their trade while in the armed forces. After the service, James arrived in London on Christmas Day 1946 looking to make a start in acting. He landed his first film role nine days later. His grizzled face led to typecasting as minor gangsters in his early film appearances. His career success came when he transformed himself into a quintessential Londoner, an ordinary bloke, who drew sympathy from his audience despite playing a rascal in many of his roles.

His television credits include some dozen plays (including some drama) and several series. He made his television debut in 1948 in a two-part BBC drama *Kid Flanagan* as Sharkey Morrison and played the lead role of Billy Johnson in *The Front Page* (BBC) later the same year. In 1949, he played an American film director in a 30-minute play called *Family Affairs* (BBC). After significant supporting roles in films such as *The Lavender Hill Mob* (1951) and *The Titchfield Thunderbolt* (1952), his repertoire began to develop, from gangsters, into characters who lived just this side

## STAGE

*Othello*, *The Firstborn*, *A Phoenix Too Frequent*, *Under Milk Wood*, *Auto-Da-Fe*, *The Importance of Being Earnest*, *The Cocktail Party*, and *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (All With Repertory Company, Unity Theatre, New Delhi, India 1951-56); *The Eagle Has Two Heads*, 1954; *Blood Wedding*, 1958; *Twelfth Night*, 1960; *King of the Dark Chamber*, 1961; *India: A Dancer's Pilgrimage*, 1961; *A Passage to India*, 1962; *A Tenth of an Inch Makes the Difference*, 1962; *Nathan Weinstein, Mystic, Connecticut*, 1966; *Captain Brassbound's Conversion*, 1971.

of the law in the austere conditions of 1950s Britain. Although he was best known for his comic roles, James rarely turned down dramatic work. His next television appearance was in *Another Part of the Forest* (BBC, 1954), one of an acclaimed *20th Century Theatre* series.



Sid James

Photo courtesy of the British Film Institute

Spotted by two scriptwriters, Ray Galton and Alan Simpson, James was cast as Tony Hancock's housemate in the BBC radio comedy *Hancock's Half Hour*. His ability as an actor to play off a lead was recognised by Hancock. When the show switched to television, Hancock insisted that all his supporting actors from the radio version be dropped except James. The 30-minute television show (1956-60), represented a defining moment in British situation comedy. The show developed huge audiences; BBC audience research estimates that 28% of the population watched at its peak. During this four-year period, James appeared as a pirate (Shanty Jack) in *The Buccaneers* (BBC, 1957) and played a character from the shadier side of London's Jewish community in a six-part series for ITV called *East End, West End* (1958). James' dependency on the Hancock connection was broken at the start of the 1960s when he began to appear in a highly successful series of *Carry On* films (*Carry on Constable* was his first in 1960). These quickly-made film farces provided regular, almost annual income for its troupe of actors. James became one of the best-loved stars, appearing in almost twenty films, usually playing a henpecked husband desperate for extramarital sex with younger women.

He never worked with Hancock again, but he was immediately contracted by the BBC to star in a Galton and Simpson-scripted series called *Citizen James* (1960-62). In a series called *It's a Deal* (BBC, 1961), he played a working-class property dealer whose business partner was a Mayfair playboy (Dennis Price). Mismatched in class, the two characters were essentially similar rogues underneath who found themselves reluctantly dependent on one another. Throughout the 1960s, James' television work was based on characters and plots that employed variations on this theme. In *Taxi!* (BBC, 1963-64) he played a London cabbie who gets involved in the day to day problems of his fares and his fellow drivers. The twelve, 50-minute episodes were an uneven mix of drama and comedy that did not prove successful in the audience ratings. In *George and the Dragon* (ITV 1966-68), James played a chauffeur (George) to John Le Mesurier (Colonel Maynard). Both men are dominated by the overbearing housekeeper character (the Dragon), played by Peggy Mount. The comedy came from James' challenge to her control of their social superior and employer. In *Two in Clover* (ITV, 1969-70) James played alongside Victor Spinetti in a series whose comic situation derived from transplanting a mismatched pair from the city to the country.

With *Bless this House* James secured his position as a television sitcom actor of national acclaim. It also signaled a change in emphasis from his early film and "Carry On" types to one that suited his maturing years. He played Sid Abbott, a long-suffering father-husband, to his wife, Jean (Diana Coupland) and their two children, Mike and Kate. The key to his success was his ability to deliver lines for comic effect and react to those around him. His lined face testified to a lot of laughter. While his characters typically gave in to their fate, his distinctive dirty cackle erased any lingering pathos.

James died suddenly in 1976 on stage in a comedy called *The Mating Game* after the prerecorded *Bless this House* series had just completed its run.

—Lance Pettitt

**SIDNEY JAMES.** Born in Johannesburg, South Africa, 8 May 1913. Attended schools in Johannesburg. Married: 1) Meg Williams; one daughter; 2) Valerie Ashton; one son and one daughter. Served in anti-tank regiment in Middle East during World War II. Worked as coal heaver, stevedore, diamond polisher, and professional boxer, South Africa, before World War II; gained first stage experience with wartime entertainment unit; settled in the United Kingdom, 1946, and entered repertory theater and films, playing character roles; with comedian Tony Hancock on radio and television, late 1950s; starred in 18 *Carry On* films; towards the end of his career appeared on television in situation comedies. Recipient: *TV Times* Funniest Man on Television Award, 1974. Died 26 April 1976.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1956-60	<i>Hancock's Half Hour</i>
1958	<i>East End, West End</i>
1960-62	<i>Citizen James</i>
1961	<i>It's a Deal</i>
1963-64	<i>Taxi</i>
1966-68	<i>George and the Dragon</i>
1969-70	<i>Two in Clover</i>
1971-76	<i>Bless this House</i>

#### TELEVISION PLAYS

1948	<i>Kid Flanagan</i>
1948	<i>The Front Page</i>
1949	<i>Family Affairs</i>
1954	<i>Another Part of the Forest</i>
1958	<i>The Buccaneers</i>

#### FILMS

*Black Memory*, 1947; *The October Man*, 1947; *It Always Rains on Sunday*, 1947; *No Orchids for Miss Blandish*, 1948; *Night Beat*, 1948; *Once a Jolly Swagman! Maniacs on Wheels*, 1948; *The Small Back Room*, 1948; *Paper Orchid*, 1949; *The Man in Black*, 1949; *Give Us This Day! Salt to the Devil*, 1949; *Last Holiday*, 1950; *The Lady Craved Excitement*, 1950; *Talk of a Million! You Can't Beat the Irish*, 1951; *Lady Godiva Rides Again*, 1951; *The Lavender Hill Mob*, 1951; *The Magic Box*, 1951; *The Galloping Major*, 1951; *I Believe in You*, 1952; *Emergency Call! Hundred Hour Hunt*, 1952; *Gift Horse! Glory at Sea*, 1952; *Cosh Boy! The Slasher*, 1952; *Miss Robin Hood*, 1952; *Time Gentlemen Please!*, 1952; *Father's Doing Fine*, 1952; *Venetian Bird! The Assassin*, 1952; *Tall Headlines*, 1952; *The Yellow Balloon*, 1952; *The Tischfield Thunderbolt*, 1952; *The Wedding of Lili Marlene*, 1953; *Escape By Night*, 1953; *The Square Ring*, 1953; *Will Any Gentleman...?*, 1953; *The Weak and the Wicked! Young and Willing*, 1953; *Park Plaza 605! Norman Conquest*, 1953; *The Flanagan Boy! Bad Blonde*, 1953; *Is Your Honeymoon Really Necessary?*, 1953; *The Rain-*

*bow Jacket*, 1954; *The House Across the Lake Heatwave*, 1954; *Seagulls Over Sorrento Crest of the Wave*, 1954; *The Crowded Day*, 1954; *Orders Are Orders*, 1954; *Aunt Clara*, 1954; *For Better, For Worse Cocktails in the Kitchen*, 1954; *The Belles of St. Trinian's*, 1954; *Out of the Clouds*, 1955; *Joe Macbeth*, 1955; *The Deep Blue Sea*, 1955; *A Kid for Two Farthings*, 1955; *The Glass Caged The Glass Tomb*, 1955; *A Yank in Ermine*, 1955; *It's a Great Day*, 1955; *John and Julie*, 1955; *Ramsbottom Rides Again*, 1956; *The Extra Day*, 1956; *Wicked As They Come*, 1956; *The Iron Petticoat*, 1956; *Dry Rot*, 1956; *Trapeze*, 1956; *Quatermass III Enemy from Space*, 1957; *Interpoll Pickup Alley*, 1957; *The Smallest Show on Earth*, 1957; *The Shiralee*, 1957; *Hell Drivers*, 1957; *Campbell's Kingdom*, 1957; *A King in New York*, 1957; *The Story of Esther Costello The Golden Virgin*, 1957; *The Silent Enemy*, 1958; *Another Time, Another Place*, 1958; *Next to No Time!*, 1958; *The Man Inside*, 1958; *I Was Monty's Double Monty's Double*, 1958; *The Sheriff of Fractured Jaw*, 1958; *Too Many Crooks*, 1959; *Make Mine a Million*, 1959; *The 39 Steps*, 1959; *Upstairs and Downstairs*, 1959; *Tommy the Toreador*, 1959; *Desert Mice*, 1959; *Idle on Parade Idol on Parade*, 1959; *Carry On Constable*, 1960; *Watch Your Stern*, 1960; *And the Same to You*, 1960; *The Pure Hell of St. Trinian's*, 1960; *Double Bunk*, 1961; *A Weekend with Lulu*, 1961; *The Green Helmet*, 1961; *What a Carve Up! No Place Like Homicide*, 1961; *Raising the Wind Roommates*, 1961; *What a Whopper!*, 1961; *Carry On Regardless*, 1961;

*Carry On Cruising*, 1962; *We Joined the Navy*, 1962; *Carry On Cabby*, 1963; *The Beauty Jungle Contest Girl*, 1964; *Carry On Cleo*, 1964; *Three Hats for Lisa*, 1964; *The Big Job*, 1965; *Carry On Cowboy*, 1965; *Where the Bullets Fly*, 1966; *Don't Lose Your Head*, 1966; *Carry On Doctor*, 1967; *Carry On Up the Khyber*, 1968; *Carry On Again, Doctor*, 1969; *Carry On Camping*, 1969; *Carry On Up the Jungle*, 1969; *Carry On Loving*, 1970; *Carry On Henry*, 1970; *Carry On at Your Convenience*, 1971; *Tokoloshe, the Evil Spirit*, 1971; *Carry On Matron*, 1972; *Bless This House*, 1972; *Carry On Abroad*, 1972; *Carry On Girls*, 1973; *Carry On Dick*, 1974.

#### RADIO

*Hancock's Half Hour*, 1954-59; *Educating Archie*.

#### STAGE (selection)

*Kiss Me Kate*, 1951.

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See also *Hancock's Half Hour*

## JAPAN

Japan's first experimental television broadcast was made by scientists in 1939, but the Pacific War shut down research on television, and interest did not re-emerge until the early 1950s, when two stations, NHK (Nippon Hoso Kyokai) and NTV (Nippon Television) began broadcasting. While the cost of television receivers remained high in the 1950s, NTV decided to increase the total number of viewers by placing TV sets in public places; railway stations, street corners, and plazas. Restaurants, barber shops, and bars began to do the same. Television thus gained popularity rapidly in Japan, and the "plaza TV" phenomenon continues to be a prominent feature of downtown landscapes. Imported American programming formed a large part of Japanese broadcasting in the late 1950s and early 1960s, but by 1965 networks began to develop their own programming. By 1981, Japan imported less than 5% of programming annually, 90% of which was from the United States. Virtually 100% of households in Japan own at least one television, and according to recent reports from NHK, at least one set per house hold is turned on for 7 to 8 hours each day.

Japanese television broadcasting consists of two systems: commercial and public. The public broadcasting system, NHK, began as Japan's first radio network in 1926, as part of the pre-war government's efforts to control and

control the fledgling efforts of radio. Following the war, the Occupation authorities (SCAP) issued three post-war directives aimed at decreasing government control over broadcasting: the Radio Law, the Broadcast Law, and the Radio Regulatory Commission Law. These directives continue to form the basis for all regulation of broadcasting in Japan. As a result of the rulings, NHK is legally independent from the government and is funded chiefly by mandatory consumer fees. NHK is divided into two networks, one of which, NHK Sogo, broadcasts news, cultural and entertainment programs. The second network, NHK Kyoiku, broadcasts chiefly educational programs. NHK is justly famous for the quality of its newscasting and historical dramas, and for its role in publicizing and promoting traditional Japanese culture and arts. The service often makes special efforts to broadcast bilingual versions of its programming that can be listened to in either Japanese or English.

Commercial stations are supervised by the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, which reviews licensee stations every three years. Four nationwide commercial networks, each developing most of its own programming, are anchored by key stations based in Tokyo. Fuji Television (Fuji TV), Tokyo Broadcasting System (TBS), Asahi News Network (TV Asahi), and Nippon Television (NTV) are key stations; a fifth broadcasting station (TV Tokyo) also sends programming to several



stations around the country, but is not considered a major station. The most popular network of the mid-1990s is Fuji TV, which in 1992 had three of the top ten dramas, seven of the top ten quiz and variety programs, and six of the top ten animated programs, all in prime time.

Chief among successful types of programming on stations supported by advertising is the "wide show," a melange of reporting on true-life scandal, crime, celebrity gossip, and tragedy broadcast daily in the mornings and afternoons on each of the four major networks. Other types of programming include variety spectacles (often centered around holidays and special seasonal occasions), game/quiz shows, news and information, comedy shows, dramas of various types (chiefly samurai period pieces, domestic dramas, and modern love stories), children's shows (including cartoons), sports programming, and documentaries. Although panel talk shows of various sorts have been popular for many years, open discussion of controversial news topics has only very recently begun to appear on television, following the electoral overturn of the ruling party (LDP) in 1992.

Commercials are one of Japanese television's most interesting features: well-produced, creative, daring, and increasingly shorter in length. In a nation with very little corporate or government sponsorship of the fine arts, Japan's young art students tend overwhelmingly to enter giant advertising firms such as Dentsu and Hakuhodo, which together control approximately 80% of all advertising in Japan. It has been claimed that television commercials are the only Japanese art form flourishing in the late 20th century.

Another interesting aspect of Japanese television is its emphasis on seasonality and culturally appropriate festivals and activities. Traditional Japanese culture places great importance on the transitions between seasons, and adherence to the appropriate sets of colors, foods, greetings, and customs remains a subtly important ritual feature of daily life in schools, restaurants, department stores and businesses. Television also adjusts to the changing of the seasons in its own fashion; commercials tend to depict primarily seasonally appropriate activities, clothing and food, while annual holidays and festivals are the occasion for local and national televised events and coverage. The New Year, in particular (celebrated on 1 January according to the Western rather than the Chinese system), is the occasion for a three-day televisual marathon of special events, including the famous Red vs. White singing contest, which pits popular male and female singing stars from a variety of genres against each other. This popular event is watched by approximately 70% of the nation each year, according to annual newspaper reports.

An additional feature of Japanese television that may enhance the overall effect of seasonal time flow within the televisual world is its general avoidance of syndicated reruns of popular programs. While some rerunning of programs (particularly older period dramas) does exist during daytime hours, in general, production costs are kept relatively low in order to produce a high volume of television programming meant for one-time viewing. The most popular twelve-part

dramas, such as *Hyaku-I-Kaimai-no-Puopozu* (The One-Hundred-and-First Marriage Proposal), *Tokyo Love Story*, and *New York Monogatari* (New York Stories), are occasionally made available for video rentals, but will only be aired again as vignettes in retrospectives on the works of a particular actor or time period. This may be in part because of the centrality of the element of suspense to the narratives of these dramas, as in soap operas.

Another factor may be the relatively short half-life of young Japanese stars who tend to feature in these dramas. The enormous and efficient Japanese star system maintains close ties with the music industry. These stars (known as *talento*) also appear frequently on talk shows, quiz shows, comedy, variety and game shows. It is often uncharitably suggested that *talento* are in fact generally talentless, and owe their success to attractive appearance and clever marketing; nevertheless, some few stars do manage to keep their appeal over a considerable length of time. But the generally rapid turnover in the star population in Japan may preclude the possibility of rerunning many shows that feature *talento*, as last year's star adds little appeal to any type of programming.

While *talento* may be famous, however, part of their appeal for some lies in their "ordinariness," and their normal behavior. As Andrew Painter and others have noted, the appeal of many programs seems to stem from the creation of a world of "quasi-intimacy," an in-group composed of hosts, guests, technical crew and studio audience that may be accessed simply by switching on the television. The use of informal language directed to one another and to the camera, openly enthusiastic participation in conversation and activities, and even some self-ridicule by the hosts of programs and by the *talento* themselves may work to provide a respite from the highly formal and structured day-to-day social interactions of most Japanese. Other elements that add to this sense of intimacy are frequent on-camera in-jokes referring to writers and producers and crew members of the show, and very occasional breaking of the camera's illusion of a "fourth wall," (i.e. comments made to crew technicians, audience members and home viewers by those who are onstage).

Violence, sex, and scatology play significant roles in much of Japanese television. The day-time "wide shows" focus much of their attention on scandalous sex relations and violent or anti-social acts performed by both celebrities and ordinary Japanese, hinting suggestively at their existence when proof cannot be produced. Cartoons for children often feature references to, or jokes about, sex and scatology. A 1980s cartoon was entitled *Machiko Maitchingu-Sensei* (Machiko, the Giving-in Teacher), about a voluptuously-drawn elementary-school teacher who every week would be groped and fondled by her male students. A current example is the animated cartoon *Crayon-Shin-chan* that features a kindergarten boy whose main interest is adult women, although the version produced for television is considerably toned down from the comic version. Samurai dramas feature sword fights and occasionally some authentic traditional

tortures, while the recently popular genre of police dramas such as *Abunai Dekka*, and *Motto Abunai Dekka* (Dangerous Cops, and More Dangerous Cops) includes abundant gun and fist fights.

Predictions on the future of Japan's televisual technology are cautiously optimistic, but Bruce Stronach points out in his introduction to Japanese television in the *Handbook of Japanese Popular Culture* that several cultural factors have combined to slow down the introduction of new technologies and types of programming in Japan. These factors include the conservative nature of Japanese society and bureaucracy, and internecine struggles between the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry over regulation and control of new media. Cable television had made few in-roads by 1994. But despite setbacks in the late 1980s, efforts continue toward developing HDTV technology, as well as making satellite dishes affordable to a majority of consumers. One satellite cable system, WOWOW, began broadcasting regularly in 1990, offering one channel of chiefly movies and sports for a monthly fee.

—Jeanette Fox

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## JASON, DAVID

### British Actor

David Jason's career can be viewed in many respects as that of the archetypal modern television actor in Britain. Although he made forays into the theatre in the 1970s and 1980s, and made occasional appearances on film, these fade into relative insignificance when compared to the steady stream of eye-catching and increasingly high-profile roles he created for television. As a result, his acting persona is circumscribed by the televisual medium. Nevertheless, such exposure, while making him a British "household name," did not make him into a celebrity, for Jason largely eschewed the paraphernalia of television fame.

Jason's histrionic instincts are basically comic, and the majority of his roles have been in the situation comedy format. His earliest major television role was an elderly professor doing battle against the evil Mrs. Black and her gadgets in the surreal *Do Not Adjust Your Set* (1967), a comedy show whose ideas and personnel later fed into

*Monty Python's Flying Circus*. But Jason first achieved note through his association with comic actor-writer Ronnie Barker, by supporting performances in the prison comedy *Porridge* and corner-shop comedy *Open All Hours*, both starring Barker. In the former, Jason played the dour wife-murderer Blanco; in the latter, and to great effect, he acted the boyish, downtrodden delivery-man and assistant to Barker's parsimonious storekeeper. *Open All Hours* cast Jason as a kind of embryonic hero-in-waiting, constantly dreaming of ways of escaping the provincial narrowness and boredom of his north-country life. The role provided the actor with an opportunity to develop his acting trademark—a scrupulous and detailed portrayal of protean ordinariness, sometimes straining against a desire to be something else.

A later series, *The Top Secret Life of Edgar Briggs*, toyed with this sense of ordinariness by having Jason as a Secret Service agent ineptly trying to combine his covert profession

with suburban home life. But Jason's greatest success has been with several series of the comedy *Only Fools and Horses*, in which he played Del Trotter, the small-time, tax-evading "entrepreneur" salesman, living and working in the working-class council estates and street markets of inner-city London. Deftly written by John Sullivan—the series is regarded by some as a model for this kind of sitcom writing—the series cast Jason in a domestic situation in which he is quasi-head of an all-male family, responsible for both his younger brother and an elderly uncle. In the role, Jason cleverly trod a path between pathos and the quick-wittedness necessary to someone operating on the borderlines of legality. The character was, in many respects, a parody of the Thatcherite working-class self-motivator, complete with many of the tacky and vulgar accoutrements and aspirations of the (not-quite-yet) *nouveau-riche*. At the local pub, while others order pints of beer, Del seeks to distinguish himself from his milieu by drinking elaborate and luridly coloured cocktails. The undertone, though, is salt-of-the-earth humanity and selflessness, called out in his paternal role to his younger brother, who eventually leaves the communal flat to pursue a life of marriage and a proper career. Jason's character is hemmed in by both the essential poverty of his situation but also by a deep-rooted sense of responsibility: though the plots of the individual episodes invariably revolve around one or either of Del's minor get-rich-quick or get-something-for-nothing schemes, the failure of these ventures often owes much to the character's inability to be sufficiently ruthless. Jason's skill was to interweave the opposing forces of selflessness and selfishness, working-class background and pseudo-middle-class tastes, brotherly condescension and "paternal" devotion into a successful balance. The character Del, exuding a deeper humanity as expressed in his ability to imbue the everyday with a well-judged emotional resonance and believability, ultimately embodied a rejection of aggressive materialism.

Since *Only Fools and Horses* Jason made moves away from overtly comic vehicles, pursuing variations on this rootedness in the everyday. In the adaptation of the Frederick Raphael satire on Cambridge University life, *Porterhouse Blue*, he played the sternly traditional porter Scullion, the acutely status-conscious servant of the college, dismayed by the liberalising tendencies of the new master, and making determined efforts to put the clock back. In *The Darling Buds of May*, his other great ratings success, he took the role of Pa ("Pop") Larkin, in these adaptations of the rural short stories of H.E. Bates. Such roles allowed him to develop the range and craftsmanship of his character performances.

Jason's most recent television venture has taken him out of comedy altogether into the crime genre, as the eponymous Inspector Frost in *A Touch of Frost*. In this series, Jason's Frost is a disgruntled, middle-aged, loner detective, whose fractious, down-to-earth nature has not entirely endeared him to his superiors and therefore—we infer—has hindered his career prospects. In such respects the series is in the mould of the immensely successful adaptations of Colin

Dexter's *Inspector Morse* novels. But whereas Morse's cantankerousness, as played by John Thaw, was epitomised by a certain snobbishness—his love of classical music, his vintage car, his instinctive aloofness—in the Oxford environment of *Dreaming Spires*, Frost's gradually unfolding history reveals a lower middle-class resentfulness of those with money, fortune, and easily gained happiness. His own life has—as we find out gradually—rendered him increasingly a victim of misfortune (his wife has died, his house has burned down). While *Morse*, in effect, creates a world of evil-doing amid soft-toned college greens, country pubs, and semi-rural Englishness, the Frost series is nearer to the subgenre of the detective soaps, its principal character a distinctly unglamorous malcontent, whose ideas and experience are entirely provincial and suburban. This was perhaps Jason's greatest acting challenge, for it largely denies him the "punctuation" of comic acting, the rhythm of regular comic pay-offs in any length of dialogue or action, instead demanding a slow building, a gradual revelation of character, as each long episode augments the previous. The first several episodes suggested an increasing sureness of touch in this respect by Jason.

—Mark Hawkins-Dady

DAVID JASON. Born David White in Edmonton, London, England, 2 February 1940. Attended schools in London.



David Jason (right) with Nicholas Lyndhurst  
Photo courtesy of the British Film Institute

Gained early stage experience as an amateur while working as an electrician before entering repertory theater; entered television through *Crossroads* and children's comedy programme, *Do Not Adjust Your Set*, 1967; popular television comedy star. Officer of the Order of the British Empire, 1993. Recipient: BBC Television Personality of the Year, 1984; British Academy of Film and Television Arts Best Actor Award, 1988. Address: Richard Stone Partnership, 25 Whitehall, London SW1A 2BS, England.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1967	<i>Crossroads</i>
1967	<i>Do Not Adjust Your Set</i>
1968	<i>Two Ds and a Dog</i>
1969–70	<i>Hark at Barker</i>
1969–70	<i>His Lordship Entertains</i>
1969–70	<i>Six Dates with Barker</i>
1969–70	<i>Doctor in the House</i>
1971	<i>Doctor at Large</i>
1973–74	<i>The Top Secret Life of Edgar Briggs</i>
1974	<i>Doctor at Sea</i>
1974	<i>Mr. Stabbs</i>
1974–77	<i>Porridge</i>
1975	<i>Lucky Feller</i>
1976, 1981–82,	
1985	<i>Open All Hours</i>

## THE JEFFERSONS

### U.S. Domestic Comedy

**T**he *Jeffersons*, which appeared on CBS television from 1975 to 1985, focused on the lives of a nouveau riche African-American couple, George and Louise Jefferson. George Jefferson was a successful businessman, millionaire and owner of seven dry cleaning stores. He lived with his wife in a ritzy penthouse apartment on Manhattan's fashionable and moneyed East Side. "We're movin' on up!" intoned the musical theme of the show opener that featured George, Louise and a moving van in front of "their de-luxe apartment in the sky."

The program was conceived by independent producers, Norman Lear and Bud Yorkin. This team's creation of highly successful and often controversial sitcoms during the 1970s and early 1980s helped to change television history. Programs such as *Maude*, *Sanford and Son*, and *Good Times* enjoyed frequent rankings amongst the top-ten most watched programs.

*The Jeffersons* was a spin-off of one of 1970s television's most notable television sitcoms, *All in the Family*. In 1973, Lear cast Sherman Hemsley in the role of George Jefferson, Archie Bunker's irascible and upwardly mobile black neighbor. This character was such a hit with viewers that Hemsley was soon cast in the spin-off series, *The Jeffersons*.

George and Louise Jefferson lead lives that reflected the trappings of money and success. Their home was filled

1978–81	<i>A Sharp Intake of Breath</i>
1981–91	<i>Only Fools and Horses</i>
1986	<i>Porterhouse Blue</i>
1988	<i>Jackanory</i>
1988–89	<i>A Bit of a Do</i>
1989	<i>Single Voices: The Chemist</i>
1989	<i>Amongst Barbarians</i>
1990–93	<i>The Darling Buds of May</i>
1992, 1994	<i>A Touch of Frost</i>

#### FILMS

*Under Milkwood*, 1970; *White Cargo*, 1974; *Royal Flash*, 1974; *The Mayor of Strackentz*, 1975; *Doctor at Sea*, 1976; *The Odd Job*, 1978; *Only Fools and Horses*, 1978; *The Water Babies*, 1979; *Wind in the Willows* (voice only), 1980; *The B.F.G.* (voice only).

#### RADIO

*Week Ending: Jason Explanation.*

#### STAGE (selection)

*South Sea Bubble*; *Peter Pan*; *Under Milkwood*, 1971; *The Rivals*, 1972; *No Sex Please... We're British!*, 1972; *Darling Mr. London*, 1975; *Charley's Aunt*, 1975; *The Norman Conquests*, 1976; *The Relapse*, 1978; *Cinderella*, 1979; *The Unvarnished Truth*, 1983; *Look No Hans!*, 1985.

expensive furnishings; art lined the walls. They even had their own black housekeeper, a wise-cracking maid named Florence. The supporting cast consisted of a number of unique characters including neighbor Harry Bentley, an eccentric Englishman who often made a mess of things; the Willises, a mixed-race couple with two adult children—one black, one white; and, the ever-obsequious Ralph the Doorman, who knew no shame when it came to earning a tip. Occasional characters included George's mother, the elderly and quietly cantankerous "Mother Jefferson" (the actress, Zara Cully died in 1978), and George's college-aged son (who was portrayed during various periods by two different actors).

The George Jefferson character was conceptualized as an Archie Bunker in blackface. George was intolerant, rude, and stubborn; he referred to white people as "honkies." He was a short, mean, bigoted popinjay who balked at manners. Louise, his long-suffering wife, spent most of her time apologizing for her husband's behavior. Florence, the maid, contributed a great deal of comic relief, with her continuous put-downs of George. She was not afraid of his angry outbursts, and in fact had little regard for him or his tirades. She referred to him as "Shorty," and never missed a chance to put him in his place.



The Jeffersons

The program was enormously popular and remained on prime-time television for ten years. There are a number of factors that position this program as an important facet of recent television history. First, *The Jeffersons* was one of three programs of the period to feature African Americans in leading roles—the first such programming since the cancellation of the infamous *Amos 'n' Andy* show in 1953. *The Jeffersons* was the first television program to feature an interracial married couple, and it offered an uncommon, albeit comic, portrayal of a successful African American family. Lastly, *The Jeffersons* is one of several programs of the period to rely heavily on confrontational humor. Along with *All in the Family*, and *Sanford and Son*, the show was also one of many to repopularize old-style ethnic humor.

It also serves to examine some of the controversy that surrounded *The Jeffersons*. Throughout its ten-year run on prime-time television, the show did not go without its share of criticism. The range of complaints, which emanated from media scholars, television critics and everyday black viewers ranged from the show's occasional lapses into the negative

stereotyping to its sometimes lack of ethnic realism. To some, the early Louise Jefferson character was nothing more than an old-south Mammy stereotype. And George, though a millionaire businessman, was generally positioned as nothing more than a buffoon or the butt of someone's joke. Even his own maid had no respect for him. Some blacks questioned, "Are we laughing with George as he balks at convention, or at George as he continuously makes a fool of himself?"

Ironically, as the show continued into the conservatism of the Reagan years the tone of the program shifted. Louise Jefferson's afro hairstyle disappeared and so did her poor English. There was no mention of her former life as a housekeeper. George's racism was toned down and the sketches were rendered more palatable as to appeal to a wider audience. As with *Amos 'n' Andy* some twenty years prior, America's black community remained divided in its assessment of the program.

This period of television history was a shifting one for television programmers seeking to create a show featuring African Americans. Obvious stereotypes could no longer be sold, yet the pabulum of shows like *Julia* was equally as

unacceptable. *The Jeffersons* joined other Lear/Yorkin programs in setting a new tone for prime-time television, exploring issues that TV had scarcely touched before, while it proved that programs with blacks in leading roles could indeed be successful commodities.

—Pamala S. Deane

#### CAST

*George Jefferson* . . . . . Sherman Hemsley  
*Louise Jefferson* . . . . . Isabel Sanford  
*Florence Johnston* . . . . . Marla Gibbs  
*Helen Willis* . . . . . Roxie Roker  
*Tom Willis* . . . . . Franklin Cover  
*Lionel Jefferson* (1975, 1979–81) . . . . . Mike Evans  
*Lionel Jefferson* (1975–78) . . . . . Damon Evans  
*Jenny Willis Jefferson* . . . . . Berlinda Tolbert  
*Harry Bentley* . . . . . Paul Benedict  
*Mother Jefferson* (1975–78) . . . . . Zara Cully  
*Lionel Jefferson* (1975–78) . . . . . Damon Evans  
*Ralph the Doorman* . . . . . Ned Wertimer

**PRODUCERS** George Sunga, Jay Moriarity, Mike Mulligan, Don Nichol, Michael Ross, Bernie West, Sy Rosen, Jack Shea, Ron Leavitt, David Duclon

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

##### • CBS

January 1975–August 1975	Saturday 8:30-9:30
September 1975–October 1976	Saturday 8:00-8:30
November 1976–January 1977	Wednesday 8:00-8:30
September 1977–March 1978	Monday 8:00-8:30
April 1978–May 1978	Saturday 8:00-8:30
June 1978–September 1978	Monday 8:00-8:30

## JENKINS, CHARLES FRANCIS

### U.S. Inventor

Charles Francis Jenkins was a leading inventor and promoter of mechanical scanning television and largely responsible for strong and passionate interest in television in the 1920s and early 1930s in the United States. His work in mechanical television paralleled the work of John Logie Baird in England. Jenkins also provided the first public television demonstration in the United States on 13 June 1925, less than three months after a somewhat similar demonstration by Baird in England. Jenkins' demonstration, using mechanical scanning at both the transmitting and receiving ends, consisted of crude silhouette moving images called "shadowgraphs." This early work in mechanical scanning television helped lay the foundation for later all-electronic television.

Jenkins was the archetype of the independent inventor. Without major corporate financial backing, he never

September 1978–January 1979	Wednesday 8:00-8:30
January 1979–March 1979	Wednesday 9:30-10:00
March 1979–June 1979	Wednesday 8:00-8:30
June 1979–September 1982	Sunday 9:30-10:00
September 1982–December 1984	Sunday 9:00-9:30
January 1985–March 1985	Tuesday 8:00-8:30
April 1985	Tuesday 8:30-9:00
June 1985	Tuesday 8:30-9:00
June 1985–July 1985	Tuesday 8:00-8:30

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See also *All in the Family*; *Cosby Show*; *Good Times*; Hemsley, Sherman; Lear, Norman

received the recognition, success or wealth that otherwise might have come to him. His numerous contributions and inventions covered a broad range of areas and uses. He co-invented and publicly demonstrated the first practical motion picture projector in the United States (1894), developed an automobile with the engine in the front instead of under the seat (1898), designed an early sight-seeing bus (1901), created an early automobile self-starter (1911) and developed significant improvements to the internal combustion engine (1912). He was granted more than 400 U.S. patents for inventions as diverse as an altimeter, airplane brake, conical paper drinking cup, and, even a bean-shelling machine. In the area of communication and media technology he developed the "prismatic ring" (circa 1915) designed to eliminate the need for film shutters in motion picture projectors by using a glass disk

scanning apparatus. He later experimented with a variation of this concept for one of his mechanical television scanning systems. His work in facsimile in the early 1920s led to successful wirephoto transmissions by January of 1922 and radiophotos in May of that year. He was also involved in early wireless teletype transmission.

In 1916 Jenkins helped found the Society of Motion Picture Engineers, later renamed the Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers (SMPTE), and was elected as the organization's first president. The idea of visual transmission interested Jenkins many years before his first demonstrations of facsimile and television. In the July 1894 issue of *Electrical Engineer* he proposed a method for electrically transmitting pictures. In the September 1913 issue of *Motion Picture News* he proposed a mechanism for television.

Jenkins' initial target market for television was radio amateurs and experimenters. He expected this market to quickly grow as a larger public became interested in television. The Federal Radio Commission (FRC) issued the first experimental television station license in America to Jenkins in 1927 and this station, W3XX, began transmitting on 2 July 1928, with regular broadcasts of "radiomovies," television images of motion pictures, from Jenkins' facility near Washington, D.C. In addition, his company provided information and instructions on how to build television receivers. In December 1928 the Jenkins Television Corporation was founded in New Jersey to sell Jenkins television equipment and operate television stations to promote the sale of receivers to the public and equipment for experimenters and other experimental stations. By mid-1929 the Jenkins Television Corporation was marketing receivers, named Radiovisors, to pick up signals from its transmitters in Washington, D.C., and New Jersey. The receivers were designed for easy use by people in their homes. The devices initially utilized a compact spinning-drum scanning mechanism that conserved space, energy and weight. Unfortunately, picture quality was extremely limited making the reception of television little more than a "quickly tiresome novelty." By 1931 the Jenkins Television Corporation was offering both factory-built Radiovisors and do-it-yourself kits. Because of the high cost of Radiovisors during the Depression, the lessening interest in the limited program offerings, mediocre image quality, and the pending introduction of all-electronic television, sales dropped precipitously by the end of the year. To make matters worse, the Federal Radio Commission had disallowed the broadcast of advertisements on the air promoting Jenkins receivers and receiver kits.

In October 1929 DeForest Radio had acquired a majority interest in Jenkins Television. In March 1932, Jenkins Television was liquidated and its assets sold to DeForest Radio. Within months, DeForest Radio went into receivership and sold its assets, including its Jenkins holdings, to RCA which then discontinued the Jenkins television operation due to a notable lack of interest in, and support for, mechanical television. The limitations inherent in mechanical television's picture quality kept it from being able to



*Charles Francis Jenkins*

*Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress*

compete with electronic scanning television systems and it was, therefore, deemed a failure and doomed to quick obsolescence in America. The Jenkins Laboratories in Washington, D.C., continued television research but closed in 1934 with the death of Jenkins.

Perhaps Jenkins was short sighted by concentrating on mechanical television and not moving ahead into electronic television. Perhaps he simply didn't have the financial backing to move in this direction. Today he has been almost forgotten by all but a few television historians. Yet in the United States he was responsible for the advent of television and was the first pioneer to make television a reality. He was responsible for creating a great interest in television and its future among experimenters, amateur radio enthusiasts, the public and business. He paved the way for television's future success helping provide the incentive for support of television experimentation by "big business" such as RCA's support of Vladimir K. Zworykin, Crocker and later Philco's support of Philo T. Farnsworth, and G.E.'s support of Ernst F. W. Alexanderson.

—Steve Runyon

CHARLES FRANCIS JENKINS. Born in Dayton, Ohio, U.S.A., 22 August 1867. Attended Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana. Married: Grace Love, 1902. Independent inventor, demonstrated the first practical motion picture projector,



1894; invented automobile with the engine in front instead of under the seat, 1898; designed an early sight-seeing bus, 1901; created an early automobile self-starter, 1911; developed significant improvements to the internal combustion engine, 1912; developed inventions in radiophotography, television, radiomovies, 1915-20s; founded the Society of Motion Picture Engineers, 1916; research vice president of Jenkins Television Corporation, 1928. Member: National Aeronautical Association, American Automobile Association. Recipient: Franklin Institute and the City of Philadelphia medal. Died in Washington, D.C., U.S.A., 6 June 1934.

#### PUBLICATIONS (selection)

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 "Radio Vision." *Proceedings of the IRE* (New York), November 1927.  
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 "Television Systems." *Journal of the SMPE* (New York), October 1930.  
*The Boyhood of an Inventor.* Washington, D.C.: Charles Francis Jenkins, 1931.

See also Baird, John Logie; Television Technology

## JENNINGS, PETER

### U.S. Broadcast Journalist

Very few names in broadcast journalism are as recognizable as Peter Jennings. His father, Charles, was the most prominent radio announcer for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). Thus, it seems perhaps predictable that Peter Jennings would have his own successful career in the news industry.

Jennings was ten years old when he received his first anchor job for *Peter's Program*, a Saturday morning radio show which showcased young talent. As a student, he exhibited little interest in formal education. However, his interests and talent in the area of news would demonstrate his capacity and willingness to learn. He began his professional career as a disc jockey and news reporter for a small radio station in Brockton, Ontario, and like many reporters who achieve major success his opportunity to make a name for himself came with breaking news. In this case it was the story of a train wreck he covered for the CBC that brought attention. But the story got him a job with CTV, Canada's first private TV network, rather than with the public broadcaster. On CTV he was noticed by ABC News' Elmer Lower, who recognized Jennings' good looks and charm as elements that would sell to the American public. Shortly after, in 1964, Jennings joined ABC as an anchor for a 15-minute evening news segment.

A year later, in an unprecedented rise to the top, Jennings, at 27, became the youngest *ABC Evening News* anchor. His competition at the time—Walter Cronkite on CBS, and the team of Chet Huntley and David Brinkley on NBC—stood as the most credible anchors of their time. In this competitive environment, Jennings was unable to break through and establish a strong share for ABC News. In 1968, he left the anchor desk and was sent to Rome to become a

foreign correspondent and sharpen his reporting skills. Jennings was credited with establishing the first American television news bureau in the Middle East and served for seven years as ABC News bureau chief in Beirut, Lebanon. After



Peter Jennings  
 Photo courtesy of ABC

building a strong reputation for world-class reporting, Jennings was put back in an anchor position for *A.M. America*, the predecessor for *Good Morning, America*, where he delivered five-minute newscasts from Washington.

The experience and contacts in the Middle East paid off for Jennings. He established a reputation as Anwar Sadat's favorite correspondent after completing a documentary on the Egyptian president and in 1977, when Egypt and Israel were about to make peace, Jennings was called to the scene. In 1978 he was the first U.S. reporter to interview the Ayatollah Khomeini, then in exile in Paris. When the Ayatollah came to power in Iran, Jennings was the first reporter to be granted an interview and accompanied the Ayatollah on the plane back to Iran.

Shortly after, on 10 July 1978, the first *ABC World News Tonight* aired. There Jennings was to become a star. His breadth of experience in national and international reporting served him well while he was a reporter for *World News Tonight*, and in 1983 he was named lead anchor.

During the late 1980s, Jennings anchored several highly acclaimed programs, including a live series called *Capital to Capital*, which broadcast communications between Soviet officials and members of the American Congress. News specials on political volatility in China, Iran, and the former Soviet Union also won praise. His contributions include a live, via-satellite, town hall meeting between American citizens and Soviet leaders Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin. This show, with its question and answer format, gave Americans unprecedented exposure to the Soviet leaders.

Although Jennings' political reports have won him the most praise at *World News Tonight*, they do not stand alone. Jennings also anchors *Peter Jennings Reporting*. These one-hour, prime-time specials address important issues facing the nation and the world. He has explored issues ranging from abortion, gun-control, and rape to funding for the arts and Ross Perot's presidential campaign. Jennings' most recent accomplishments include a series of news reports for children. In 1994 he served as moderator of a special question-and-answer broadcast from the White House in which American children questioned President Clinton about issues important to their lives.

For his work, Jennings has won several Emmy and Overseas Press Club awards, and the prestigious Alfred I. duPont Columbia University Award for journalism. In 1989, a *Times-Mirror* poll found Jennings to be the most believable source of news. Jennings was also named "Best Anchor" by the *Washington Journalism Review* in 1988, 1989, 1990 and 1992.

—Clayland H. Waite

**PETER (CHARLES) JENNINGS.** Born in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 29 July 1938. Attended Trinity College School and Carleton University, Ontario, and Rider College, New Jersey, U.S.A. Married: 1) Valerie Godsoe (divorced), 2) Annie Maloufs (divorced), 3) Kati Marton, 1979 (divorced, 1994); children: Elizabeth and Christopher. Began career in Cana-

dian radio and television as news correspondent; parliamentary correspondent and network co-anchor, independent Canadian Television Channel (CTV); New York correspondent, ABC television, 1964; nightly news anchor, 1965–68; overseas assignment, 1968–74; Washington correspondent, news anchor, *A.M. America*, 1975–76; chief foreign correspondent, 1977; foreign desk anchor, *World News Tonight*, 1978; anchor, senior editor, *ABC World News Tonight* with Peter Jennings, since 1983. Named Best Anchor in *US Washington Journalism Review*, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1992. Member: International Radio and Television Society. Recipient: duPont Columbia Award; several Emmy Awards; several Overseas Press Club Awards.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1964	<i>World News Tonight</i> (co-anchor)
1965–68	<i>World News Tonight</i> (anchor)
1975–76	<i>A.M. America</i> (news anchor)
1978–	<i>ABC World News Tonight with Peter Jennings</i> (anchor)

#### TELEVISION SPECIALS (selection)

1985	<i>45/85</i>
1988	<i>Drugs: A Plague Upon the Land</i>
1988	<i>Why This Plague?</i>
1989	<i>AIDS Quarterly</i>
1992	<i>Men, Sex and Rape</i>
1993	<i>President Clinton: Answering Children's Questions</i>
1994	<i>ABC Viewpoint: Whitewater: Underplayed? Overplayed?</i>

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See also Anchor; News, Network

## THE JEWEL IN THE CROWN

### British Serial Drama

*The Jewel in the Crown* is a fourteen-part serial produced by Granada Studios and first broadcast on British independent television in January 1984. A lavish prestige production, *Jewel in the Crown* received immediate critical acclaim going on to win several national and international awards and in the process confirming Britain's excellence in the field of television drama. As well as receiving critical attention the serial also proved popular with British audiences. The first run averaged 8 million viewers a week, a significant figure for a "quality" drama on British television.

Based on Paul Scott's *Raj Quartet*, four novels published between 1966 and 1975, the serial focuses on the final years of the British in India. Set against the backdrop of the second world war and using the rape of an English woman as its dramatic centre, *The Jewel in the Crown* charts a moment of crisis and change in British national history.

The serial should be seen in the context of a cycle of film and television productions which emerged during the first half of the 1980s and which seemed to indicate Britain's growing preoccupation with India, the Empire and a particular aspect of British cultural history. Notable examples from this cycle would include *A Passage to India* (1984), *Heat and Dust* (1982), and the television drama *The Far Pavilions* (1984). These fictions were produced during, and indeed reflected, a moment of crisis and change in British life: mass unemployment, the arrival of new social and class configurations tied to emerging political and economic trends all conspired to destabilise and recast notions of national and cultural identity in the early 1980s. While often critical of Britain's past, these fictions nevertheless permitted a nostalgic gaze back to a golden age, presenting a vision of Empire as something great and glorious. These fictions seemed to offer reassurance to the British public, as cultural fetish objects they helped negotiate and manage a moment of social and political upheaval.

If these fictions were ultimately reassuring for certain sections of the British public, then *Jewel in the Crown* has been seen by at least one commentator, Tana Wollen, to be the least nostalgic and most troubled text in the cycle. However, this "trouble" may have less to do with the serial's overt politics and more to do with its form and style. Paul Scott's *Raj Quartet* are fairly unconventional novels and were not wholly suited to the demands of serial form. Their use of multiple point of view and their elliptical, collage-like

narratives were not easily adapted to a form based round linear progression, continuity of action and character and the promise of eventual narrative resolution.

The television adaptation was necessarily a more conventional rendering of the story, the narrative now flattened out and the events subjected to a more chronological ordering. Nevertheless, *Jewel in the Crown* managed to hold on to some of the formal complexity of the novels by employing voice-overs, flashbacks and newsreel inserts, techniques which tend to arrest narrative development giving the serial a heavy, ponderous quality. The adaptation, and Scott's novels, lacked the kind of character development and continuity that we have come to expect from the television serial. By the third episode the serial's central character Daphne Manners is killed off and only one character spans the whole fourteen episodes. This is the evil Ronald Merrick who dies in episode thirteen and only appears in the final



The Jewel in the Crown  
Photo courtesy of Goodman Associates

part through flashback. However, *Jewel in the Crown* managed to maintain continuity through a series of echoes and motifs: images of fire, the repetition of certain actions and events and the passing down of the lace Christening gown all helped to provide the serial with a formal cohesion that seemed to be lacking at the level of character and plot development. All in all, *Jewel in the Crown* proved to be a challenging text and demanded from its audience an unusually high degree of commitment and perseverance.

Although *Jewel in the Crown* was broadcast in 1984, with a repeat screening the following year, by the late 1980s the serial still had a high public profile as it became embroiled in debates about television, quality and the future of British broadcasting. This debate followed legislation calling for the deregulation of the British airwaves which in turn kindled anxieties concerning the fate of public service and quality television. In this debate, as Charlotte Brunsdon has pointed out, *Jewel in the Crown*, along with *Brideshead Revisited*, came to represent the "acme of British quality". Elsewhere, *Jewel in the Crown* was being held up as the epitome of excellence. In 1990 the serial was screened at the National Film Theatre as part of a season called "Good-bye to all this". Here *Jewel in the Crown* was described as the "title everyone reaches for when asked for a definition of 'quality television'". *Jewel in the Crown* came to represent what was at stake in the deregulation of the British airwaves. It articulated fears over what could be lost in the transition from a regulated, public service tradition in broadcasting to a more commercial, market-led system. Increasingly, *Jewel in the Crown* was coming to represent the golden days of pre-deregulation quality television.

This serial, then, had originally emerged as part of a cycle of texts dealing with anxieties over national identity. At a moment of radical change in British life these texts may have offered us a nostalgic vision of a glorious past. By the late 1980s the serial was referring to a more immediate past and a cultural identity bound to a broadcasting tradition of public service and quality drama. In both cases *Jewel in the*

*Crown* has been able to articulate and represent the anxieties and the sense of loss felt by sections of the British public who were faced with the decline of a particular idea of national and cultural identity.

—Peter McLuskie

#### CAST

<i>Daphne Manners</i> . . . . .	Susan Wooldridge
<i>Hari Kumar</i> . . . . .	Art Malik
<i>Ronald Merrick</i> . . . . .	Tim Piggot-Smith
<i>Barbie Batchelor</i> . . . . .	Peggy Ashcroft
<i>Sophie Dixon</i> . . . . .	Warren Clarke
<i>Guy Perron</i> . . . . .	Charles Dance

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 1 120-minute episode; 13 60-minute episodes

#### • ITV

9 January 1984–3 April 1984

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See also Adaptations; British Programming; Miniseries

## JOHNSON, LAMONT

U.S. Director

Lamont Johnson is an actors' director who's also a director's director. Acclaimed, respected, and superbly consistent, he is television's answer to William Wyler. Between his 1964 Emmy nomination and Directors Guild of America (DGA) Award for a *Profiles in Courage* episode ("The Oscar Underwood Story") and his 1992 Emmy nomination for the real-life disaster film *Crash Landing*, he amassed 11 Emmy nominations (winning in 1985 for *Wallenberg: A Hero's Story* and in 1988 for Gore Vidal's *Lincoln*) and eight DGA nominations (winning four, plus a special award as the "Most Outstanding TV Director of 1972"). Although he's racked up admirable big-screen credits, too, such as *The Last American*

*Hero* (a 1973 movie based on Tom Wolfe's profile of a stock-car racing champion, "The Last American Hero is Junior Johnson. Yes!"), television is the medium that has allowed him the most room to flex his creative muscles. His video credits list contains character portraits, period epics, theater pieces, and docudramas.

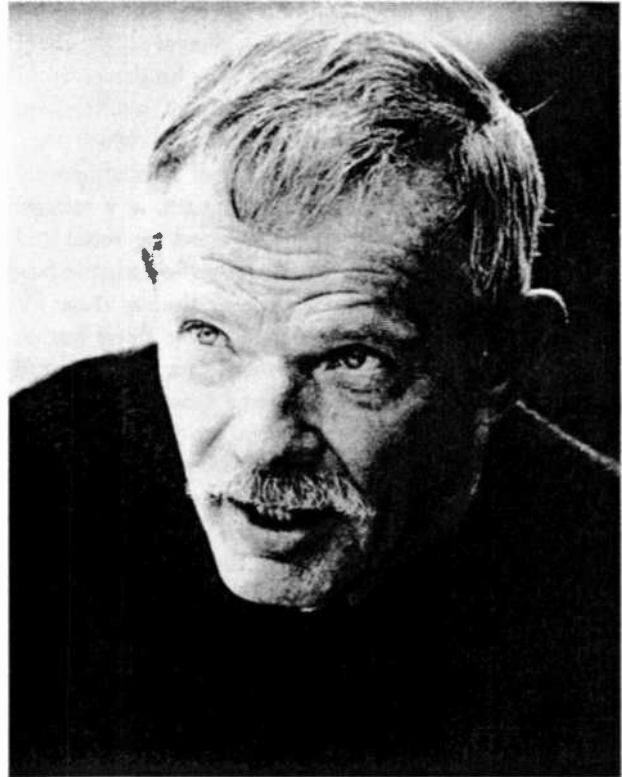
Employing what he learned in theater, radio, live TV, and feature films, he imbues his TV movies with dramatic briskness and invention, vital sound, and visual dimension. But his distinctive humane touch derives from his feeling for performers, who in some way become his true subject. Each year brings new additions to his gallery of unforgettable figures, from John

Ritter's agonizingly frustrated Vietnam vet in the Agent Orange expose *Unnatural Causes* (1986), to Annette O'Toole's Rose Fitzgerald—part stoic heroine, part religious maniac—in *The Kennedys of Massachusetts* (1988). The vibrant characters who populate his TV films would fill a small city—Johnsonville, USA—except his art encompasses the world. One of his most impressive accomplishments is *Wallenberg: A Hero's Story*, starring Richard Chamberlain, in which the Scarlet Pimpernel-like heroism of Raoul Wallenberg (the Swedish diplomat who saved tens of thousands of Hungarian Jews) puts the horror of the Holocaust in stark relief.

Gifted with a "roaring bass voice," Johnson turned pro as a radio actor at age 16, and financed his college education as a broadcast performer, news announcer and disc jockey. After student theater experience (such as directing a production of *Liliom* in a women's gym), he moved from Los Angeles to New York with the aim of acting on the stage. He became a mainstay of radio soap operas and a Broadway understudy; on a USO tour through Europe he befriended Gertrude Stein, who gave him rights to her play, *Yes Is for a very young Man*. His first professional directing job was to mount it, in 1948, at Off Broadway's Cherry Lane Theater, with a cast that boasted Anthony Franciosa, Gene Saks, Michael V. Gazzo, Bea Arthur, and Kim Stanley.

Although he swore off directing after that—he couldn't bear the role of referee—he came under its spell for good while acting for such broadcast luminaries as John Frankenheimer, Sidney Lumet, and Jack Smight. In 1955, Johnson made his TV directorial debut guiding Richard Boone through an adaptation of *Wuthering Heights* for the hour-long live drama series, *Matinee Theater*. (Johnson ended up doing twenty-eight of those shows in two years.) In 1958, Boone gave Johnson the opportunity to break into filmed TV when the star insisted that Johnson be hired for six episodes of the second season of his hit western, *Have Gun, Will Travel*. In the late 1950s and early 1960s Johnson went on to direct popular and innovative dramatic series such as *Peter Gunn*, *Naked City*, and *The Defenders*. He did a fistful of episodes for *The Twilight Zone*, including "Kick the Can" (which Steven Spielberg remade in his *The Twilight Zone: The Movie*).

But it was a trio of collaborations with the producing-writing team of Richard Levinson and William Link that cemented his place in broadcast history. Levinson and Link smartly emphasized the plight of individuals while blazing trails in TV movies' depictions of race relations (*My Sweet Charlie*, 1970), homosexuality (*That Certain Summer*, 1972), and American military conduct (*The Execution of Private Slovik*, 1974). Coming fully into his own as a director, Johnson shaped performances with an emotional combustion to match the script's social conflagrations. Working on location whenever possible, he brewed alive and unpredictable atmospheres. It's rare to remember character bits and mood points from what are usually called "message movies." But what springs to mind from *My Sweet Charlie* is the edgy sheepishness of the fugitive Northern black lawyer, Al Freeman, Jr., as he tries to persuade the pregnant



Lamont Johnson

Photo courtesy of Lamont Johnson

Southern runaway (played by Patty Duke) that he can impersonate a down-home black man. From *That Certain Summer*, one recalls the uncomfortable-looking figures of the gay hero, Hal Holbrook, and his teenage son, Scott Jacoby, as the father struggles to explain his lifestyle on a three-minute downhill walk. Picture *The Execution of Private Slovik*—the first docudrama TV movie—and a different trek pops into memory: the penetratingly sad, snowblown death march for the only U.S. soldier to be executed for desertion after the Civil War. Though the writers received the lion's share of attention, and the scripts were solid and sensitive, Johnson's direction was the most artistic aspect of these ambitious projects, lending them delicacy as well as poignance. In the capper to this spate of TV productivity, his 1975 *Fear on Trial* (based on a David W. Rintels script), Johnson's evocation of a frigid 1950s New York City winter overpowered the screenplay's conventional, simplistic anti-blacklisting theatrics; it looked as if the Cold War itself had set the city's temperature.

Johnson did astonishing work while constantly shuttling among media from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s. In 1980 two of his favorite TV productions premiered. The first, *Paul's Case*, a 52-minute-long drama for the PBS *American Short Story* series (shot in ten days on a \$180,000 budget), is a powerful, peculiar American tragedy about the downfall of a fragile escapist. Following Willa Cather's

original story to the letter, Johnson led Eric Roberts to his best performance—he's splendidly off-kilter as a high-school boy in 1905 Pittsburgh who's too far into his dream world of glamour and theatricality to come of out it alive. Johnson's TV-movie *Off the Minnesota Strip*, which aired just three months later, is a revelation of a contemporary adolescent limbo, with Mare Winningham, as a teenage hooker, brilliantly conveying the interlocking social and sexual pressures that trap teenagers into self-destructive fantasies of "making it." Around the same time as these TV milestones, Johnson completed one of his finest feature films, *Cattle Annie and Little Britches* (not released until 1981), an offbeat western that explored Americans' need for pop mythology and turned the adventures of its young pulp heroines (stunningly played by Diane Lane and Amanda Plummer) into coming-of-age action poetry.

Pulling off three wildly different projects in a year would be admirable for the resident director of a repertory company or an anthology series; to do it by leap-frogging the worlds of network TV, PBS, and independent filmmaking would seem a feat. But not for Johnson. He's nurtured a robust, sane creativity by approaching the theatrical arts as a continuum—and creating an emotional spectrum that retains its intensity whether projected on a movie screen or transmitted via satellite and cable.

—Mike Sragow

**LAMONT JOHNSON.** Born in Stockton, California, U.S.A., 30 September 1922. Educated at the University of California, Los Angeles, 1942-43; studied at Neighborhood Playhouse School of the Theatre. Married: Toni Merrill, 1945, children: Jeremy, Carolyn, Christopher Anthony. Stage producer and director, since 1948; founded UCLA Theater Group (now Centre Theater Group), 1959; television director, since 1950s; film director, since 1961. Recipient: numerous Screen Director's Guild Television awards; numerous Emmy Awards.

#### TELEVISION (actor)

1949	<i>Julius Caesar</i>
1952	<i>Aesop</i>
1953-54	<i>Prize Winner</i>

#### TELEVISION SERIES (director)

1956-58	<i>Matinee Theater</i>
1957-63	<i>Have Gun, Will Travel</i>
1958-63	<i>The Rifleman</i>
1958-61	<i>Peter Gunn</i>
1959-65	<i>Twilight Zone</i>
1959-60	<i>Johnny Ringo</i>
1960-63	<i>Naked City</i>
1961-65	<i>The Defenders</i>

#### TELEVISION MINISERIES

1985	<i>Wallenberg: A Hero's Story</i>
1988	<i>The Kennedys of Massachusetts</i> (aired 1990)
1988	<i>Gore Vidal's Lincoln</i>

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES (director)

1964	<i>Profiles in Courage</i>
1969	<i>Deadlock</i>
1970	<i>My Sweet Charlie</i>
1972	<i>That Certain Summer</i>
1974	<i>The Execution of Private Slovik</i> (also writer)
1975	<i>Fear on Trial</i>
1980	<i>American Short Story: Paul's Case</i>
1980	<i>Off the Minnesota Strip</i>
1981	<i>Escape from Iran: The Canadian Caper</i>
1981	<i>Crisis at Central High</i>
1982	<i>Life of the Party: The Story of Beatrice</i>
1982	<i>Dangerous Company</i>
1982	<i>Beatrice</i>
1982	<i>Two Plays by David Mamet</i>
1983	<i>Jack and the Beanstalk</i>
1984	<i>Ernie Kovacs: Between the Laughter</i>
1986	<i>Unnatural Causes</i>
1990	<i>Voices Within: The Lives of Truddi Chase</i>
1992	<i>Crash Landing: The Rescue of Flight 232</i>
1993	<i>The Broken Chain</i>
1995	<i>The Man Next Door</i>

#### FILMS (actor)

*Sally and Saint Anne*, 1952; *The Human Jungle*, 1954; *The Brothers Rico*, 1957; *One on One*, 1977; *Sunnyside*, 1979; *Death Wish II*, 1981; *The Five Heartbeats*, 1991; *Class Act*, 1992; *Fear of a Black Hat*, 1993; *Waiting to Exhale*, 1995; *The Great White Hype*, 1996.

#### FILMS (director)

*Thin Ice*, 1961; *A Covenant with Death*, 1966; *Kona Coast*, 1968; *The McKenzie Break*, 1970; *A Gunfight*, 1971; *The Groundstar Conspiracy*, 1972; *You'll Like My Mother*, 1972; *The Last American Hero*, 1973; *Visit to a Chief's Son*, 1974; *Lipstick*, 1976; *One on One*, 1977; *Somebody Killed Her Husband*, 1978; *FM*, 1978; *Cattle Annie and Little Britches*, 1981; *Spacehunter: Adventures in the Forbidden Zone*, 1983.

#### OPERA (director)

*The Man in the Moon*, 1959; *Iphigenie en Tauride*, 1962; *Orfeo*, 1990.

#### STAGE (actor)

*Manja*, 1939; *Young Woodley*, 1946; *Yes Is for a very young Man*, 1948; *Macbeth*, 1948; *The Pony Cart*, 1954; *A Christmas Carol*, 1980-81.

#### STAGE (director)

*Yes Is for a very young Man*, 1948; *The Potting Shed*, 1957; *The Man in the Moon*, 1957; *The Skin of our Teeth*, 1958; *Under Milkwood*, 1959; *4 Comedies of Despair*, 1960; *The Egg*, 1961; *The Perfect Setup*, 1962; *'Tis a Pity She's A Whore*, 1963; *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 1964; *The Adventures of the Black Girl in Her Search for God*, 1969; *The Tempest*, 1978; *Popular*

*Neurotics*, 1981; *California Dogfight*, 1983; *Nanawata*, 1985; *The Eighties*, 1988–89; *Orfeo*, 1990.

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See also Director, Television; Levinson, Richard; Link, William

## JONES, QUINCY

### U.S. Musician/Producer

Quincy Jones' long career as a music composer lends insight into popular music's influence on the television and film media. In 1951, a teenaged Jones began working as a trumpet player and arranger for Lionel Hampton. During his early career, he played with some of the best-known names in black bebop and jazz, performers such as Count Basie, Clark Terry, Ray Charles, Billy Eckstine, Dizzy Gillespie, and Sarah Vaughan. He toured Europe, the Middle East and South Africa during the 1950s. In 1957, he studied in Paris with Nadia Boulanger. During this period he also became a major publisher of music.

However, failed business ventures in 1959 forced him to sell his music publishing catalogue. Jones overcame this major financial setback by working as an executive at A and M Records and by working as an arranger for Dinah Washington in New York City. He became vice president of Mercury Records in 1964, the first African-American executive at a major record label.

In 1961, *Jet* magazine, a weekly entertainment periodical directed to an African-American readership, awarded him the title of best arranger and composer. But despite honors from his African-American community and excellent critical reviews, Jones recognized that jazz music was not earning high record sales. He decided then to produce more commercial songs. In 1963, he branched out to develop the talent of a white teenage singer, Lesley Gore, with whom he recorded the pop hit "It's My Party." Jones continued to work with talented white artists such as Frank Sinatra for whom he conducted and arranged *Sinatra: Live in Las Vegas at the Sands with Count Basie* (1966). By adapting to technological changes that gave more control to engineers and producers, Jones achieved commercial success in the music recording industry during the 1960s. Yet, he still desired to compose scores for motion pictures and his success allowed him to pursue the small openings in media industries previously closed to African-American artists.

After Jones scored his first film *The Boy in the Tree* (1960), he scored *The Pawnbroker* (1965) for director Sidney Lumet. His first major Hollywood contract was with

Universal Pictures. Jones became an African-American pioneer in film and television industries during the late 1960s, and he had few black colleagues. But television news reports were increasingly presenting images of America facing racial conflict. Amidst the struggle for civil rights, Jones worked in Hollywood to help destroy the negative stereotypes of African Americans. In 1965, he was hired to score the film *Mirage*, starring Gregory Peck and he scored *In the Heat of*



Quincy Jones

Photo courtesy of Quincy Jones



*the Night* (1967), starring a top box-office star of the era, Sidney Poitier.

In 1967, Jones scored the pilot and eight episodes of the dramatic television series *Ironside*. In creating the *Ironside* theme, he was the first composer to utilize a synthesizer in the arrangement of a television score. During the same year he composed the theme to the television movie *Split Second to an Epitaph*. Jones also wrote the theme song for Bill Cosby's first situation comedy, *The Bill Cosby Show* (NBC 1970) and went on to score 56 episodes.

In a brief two-week period between film and television scores, Jones returned to record making with the jazz album, *Walking*. The album won a Grammy as Best Jazz Performance by a large group in 1969.

In 1972, Jones wrote the theme to the *NBC Mystery Movie* series and his momentum in the television industry continued to grow. During the same year, he scored 26 episodes of *The Bill Cosby Variety Series*, and in 1973, he composed the theme to the comedy program *Sanford and Son*, starring comedian Redd Foxx.

In 1974, soon after his *Body Heat* album reached the top of the music charts, Jones suffered from health problems. A brain aneurysm required two surgical procedures and he had to stop playing the trumpet.

After a four-year hiatus, during which he concentrated on his own music productions, Jones returned to television in 1977 to score the ABC miniseries, *Roots*, one of the highest rated programs in television history. His score accented the exploration of African chants and rhythms as indigenous to American culture and garnered Jones an Emmy Award. Coinciding with this success in television, he scored *The Wiz* (1978), a Universal Pictures all-black version of *The Wizard of Oz*, starring Diana Ross and Michael Jackson.

From the time between 1963, when Jones entered the Hollywood film industry as a film composer, and 1990, he had earned thirty-eight film credits. Most notably, he co-produced the critically acclaimed film *The Color Purple* (1985) with director Steven Spielberg. In 1994, Jones was honored with an Academy Award for his achievements in the film industry.

Despite his success in television and film, Jones never lost interest in spotting talent in black music. During the 1970s, he continued to cultivate new performers in this arena. He created technically advanced, funk-influenced albums for the Brothers Johnson, Chaka Kahn and Rufus. In 1977, he produced Michael Jackson's *Off the Wall* album, which succeeded in selling seven million albums—before the invention of MTV. His record-breaking pop album *Thriller*, for Michael Jackson in 1984, became a musical landmark.

In 1981, Jones left A and M and formed his own Qwest label at Warner Brothers. The Qwest label produced hits for Patty Austin and James Ingram and captured Lena Horne's performance on Broadway; these recording projects earned him Grammy awards. In 1985, Jones produced the all-star recording of "We Are the World," to help performer Harry Belafonte realize a charity drive to raise world awareness of

famine. From the song's popular music video, Jones became a recognizable face to the general public. He raised money for Jesse Jackson's historic run for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1988 and produced *The Jesse Jackson Show* in 1990, granting a forum to a high-profile black figure in U.S. politics.

Jones also discovered a larger television audience by producing situation comedies. In 1990, *Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* premiered, starring a popular rap artist, Will Smith, to become a highly rated program on NBC. In 1990, Jones formed the multi-media entertainment organization, Quincy Jones Entertainment Company and Quincy Jones Broadcasting, to acquire television and radio properties. In 1995, Jones hoped to repeat his television success with the situation comedy, *In the House*, starring Debbie Allen and rap artist L.L. Cool J.

While overcoming racial barriers and redefining several genres in music composition, Quincy Jones' creative persistence in the music business helped to maneuver black music across the color line of the musical mainstream and into every form of media expression. Jones' body of work spans five decades and opened the door for the growth of successful black entrepreneurs in television, film and music. Since Miles Davis' death, many critics cite Quincy Jones as the only remaining figure from the bebop era who has stayed contemporary and whose work continues to have an impact on these three closely integrated media industries.

—Marla L. Shelton

QUINCY (DELIGHT) JONES. Born in Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., 14 March 1933. Attended Seattle University, Seattle, Washington; Berklee School of Music, Boston; studied with Nadia Boulanger and Olivier Messiaen, Paris. Married: 1) Jeri Caldwell, 1957 (divorced), 2) Ulla Anderson, 1965 (divorced), 3) Peggy Lipton, 1974 (divorced); seven children. Began career as jazz trumpeter and arranger for numerous big bands and solo performers; music director, Mercury Records, 1961, vice president, 1964; composer, film and television music, from 1960s; founded Qwest recording company, 1981; record producer for Barbra Streisand, Michael Jackson, and other artists; television producer, from 1990. Recipient: numerous Grammy Awards; Emmy Award, 1977; Polar Music Prize (Sweden), 1994; Academy Award, 1994. Address: Rogers and Cowan, Inc., 10000 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, California, 90067, U.S.A.

#### TELEVISION (selection)

1966–67	<i>Hey, Landlord</i> (composer)
1967–75	<i>Ironside</i> (composer)
1967	<i>Split Second to an Epitaph</i> (composer)
1970	<i>The Bill Cosby Show</i> (composer)
1972	<i>The NBC Mystery Movie</i> (composer)
1972	<i>The Bill Cosby Variety Series</i> (composer)
1973	<i>Sanford and Son</i> (composer)
1977	<i>Roots</i> (composer)

- 1990 *The Jesse Jackson Show* (producer)  
 1990-96 *Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* (producer)  
 1995 *In the House* (producer)

#### TELEVISION SPECIALS

- 1967 *Rodgers and Hart Today* (music director)  
 1971 *The Academy Awards* (conductor)  
 1971 *Merv Griffin Presents Quincy Jones*  
 (performer)  
 1973 *Duke Ellington, We Love You Madly*  
 (co-producer and conductor)  
 1973 *A Show Business Salute to Milton Berle*  
 (music director)  
 1990 *Grammy Legends* (honoree)  
 1991 *Ray Charles: 50 Years of Music, Uh-Huh!*  
 (co-host)

#### FILMS

*The Boy in the Tree*, 1960; *The Pawnbroker*, 1965; *The Slender Thread*, 1965; *Mirage*, 1965; *Made in Paris*, 1965; *Walk Don't Run*, 1966; *The Deadly Affair*, 1967; *Enter Laughing*, 1967; *In Cold Blood*, 1967; *Banning*, 1967; *In the Heat of the Night*, 1967; *A Dandy in Aspic*, 1968; *Jigsaw*, 1968; *The Counterfeit Killers*, 1968; *For Love of Ivy*, 1968; *The Hell with Heroes*, 1968; *Mackenna's Gold*, 1969; *The Italian Job*, 1969; *The Lost Man*, 1969; *Bob and Carol and Ted and Alice*, 1969; *Cactus Flower*, 1969; *John and Mary*, 1969; *Blood Kin*, 1969; *The Out-of-Towners*, 1970; *They*

*Call Me MISTER Tibbs!*, 1970; *Eggs*, (short), 1970; *Of Men and Demons* (short), 1970; *Up Your Teddy Bear*, 1970; *Brother John*, 1970; *The Anderson Tapes*, 1971; *Honky*, 1971; *\$ (Dollars)*, 1971; *The Hot Rock*, 1972; *The New Centurions*, 1972; *The Getaway*, 1972; *Killer by Night*, 1972; *Mother, Jugs, and Speed*, 1976; *The Wiz*, 1978; *Portrait of an Album* (also director), 1985; *Fast Forward*, 1985; *Lost in America*, 1985; *The Slugger's Wife*, 1985; *The Color Purple*, 1985; *Heart and Soul*, 1988; *Listen Up: The Lives of Quincy Jones*, 1991; *A Great Day in Harlem* (narrator), 1994.

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## JULIA

### U.S. Domestic Comedy

*Julia*, a half-hour comedy premiering on NBC in September 1968, was an example of American network television's attempt to address race issues during a period of heightened activism and turmoil over the position of African-Americans in U.S. society. The series was the first to star a black performer in the leading role since *Beulah*, *Amos 'n' Andy*, and *The Nat "King" Cole Show* all left the air in the early and mid-1950s. By the mid-1960s, a number of prime-time series began featuring blacks in supporting roles, but industry fears of mostly southern racial sensibilities discouraged any bold action by the networks to more fully represent African-Americans in entertainment television. Series creator, Hal Kanter, a Hollywood liberal and broadcasting veteran whose credits included writing for the *Beulah* radio show in the 1940s, initiated *Julia*'s challenge to what remained of television's colour bar. Kanter had attended a luncheon organized by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and been inspired enough to propose the project to NBC. The network agreed to run the show, but programmers did not expect it to do well since it was scheduled opposite the hugely popular *Red Skelton Show*. The show proved to be a surprise hit,

however, jumping into the top ten list of most watched programs during its first year, and continuing to be moderately successful during its remaining two seasons on the air.

The series revolved around the lives of Julia Baker, (Diahann Carroll) a widowed black nurse, and her young son, Corey (Marc Copage). Julia's husband had been killed in a helicopter crash in Vietnam, and the series began with the now fatherless Baker family moving into an integrated apartment building in Los Angeles while Julia secured employment at the medical offices of Astrospace Industries. She worked with a gruff but lovable elderly white physician, Dr. Chegley (Lloyd Nolan), and a homely but spirited white nurse, Hannah Yarby. Julia's closest friends were her white neighbors, the Waggledorns—Marie, a scatter-brained housewife; Len, a police officer; and Earl J. Waggledorn, their son and Corey's pal. While Julia lived in an almost exclusively white environment, she managed to find a series of impeccably refined African-American boyfriends. Paul Winfield played one of her more long-standing romantic partners. Performed with elegance and dignity by Carroll, Julia represented a completely assimilated—and thoroughly non-stereotyped—African-American image to prime-time viewers.

Julia's unthreatening respectability served as the basis for a great deal of heated debate during the series' initial run. In the midst of growing political militancy among many African-Americans, some critics accused the show of presenting Julia as a "white Negro." Nothing in the Bakers' lives indicated that they were in any way connected to the rich tradition of black culture and history. Neither Julia nor Corey was ever the victim of racism. However, Hal Kanter emphasized that the show did attempt to emphasize the more "humorous aspects" of prejudice and discrimination, while focusing on how the black characters attempted "to enjoy the American dream." Humorous situations dealing with race tended to work to defuse anxieties about racial difference. For instance, in her initial telephone interview with Dr. Chegley in the series' pilot, Julia mentions that she is black. Chegley deadpans: "Have you always been black—or are you just being fashionable?" When little Earl J. Waggedorn sees Corey's mother for the first time, he points out, "Hey, your mother's colored." Corey replies, matter-of-factly, "Yeah, so am I." To which Earl responds: "You are?!"

The show was also criticized for presenting no male head of the family. While the Bakers were emphatically middle-class, living in a beautifully appointed apartment rather lavish for a nurse's salary, the fact that an unattached black mother ran the family appeared to perpetuate stereotypes about a "black matriarchy" in which black men had no place. A recurring problem in the Baker household was who would care for Corey while Julia was at work. Several episodes dealt with Julia's dilemma in securing a mother's helper. Unwittingly and quite unself-reflexively, the show was echoing a painful aspect of the history of black women, many of whom had to leave their children unattended while they went off to care for white children and work as domestics in white establishments.

While these depictions of race relations generated objections, they also elicited praise from critics and viewers. *Ebony*, a mass circulation magazine targeted at a middle-class black readership, lauded the series for giving viewers an alternative to the steady diet of ghetto riot images of blacks so pervasive on news programming. The show was also commended for representing black characters who were not thoroughly and exclusively defined by race.

*Julia* was an important moment in American broadcasting history as television programmers struggled to find a way to introduce African-Americans into entertainment formats without relying on objectionable old stereotypes, but also without creating images that might challenge or discomfort white audiences.

—Aniko Bodroghkozy

#### CAST

*Julia Baker* . . . . . Diahann Carroll  
*Dr. Morton Chegley* . . . . . Lloyd Nolan  
*Marie Waggedorn* . . . . . Betty Beaird  
*Corey Baker* . . . . . Marc Copage  
*Earl J. Waggedorn* . . . . . Michael Link  
*Melba Chegley* . . . . . Mary Wickes



Julia

<i>Sol Cooper</i> . . . . .	Ned Glass
<i>Carol Deering</i> (1968–69) . . . . .	Allison Mills
<i>Hannah Yarby</i> (1968–70) . . . . .	Lurene Tuttle
<i>Eddie Edson</i> . . . . .	Eddie Quillan
<i>Paul Cameron</i> (1968–70) . . . . .	Paul Winfield
<i>Len Waggedorn</i> . . . . .	Hank Brandt
<i>Steve Bruce</i> (1970–71) . . . . .	Fred Williamson
<i>Roberta</i> (1970–71) . . . . .	Janear Hines
<i>Richard</i> (1970–71) . . . . .	Richard Steele
<i>Kim Bruce</i> (1970–71) . . . . .	Stephanie James

**PRODUCERS** Hal Kanter, Harold Stone

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 86 Episodes

• NBC

September 1968–January 1971

Tuesday 8:30-9:00

January 1971–May 1971

Tuesday 7:30-8:00

#### FURTHER READING

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See also Comedy, Domestic Settings; Racism, Ethnicity, and Television

## JULIEN, ISAAC

### British Filmmaker

Isaac Julien is one of Britain's most innovative and provocative filmmakers. Born in 1960, he came from a black, working-class, East London background. Julien studied painting and film at St. Martin's School of Art in London. He was both writer and director for *Who Killed Colin Roach?*, a 1983 documentary about the controversial death of a young black man while in police custody. This was followed by *Territories* in 1984, an experimental video that examined policing at London's Notting Hill Carnival.

A co-founder of Sankofa Film and Video, a pioneering group of young black British filmmakers, Julien has collaborated with them on several ground-breaking, radical dramas for film and television since the mid-1980s. With Sankofa, Julien co-wrote and co-directed *The Passion of Remembrance* in 1986, an ambitious feature film drama which offered a fresh and revealing look at black feminism and black gay politics. There followed the award-winning short film, *Looking for Langston*, in 1988. Set in Harlem in the 1920s, this homoerotic, hauntingly beautiful study of the black gay American poet, Langston Hughes, cleverly blended his words with those of the contemporary black gay poet Essex Hemphill. *Looking for Langston* received the Golden Teddy Bear for Best Gay Film at the Berlin Film Festival, and was shown in Channel Four's ground-breaking lesbian and gay television series *Out on Tuesday* in 1989.

In 1991, Julien directed *Young Soul Rebels*, a seductive, engaging and challenging feature film drama set in 1977, the year of Queen Elizabeth II's Silver Jubilee. Once again Julien explored sexual and racial identities in a provocative way, and walked off with the Cannes Film Festival's Critics' Week prize.

In 1991, Julien was interviewed with other young black gay filmmakers in *Some of My Best Friends*, one of the programmes featured in BBC television's *Saturday Night Out*, an evening of programmes devoted to lesbian and gay viewers. The following year he directed *Black and White in Colour*, a two-part documentary for BBC television which traced the history of black people in British television from the 1930s to the 1990s. Using archival footage and interviews with such black participants as Elisabeth Welch, Norman Beaton, Carmen Munroe and Lenny Henry, *Black and White in Colour* was well received by the critics. It was also nominated for the British Film Institute's Archival Achievement Award, and the Commission for Racial Equality's Race in the Media Award.

Since making *Black and White in Colour*, Julien has directed a short film, *The Attendant*, and *The Dark Side of Black* (1994), an edition of BBC television's Arena series. This compelling documentary examined the social, cultural and political influences of rap and reggae music, with particular emphasis on its growing homophobic content.

—Stephen Bourne



Isaac Julien

Photo courtesy of the British Film Institute

ISAAC JULIEN. Born in London, England, 1960. Studied art at St. Martin's School of Art. Began career as writer-director, *Who Killed Colin Roach?*, 1983; co-founder, Sankofa Film and Video group. Recipient: Golden Teddy Bear Award, Berlin, 1988; Cannes Film Festival Critic's Week Prize, 1991.

#### TELEVISION SPECIALS

- |      |                                  |
|------|----------------------------------|
| 1988 | <i>Looking for Langston</i>      |
| 1992 | <i>Black and White in Colour</i> |
| 1994 | <i>The Dark Side of Black</i>    |

#### FILMS

*Who Killed Colin Roach?*, 1983; *The Passion of Remembrance*, 1986; *Young Soul Rebels*, 1991; *The Attendant*, 1995.

#### FURTHER READING

Bourne, Stephen. *Black in the British Frame—Black People in British Film and Television 1896-1996*. London: Cassell, 1996.

Julien, Isaac, and Colin McCabe. *Diary of a Young Soul Rebel*. London: British Film Institute, 1991.

See also *Black and White in Colour*

## JUNEAU, PIERRE

### Canadian Media Executive

**P**ierre Juneau has held virtually every important position in the Canadian broadcasting hierarchy. His long career is characterized by a sustained commitment to the principles of public broadcasting and ownership.

In 1949, Juneau joined the National Film Board of Canada (NFBC) as the Montreal district representative. Throughout the 1950s he became in turn the Quebec assistant regional supervisor, the chief of international distribution, the assistant head of the European office, the NFBC secretary, and in 1964, the director of French-language production. He also pursued film interests only secondarily related to his official position. In 1959, Juneau co-founded the Montreal International Film Festival and served as its president until 1968.

In 1966, Juneau left the NFBC to become vice-chair of the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG), the federal broadcast regulatory agency. In 1968, Parliament enacted a new Broadcasting Act which replaced the BBG with the Canadian Radio-Television Commission (CRTC) and Juneau was named its first chair, a position he held until 1975. As CRTC chair, Juneau is best remembered for promoting Canadian content regulations in both radio and television, as well as in the growing medium of cable. The regulations, soon called "Cancon", helped create a permanent domestic market for Canadian music and television. They stipulate percentages of overall air time and specific time slots which must be devoted to material produced or performed by Canadians. They met with widespread public support and their principle remains essentially unchanged to the present day. Indeed, in 1971, the Canadian Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences (CARAS) named its annual ceremony the "Juno Awards" as a gesture towards both the CRTC chair and the Roman goddess.

In 1975, Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau appointed Juneau minister of communication, but he was defeated in the by-election of that year and resigned from the post. In 1978, still under Trudeau, he became Under-secretary of State and in 1980 deputy minister of communication. Trudeau appointed Juneau to a seven-year term as president of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in 1982. These proved to be turbulent times, however, as the Trudeau government was defeated by the Conservative Party of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. Although the CBC president enjoys an "arm's length" relationship with the government, relations between Juneau, who was closely identified with the Trudeau Liberals, and the new government became strained as increasingly severe budget cuts were imposed upon the CBC. In 1988, the Mulroney government also revised the Broadcasting Act. It foresaw that Juneau's position would be split between a part-time president and a full-time chair, a move Juneau opposed. Simultaneously, throughout the 1980s, new television services were launched and the CBC's audience share declined. Juneau defended both the ideal and the practical reality of



*Pierre Juneau*  
*Photo courtesy of CBC*

public broadcasting and stated his intention to raise to 95% the amount of Canadian content on the CBC. Furthermore, in 1988 and 1989, he oversaw the launch of the CBC's all-news cable channel, Newsworld, on which he appeared as the first speaker on the last day of his mandate.

Like CBC presidents before him, Juneau campaigned for operating budgets, controlled by Parliament, covering five-year rather than one-year periods, and refused to relinquish advertising revenue so long as Parliament declined to cover all expenses. Under Juneau, the CBC on both its French- and English-language networks consolidated its reputation for news and public affairs, increased its Canadian content, brought in a new head of English-language programming, Ivan Fecan, and shifted towards independently-produced dramatic content. In the 1980s, the CBC also scored some of its highest ratings successes ever. However, its dependence upon advertising revenue became more acute and its audience share fell. In 1994, Juneau was appointed to head a government enquiry into the future of the CBC.

—Paul Attallah

PIERRE JUNEAU. Born in Verdun, Quebec, Canada, 17 October 1922. Educated at Jesuit schools, College Sainte-Marie in Montreal, B.A., 1944, Sorbonne in Paris, France; graduated from the Institut Catholique, Paris, as a licencié in philosophy 1949. Married: Fernande Martin, 1947; children: Andre, Martin, and Isabelle. Joined National Film Board of Canada as Montreal district representative, 1949; assistant regional supervisor for the Province of Quebec; chief of international distribution, 1951; assistant head of the European office, London, 1952; secretary, National Film Board, 1954; co-founder and president, Montreal International Film Festival, 1959–68; senior assistant to the commissioner and director of French language production, 1964–66, vice-chair; named vice-chair, Board of Broadcast Governors, 1966; chair, Canadian Radio and Television Commission, 1968–75; Canadian minister of communications, 1975; advisor to Prime Minister Trudeau; appointed chair, National Capital Commission, 1976; Undersecretary of State, 1978; deputy minister of Communications, 1980; president, CBC, from 1982–89; chair, CBC's mandate review committee, 1994. Honorary doctorates: York University, 1973, Trent University, 1987, University of Moncton, 1988. Fellow, Royal Society of Canada. Recipient: Order of Canada, 1975.

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See also Canada





# K

## KATE AND ALLIE

U.S. Domestic Comedy

**K***ate and Allie*, which ran on CBS from 19 March 1984 to 22 May 1989, was the brainchild of Sherry Coben who came up with the idea for the series while attending a high school reunion. There she noticed that a couple of divorcees, who seemed unhappy and dissatisfied, found comfort in sharing with each other. Coben worked with this germinal notion and successfully pitched the resulting script, originally entitled, "Two Mommies," to Michael Ogiens, then head of New York program development at CBS. Ogiens liked the script because it contained fresh material that dealt with a real issue of the day—single parenthood.

The next step in the series' genesis was the location of actresses for the central roles. Susan St. James was, at the time, under contract to CBS. Though she was best known for romantic comedy, she liked the script and the part of Kate McArdle but stipulated her demands—production before a live audience and a New York shooting location. St. James' close friend Jane Curtin was soon convinced to accept the part of Allie Lowell. Producer-director-writer Bill Persky agreed to produce and direct six episodes, without committing to an entire series. He also insisted that Bob Randall be brought on board as producer-writer and supervisor. Reeves Communications, with executive producers, Mort Lachman and Merrill Grant, undertook production of *Kate and Allie*, and the series debuted with a script by Coben which sets the series' premise: two divorced women who have known one another since childhood decide to move in together and raise their three children as a family unit—at least temporarily.

*Kate and Allie* was an instant success, ranking fourth the week it debuted, garnering consistently high ratings thereafter, and earning Jane Curtin two consecutive Emmys and Bill Persky, one. The characters and the issues they dealt with obviously appealed to the program's audience.

St. James' character, Kate, is a woman recently divorced from her unstable and somewhat flighty part-time actor husband, Max. She has one daughter, 14-year-old Emma (Ari Meyers). Curtin's Allie is also recently divorced from her successful, but unfaithful doctor husband, Charles. She has a 14-year-old daughter Jennie (Allison Smith) and a 7-year-old son, Chip (Frederick Koehler). Neither Kate nor Allie have ruled out remarriage but view their new situation as a provisional reprieve, a time for both women to come to know and appreciate themselves. On one level the series dealt with practical problems faced by divorced women with

children: adjusting to a new lifestyle and to living closely with new people, dealing with children's issues, beginning to date again, securing financial stability.

On another level, however, the series deals with the larger issue of gender identity at a time when gender roles were in transition. Allie Lowell has submerged her own identity in that of her husband and most of the series' trajectory tracks her journey toward autonomy. Kate McArdle, on the other hand, has a stronger sense of her own identity, but must constantly struggle for equality at work and for the assurance that her goals will be respected in any love relationship.

Key to the series' notion of women's development is same-sex friendship, and each episode is narratively structured to highlight the long-term, supportive friendship be-



Kate and Allie

tween the two main characters. Episodes begin with a conversation between Kate and Allie designed to enhance the audience's understanding of both women or to provide backstory. Similarly, each episode ends with Kate and Allie discussing and bringing closure to the events just depicted. Their verbal intimacy both reflects and heightens their sustaining friendship. As the series evolved, the same kind of supportive friendship developed between the two daughters who initially disliked being forced together.

After directing one hundred episodes and having Allie accept the wedding proposal of likable character Bob Barsky, Bill Persky left the series, feeling that *Kate and Allie* had now fulfilled its premise. The needed respite had worked for Allie, who was now able to enter a meaningful heterosexual relationship as a fully autonomous individual, sure of herself and of her own goals. While Kate still had not met a man whose life goals matched her own, she and Allie owned a successful business, and the audience was sure that she would not succumb to a marriage which downplayed her personal desires.

Despite these developments, the series continued. Linda Day became the director with Anne Flett and Chuck Ranberg as producers, but the new team did not meet with the same success as had the first. The decline of *Kate and Allie* illustrates an interesting aspect of television's capabilities in combining socio-cultural issues with particular narrative strategies. With the series' premise fulfilled, plots lacked the same objective and lost the relevance and vitality of earlier episodes. In part to address this situation, early in the new season the writers created a device to bring the two women together again: Kate moved out of the old apartment and in with Allie and Bob—who accepted a sportscasting job that would take him away on weekends. By this time, however, Emma was out of the series, ostensibly away studying, and though Jennie remained an active and visible character, she too had moved out of the household to live in a university dorm. The friendship between Kate and Allie lost its earlier dynamism now that Allie was married. Kate appeared as an intrusion into the household rather than a necessary part of it. Even though the series had not "solved" the social problems it addressed, its creators and performers had moved the main characters into a narrative situation that no longer seemed a workable fiction. After its sixth season, the series was not renewed.

—Christine R. Catron

## KEESHAN, BOB

U.S. Children's Television Performer

**B**ob Keeshan is the actor and producer responsible for the success of the long-running children's program, *Captain Kangaroo*. As the easy-going captain with his big pockets and his bushy mustache, Keeshan lured children

## CAST

*Kate McArdle* . . . . . Susan St. James  
*Allie Lowell* . . . . . Jane Curtin  
*Emma McArdle* (1984–88) . . . . . Ari Meyers  
*Chip Lowell* . . . . . Frederick Koehler  
*Jennie Lowell* . . . . . Allison Smith  
*Charles Lowell* (1984–86) . . . . . Paul Hecht  
*Ted Bartelo* (1984–85, 1987–88) . . . . . Gregory Salata  
*Bob Barsky* (1987–89) . . . . . Sam Freed  
*Lou Carello* (1988–89) . . . . . Peter Onorati

**PRODUCERS** Bob Randall, Mort Lachman, Merrill Grant, Bill Persky, Anne Flett, Chuck Ranberg

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 122 Episodes

## • CBS

March 1984–May 1984	Monday 9:30-10:00
August 1984–September 1986	Monday 9:30-10:00
September 1986–September 1987	Monday 8:00-8:30
September 1987–November 1987	Monday 8:30-9:00
December 1987–June 1988	Monday 8:00-8:30
July 1988–August 1988	Saturday 8:00-8:30
August 1988–September 1988	Monday 9:00-9:30
December 1988–March 1989	Monday 8:30-9:00
March 1989–June 1989	Monday 10:30-11:00
June 1989–September 1989	Monday 8:00-8:30

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See also Comedy, Domestic Settings; Curtin, Jane; Gender and Television

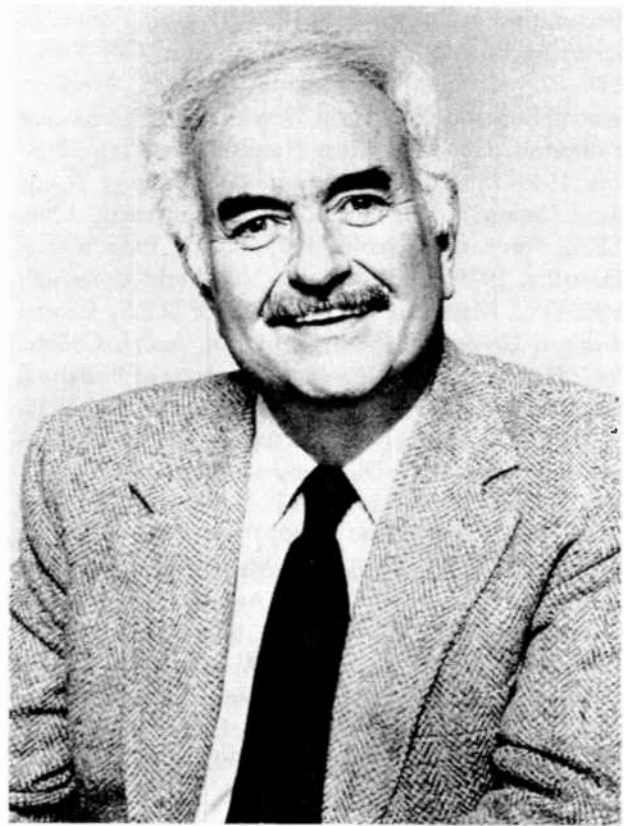
into close engagement with literature, science, and especially music, adopting an approach which mixed pleasure and pedagogy. Children learned most easily, he argued, when information and knowledge became a source of delight.

Keeshan's approach represented a rejection of pressures towards the increased commercialization of children's programming as well as a toning-down of the high volume, slapstick style associated with earlier kid show hosts, such as Pinky Lee, Soupy Sales and *Howdy Doody's* Buffalo Bob.

Keeshan was working as a receptionist at NBC-Radio's Manhattan office when Bob Smith started offering him small acting parts on his NBC-TV show, *Triple B Ranch*, and then, subsequently, hired him as a special assistant for *The Howdy Doody Show*. Though Keeshan's initial responsibilities involved supervising props and talking to the children who were to be program guests, he was soon pulled on camera, bringing out prizes. After appearing in clown garb on one episode to immense response, he took on the regular role of Clarabell, the mute clown who communicated by honking a horn. Leaving the series in 1952, he played a succession of other clown characters, such as Corny, the host of WABC-TV's *Time For Fun*, a noontime cartoon program, where he exerted pressure to remove from airplay cartoons he felt were too violent or perpetuated racial stereotyping. While at WABC-TV, he played an Alpine toymaker on *Tinker's Workshop*, an early morning program, which served as the prototype for *Captain Kangaroo*.

The CBS network was searching for innovative new approaches to children's programming and approved the *Kangaroo* series submitted by Keeshan and long-time friend Jack Miller. The series first aired in October 1955 and continued until 1985, making it the longest running children's series in network history. Keeshan not only vividly embodied the captain, the friendly host of the Treasure House, but also played a central creative role on the daily series, supervising and actively contributing to the scripts and insuring the program's conformity to his conceptions of appropriate children's entertainment. Through encounters with Mr. Green Jeans and his menagerie of domestic animals, with the poetry-creating Grandfather Clock, the greedy Bunny Rabbit, the punning trickster Mr. Moose, and the musically-inclined Dancing Bear, the captain opened several generations of children to the pleasures of learning. Unlike many other children's programs, *Captain Kangaroo* was not filmed before a studio audience and did not include children in its cast. Keeshan wanted nothing that would come between him and the children in his television audience and so spoke directly to the camera. He also personally supervised which commercials could air on the program, and promoted products, such as Play-Dough and Etch-a-Sketch, which he saw as facilitating creative play, while avoiding those he felt purely exploitative.

As his program's popularity grew, Keeshan took on an increasingly public role as an advocate for children, writing a regular column about children and television for *McCall's* and occasional articles for *Good Housekeeping*, *Parade*, and other publications. Keeshan wrote original children's books (as well as those tied to the *Kangaroo* program) and recorded a series of records designed to introduce children to classical and jazz music. He appeared at "tiny tot" concerts given by symphony



Bob Keeshan

Photo courtesy of Bob Keeshan

orchestras in more than 50 cities, offering playful introductions to the musical instruments and the pleasure of good listening.

After his retirement, Keeshan became an active lobbyist on behalf of children's issues and in favor of tighter controls over the tobacco industry. A sharp critic of contemporary children's television, Keeshan is currently making efforts to get a new version of *Captain Kangaroo* onto the air, but since he does not own the rights to the character, there is some possibility that the captain may be recast.

—Henry Jenkins

BOB KEESHAN. Born in New York City, New York, U.S.A., 27 June 1927. Attended Fordham University, 1946–49. Served in U.S. Marine Corps Reserve, 1945–46. Married: Anne Jeanne Laurie, 1950; children: Michael Derek, Laurie Margaret, and Maeve Jeanne. Began career as Clarabell for NBC-TV's *The Howdy Doody Show*, 1947–52; appeared as Corny the Clown (ABC-TV), 1953–55, and Tinker the Toymaker (ABC-TV), 1954–55; starred as Captain Kangaroo (CBS-TV), 1955–85; president, Robert Keeshan Associates, from 1955; appeared as Mr. Mayor and the Town Clown (CBS-TV), 1964–65; president, Suffolk County Hearing and Speech Center, 1966–71; director of Marvin Josephson Associates, Inc., New York, 1969–77; director, Bank of Babylon, New York, 1973–79; chair, board of trustees, College of New Rochelle, New York, 1974–80;

director, Anchor Savings Bank, 1976–91; chair, Council of Governing Boards, 1979–80; commentator, CBS-Radio, 1980–82; television commentator, 1981–82. Member: Board of Education, West Islip, New York, 1953–58; board of directors, Good Samaritan Hospital, West Islip, New York, 1969–78. Honorary degrees: D. of Pedagogy, Rhode Island College, 1969; D.H.L., Alfred University, 1969; D.F.A., Fordham University, 1975; Litt.D., Indiana State University, 1978; L.L.D., Elmira (New York) University, 1980; D.L., Marquette University, 1983; D.P.S., Central Michigan University, 1984; D.H.L., St. Joseph College, 1987. Honorary Fellow: American Academy of Pediatrics. Recipient: Sylvania Award, 1956; Peabody Awards, 1958, 1972, 1979; American Education Award, Education Industries Association, 1978; Distinguished Achievement Award, Georgia Radio and TV Institute-Pi Gamma Kappa, 1978; Emmy Awards, 1978, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984; TV Father of the Year, 1980; James E. Allen Memorial Award, 1981; Distinguished Service to Children Award, 1981; National Education Award, 1982; American Heart Association National Public Affairs Recognition Award, 1987; Frances Holleman Breathitt Award for Excellence, Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, 1987; Clown Hall of Fame, 1990; AMA Distinguished Service Award, 1991.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1947–52 *The Howdy Doody Show*  
 1953–55 *Time for Fun*  
 1954–55 *Tinker's Workshop* (also producer)  
 1955–85 *Captain Kangaroo* (also producer)  
 1964–65 *Mr. Mayor* (also producer)

## KENDAL, FELICITY

### British Actor

Felicity Kendal first emerged as a favourite actor in British situation comedy in the 1970s and went on to vary her repertoire with television dramas, films, and stage plays with considerable success. She spent her childhood in India and had an early introduction to the theatre on tour with the Shakespearean company run by her parents, both established theatrical performers. She made her debut on the London stage in 1967 and subsequently confirmed her reputation as a popular stage star with appearances in such plays as Alan Ayckbourn's *The Norman Conquests* (1974), Michael Frayn's *Clouds* (1978), Peter Shaffer's *Amadeus* (1979), Tom Stoppard's *Hapgood* (1988), and Chekhov's *Ivanov* (1989), for which she won the London *Evening Standard* Best Actress Award.

Kendal's theatrical links secured for her a first television role in *The Mayfly and the Frog*, which starred John Gielgud, and she made a good impression in supporting roles in such subsequent productions as *Man in a Suitcase*, *The Woodlanders*, *The Persuaders*, *Edward VII*, and *Home*

1981–82 *Up to the Minute, CBS News* (commentator)  
 1982 *CBS Morning News* (commentator)

#### RADIO

*The Subject Is Young People*, 1980–82.

#### PUBLICATIONS

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*Hurry, Murry, Hurry*. Minneapolis, Minnesota: Fairview, 1996.

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 Norton-Smith, Thomas M., and Linda L. Norton-Smith. "Two Conceptions of the Value of Individuals in Children's Programming." *The Midwest Quarterly* (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), Autumn 1992.

See also Children and Television

*and Beauty*, among others. Producers liked her girlish good looks and bubbly confidence and audiences also quickly warmed to her.

Kendal's whimsical, puckish charm and endearingly good-humoured outlook made her ideal for the role that was destined to establish her as a television star—that of Barbara Good in the BBC's *The Good Life*, in which she partnered Richard Briers as a suburban couple determined to lead a life of independent self-sufficiency. Loyal to the point of lunacy, and ever-fetching even in mud-stained jeans and knotted headscarf, she won universal praise as the pert and long-suffering young wife of Briers, striving to understand the frustrations of her wayward cereal designer-turned-smallholder husband as he painfully sought to put some meaning back into his life by turning their Surbiton house and garden into a small-scale farm. The accessibility of the central characters, perfectly played by Briers and Kendal, with Paul Eddington and Penelope Keith as their neighbours the Leadbeaters, ensured stardom for all four of them and a lasting place in

public affections. As a direct result of the programme's success, the number of smallholdings in Britain shot up to a record 51,000 by 1980.

After four seasons of *The Good Life*, the way was open for the four performers to develop their own solo careers. Kendal herself was showcased in two further sitcoms that centred around her alone. In Carla Lane's *Solo* she returned to the theme of self-sufficiency, playing Gemma Palmer, a vulnerable but resolutely independent 30-year-old woman who throws out her faithless boyfriend and gives up her job in an attempt to reassert control of her life. In *The Mistress*, a rather more controversial sitcom also written by Lane, she was florist Maxine, trying to cope with the guilt and confusions involved in carrying on an affair with the married Luke Mansel (played by Jack Galloway). Some viewers disliked this last series, objecting to the girlish and rather innocent Felicity Kendal they remembered from *The Good Life* wrestling with such a dubious issue as adultery as she awaited her lover in her cosy pink flat, in the company of her pet rabbits, and pondered how to keep the affair secret from Luke's suspicious wife (played by Jane Asher).

Always an intelligent and sensitive actor, Kendal has been by no means confined to sitcoms, however. By way of contrast, in 1978 she played Dorothy Wordsworth in Ken Russell's biopic *Clouds of Glory* and later on she appeared with success in the miniseries *The Camomile Lawn*. In *Honey for Tea*, she was back in more familiar sitcom territory, playing American widow Nancy Belasco.

—David Pickering

**FELICITY KENDAL.** Born in Birmingham, England, 25 September 1946. Education: 6 convents in India. Married: one son from first marriage; 2) Michael Rudman, 1983; one son. On stage, from 1947 (at age of 9 months); grew up touring with parents' theatre company in India and the Far East; in film, from 1965; London stage debut in *Minor Murder*, 1967; in television, from 1968. Recipient: Variety Club Awards, 1974, 1979, 1984; Clarence Derwent Award, 1980; Evening Standard Best Actor Award, 1989. Address: c/o Chatto and Linnit, Prince of Wales Theatre, Coventry Street, W1V 7FE, London, England.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1975–77 *The Good Life*  
1980–82 *Solo*  
1985–86 *The Mistress*  
1994 *Honey for Tea*

#### TELEVISION MINISERIES

1991 *The Camomile Lawn*

#### TELEVISION PLAYS (selection)

1968 *The Mayfly and the Frog*



Felicity Kendal

Photo courtesy of the British Film Institute

1971	<i>Crime of Passion</i>
1973	<i>The Woodlanders</i>
1978	<i>Clouds of Glory</i>
1979	<i>Twelfth Night</i>
1982	<i>On the Razzle</i> (for <i>Great Performances</i> )

#### FILMS

*Shakespeare Wallah*, 1965; *Love Story*, 1974; *Edward VII*, 1975; *The Good Life*, 1976; *Valentino*, 1977; *The Mistress*, 1985.

#### STAGE

*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1947; *Minor Murder*, 1967; *Henry V*, 1968; *The Promise*, 1968; *Back to Methuselah*, 1970; *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1970; *Kean*, 1970; *Much Ado About Nothing*, 1971; *Romeo and Juliet*, 1972; *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, 1972; *The Three Arrows*, 1972; *The Norman Conquests*, 1974; *Once Upon a Time*, 1976; *Arms and the Man*, 1978; *Clouds*, 1978; *Amadeus*, 1979; *Othello*, 1980; *On the Razzle*, 1981; *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*, 1982; *The Real Thing*, 1982; *Jumpers*, 1985; *Made in Bangkok*, 1986; *Hapgood*, 1988; *Much Ado About Nothing*, 1989; *Ivanov*, 1989; *Hidden Laughter*, 1990; *Tartuffe*, 1991; *Heartbreak House*, 1992.

## KENNEDY, GRAHAM

Australian Comedian/Host

In 1956, just in time for the Melbourne Olympics, Australian television began on Network Nine, destined to be the nation's most successful popular network. A year later, also on Network Nine, the long-running variety show, *In Melbourne Tonight*, also began and soon became immensely popular. So too did the host of the show, Graham Kennedy, who became that classic icon, a household word. He was the king of comedy, the recognised successor to Australia's previous comic king and lord of misrule, Roy Rene (Mo), whose stage had been vaudeville and radio from the 1920s to the late 1940s. With *In Melbourne Tonight*, Kennedy adapted for television Australia's rich history of very risqué music hall, vaudeville, and variety. *In Melbourne Tonight* included musical acts, game segments, burlesques of ads, and sketches, including "The Wilsons." In this segment, perhaps reminiscent of *The Honeymooners* skits on early 1950s American television, Graham played a dirty old man, married to his Joyce, carnivalising marriage as comic disaster.

After some 15 years of *In Melbourne Tonight*, Kennedy's TV shows and appearances became more occasional. In the middle 1970s he was host of *Blankety Blanks*, a variety quiz show that parodied other quiz shows. On *Blankety Blanks*, contestants would be asked to provide a reply which matched the responses offered by a panel of celebrities; there was no "true" answer, only answers that matched, as Kennedy would occasionally remind viewers amidst the mayhem and clowning. The program tended to go sideways into nonsense and fooling, rather than go straight ahead as in a quiz "race." In the late 1980s, Kennedy was host of *Graham Kennedy Coast to Coast*, an innovative late night program (10:30 to 11:30 P.M.) that mixed news, accompanied by its conventions of seriousness and frequent urgency, with comic traditions drawn from centuries of carnival and vaudeville, a hybridising of genres usually considered incompatible.

Kennedy's humour was saturated with self-reflexivity. On *Blankety Blanks* he insulted the producer, chided the crew, complained about the format of the show, and chaffed with the audience. He made jokes about the props he had to use, or the young lad called Peter behind the set whose task was to pull something. He was addressed by Kennedy as Peter the Phantom Puller, and frequently instructed to, "Pull it, Peter." On *Graham Kennedy Coast to Coast* he continued to make comedy out of self-reflexivity. At various times he showed how he could beep out words with a device on the desk in front of him. He demonstrated the cue system, and revealed the cue words themselves. He discussed his smoking problem, announcing that he was a chain smoker, and though he wasn't supposed to puff on it in front of viewers, he held a lighted cigarette just below his desk. He presented ads, making fun of the product, revealing how much the station received for them. He showed a tiny new camera, and what it could do, and invited the audience to



Graham Kennedy

Photo courtesy of the National Film and Sound Archive (Australia)

ring in with suggestions for how he should use it. Every night he read out telephone calls resulting from the previous night's show, some registering their disgust with his extremely "crude"—grotesque bodily—jokes.

Everything—the studio, the situation of sitting in front of cameras and dealing with a producer, the off-screen personalities of his straight men (Ken Sutcliffe, a sports compere, and John Mangos, back from the United States where he'd been an overseas reporter for Network Nine)—served as grist for Kennedy's comedy mill.

As with professional clowns from early modern Europe through pantomime, music hall, vaudeville, to Hollywood, Kennedy presented his face and body as grotesque, highlighting his protruding eyes, open gaping mouth, and long wandering tongue. His comedy was indeed risqué, calling on every aspect of the body to bring down solemnity or pomposity or pretension; his references to any and every orifice and protuberance were often such that one laughed and cried out at home, "that's disgusting." His relationship with his audience was, again as with clowns of old, competitive and interactive, particularly in the segments when he read out and responded to phone calls. To one viewer, who must have been demanding them, Kennedy commented, "There are no limits, love, there are no limits." It is the credo

of the clown through the ages, the uttering of what others only think, the saying of the unsayable.

When Queen Elizabeth was shown in a news item visiting Hong Kong in 1989, Kennedy remarked that for a woman her age she didn't have bad breasts, a purposely outrageously sexist comment, directed at a figure traditionally revered by Anglo-Australians. The night following the San Francisco earthquake, Kennedy and John Mangos staged a mock earthquake in the studio, with the ceiling apparently falling in on them. This piece of comic by-play was discussed in the press for some days. "Quality" papers such as the *Sydney Morning Herald* debated how distasteful it was. Kennedy was calling on an aspect of carnivalesque, uncrowning death with laughter. Such comedy usually remains verbal and underground, but Kennedy brought it to television.

*Coast to Coast* always highlighted and played with gender identity and confusion. Kennedy created his TV persona as bisexual. He might make jokes of heterosexual provenance, as in expressing his desire to make love to Jana Wendt, Australian TV's highest-rating current-affairs and news-magazine host. Or he would play up being gay. One night Sutcliffe suddenly said to Graham, "Would you like to take your hand off my knee?" Jokes flowed, and Kennedy later included the performance in his final retrospective 1989 *Coast to Coast* program. Graham and Mangos were also very affectionate to each other. In his last appearance on the show, Graham kissed Mangos' hand, and said of Ken and John that "he loved them both."

Kennedy also highlighted ethnicity on *Coast to Coast*, particularly with Greek-Australian Mangos. With George Donikian, an Armenian-Australian reading out headlines every half hour, and with an American-Australian listing stock exchange reports, Graham set about exploring contemporary cultural and ethnic identities in Australia. His ethnic jokes probed, provoked, teased, challenged. The jokes were uncertain, revealing his own uncertainty.

The popularity of Graham Kennedy since 1957, a popularity almost coterminous with Australian television itself, was extremely important and influential for contemporary entertainment. This comedy king gave license to many princes and lesser courts. He enabled them to explore comic self-reflexivity and direct address, the grotesque body, parody, and self-parody. For if Kennedy mocked others, he just as continuously mocked himself, creating for Australian television a feature of long carnivalesque signature, comedy that destabilises every settled category and claim to truth, including its own. Such self-parody also drew on what has been remarked as a feature of (white) Australian cultural history in the last two centuries, perhaps directly influenced by Aboriginal traditions of mocking mimicry: a laconic self-ironic humour, unsettling pomposity, pretension, and authority. Kennedy belongs not only to cultural history in Australia; his quickness of wit in verbal play, double-entendre, sexual suggestion, inverted meanings, and festive abuse joins him to a long line of great comedians across the

world. What he adds to stage traditions of comedy is a mastery of the television medium itself.

—John Docker

GRAHAM KENNEDY. Born in Melbourne, Australia, 15 February 1934. Educated at Caulfield Central School and Melbourne High School. News runner for ABC Radio Australia; worked at radio station 3UZ, in the recorded music library, and as panel operator for radio personality Nicky (Cliff Nicholls), 1951-57; moved to television, working for GTV Nine Network, 1957-69, and 1972-74; popular host, GTV9's *In Melbourne Tonight*; briefly returned to radio, 1961; briefly hosted GTV9's *The Tonight Show*, 1973; film career as a character actor; worked for Ten Network, 1977-79; host of the Australian version of *Blankety Blanks*, 1977-81; occasional TV appearances, from 1981; host, *Funniest Home Videos*, from 1990. Recipient: several Logie Awards, two Penguin Awards. Address: c/o James Laurie Management Pty Ltd., 39 Waterloo Street, Surry Hills, NSW, 2010, Australia.

#### TELEVISION

1957-69	<i>In Melbourne Tonight</i>
1973	<i>The Tonight Show</i>
1977-81	<i>Blankety Blanks</i>
1988-89	<i>Graham Kennedy Coast to Coast</i>
1990-	<i>Graham Kennedy's Funniest Home Videos</i>

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*They're a Weird Mob*, 1968; *The Odd, Angry Shot*, 1978; *The Club*, 1980; *The Return of Captain Invincible*, 1982; *The Killing Fields*, 1983; *Stanley*, 1983; *Travelling North*, 1987.

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See also Australian Programming



## ASSASSINATION AND FUNERAL OF PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY

The network coverage of the assassination and funeral of John F. Kennedy warrants its reputation as the most moving and historic passage in broadcasting history. On Friday 22 November 1963, news bulletins reporting rifle shots during the president's motorcade in Dallas, Texas, broke into normal programming. Soon the three networks preempted their regular schedules and all commercial advertising for a wrenching marathon that would conclude only after the president's burial at Arlington National Cemetery on Monday 25 November. As a purely technical challenge, the continuous live coverage over four days of a single, unbidden event remains the signature achievement of broadcast journalism in the era of three network hegemony. But perhaps the true measure of the television coverage of the events surrounding the death of President Kennedy is that it marked how intimately the medium and the nation are interwoven in times of crisis.

The first word came over the television airwaves at 1:40 P.M. EST when CBS News anchorman Walter Cronkite broke into *As the World Turns* with an audio announcement over a bulletin slide: "In Dallas, Texas, three shots were fired at President Kennedy's motorcade in downtown Dallas. The first reports say that President Kennedy has been seriously wounded by this shooting." Minutes later, Cronkite appears on screen from CBS' New York newsroom to field live reports from Dallas and read news bulletins from Associated Press and CBS Radio. Eddie Barker, news director for CBS' Dallas affiliate KRLD-TV, reports live from the Trade Mart, where the president was to have attended a luncheon. As a stationary camera pans the ballroom, closing in on a black waiter who wipes tears from his face, Barker relates rumors "that the president is dead." Back in New York, a voice off camera tells Cronkite the same news, which the anchorman stresses is "totally unconfirmed." Switching back to Dallas, Barker again reports "the word we have is that the President is dead." Though he cautions "this we do not know for a fact," the visual image at the Trade Mart is ominous: workman can be seen removing the presidential seal from a podium on the dias.

Behind the scenes, at KRLD's newsroom, CBS' Dallas bureau chief Dan Rather scrambles for information. He learns from two sources at Parkland Hospital that the president has died, a report that goes out prematurely over CBS Radio. Citing Rather, Cronkite reports the president's death but notes the lack of any official conformation. At 2:37 P.M. CBS news editor Ed Bliss, Jr. hands Cronkite an AP wire report. Cronkite takes a long second to read it to himself before intoning: "From Dallas, Texas, the flash, apparently official. President Kennedy died at 1:00 P.M. Central Standard Time, two o'clock Eastern Standard Time." He pauses and looks at the studio clock. "Some thirty-eight minutes ago." Momentarily losing his composure, Cronkite winces,

removes his eyeglasses, and clears his throat before resuming with the observation that Vice President Lyndon Johnson will presumably take the oath of office to become the thirty-sixth president of the United States.

To appreciate the enormity of the task faced by the networks over the next four days, it is necessary to recall that in 1963, before the days of high-tech, globally linked, and sleekly mobile newsgathering units, the technical limitations of broadcast journalism militated against the coverage of live and fast-breaking events in multiple locations. TV cameras required two hours of equipment warm-up to become "hot" enough for operation. Video signals were transmitted cross-country via "hard wire" coaxial cable or microwave relay. "Spot coverage" of unfolding news in the field demanded speed and mobility and since television cameras had to be tethered to enormous wires and electrical systems, 16mm film crews still dominated location coverage, with the consequent delay in transportation, processing, and editing of footage. The challenges of juggling live broadcasts from across the nation with overseas audio transmissions, of compiling instant documentaries and special reports, and of acquiring and putting out raw film footage over the air was an off-the-cuff experiment in what NBC correspondent Bill Ryan called "controlled panic."

The resultant technical glitches served to heighten a national atmosphere of crisis and imbalance. NBC's coverage during that first hour showed correspondents Frank McGee, Chet Huntley, and Bill Ryan fumbling for a simple telephone link to Dallas, where reporter Robert McNeil was on the scene at Parkland Hospital. Manning the telephone and bobbling a malfunctioning speaker attachment, McGee had to repeat McNeil's words for the home audience because NBC technicians could not establish a direct audio feed. As McNeil reported White House aide Mac Kilduff's official announcement of the President's death, the phone link suddenly kicked in. Creating an eerie echo of the death notice, McGee, unaware, continued to repeat McNeil's now audible words. "After being shot at," said McNeil. "After being shot," repeated McGee needlessly. "By an unknown assailant..." "By an unknown assailant..."

Throughout Friday afternoon, information rushes in about the condition of Texas governor John Connolly, also wounded in the assassination; about the whereabouts and security of Vice President Lyndon Johnson, whom broadcasters make a determined effort to call "President Johnson;" and, in the later afternoon, about the capture of a suspected assassin, identified as Lee Harvey Oswald, a former Marine associated with left-wing causes.

So urgent is the craving for news and imagery that unedited film footage, still blotched and wet from fresh development, is put out over the air: of shocked pedestrians along the motorcade route and tearful Dallas residents out-



*The funeral of John F. Kennedy*  
*Photo courtesy of the John F. Kennedy Library*

side Parkland Hospital, of the President and First Lady, vital and smiling, from earlier in the day. The simultaneity of live video reports of a dead president intercut with recently developed film footage of a lively president delivering a good-humored breakfast speech that morning in Fort Worth make for a jarring by-play of mixed visual messages. Correspondents on all three networks are apt reflections of spectator reaction: disbelief, shock, confusion, and grief. Grasping for points of comparison, many recall the death of Franklin Delano Roosevelt on 12 April 1945. NBC's Frank McGee rightly predicts, "that this afternoon, wherever you were and whatever you might have been doing when you received the word of the death of President Kennedy, that is a moment that will be emblazoned in your memory and you will never forget it . . . as long as you live."

At 5:59 P.M. Friday, the president's body is returned to Andrews Air Force Base, where television catches an obscure, dark, and ghostly vessel taxiing in on the runaway. When the casket is lowered from the plane, glimpses of Jacqueline Kennedy appear on screen, her dress and stockings still visibly bloodstained. With the new First Lady, Lady Bird Johnson, by his side, LBJ makes a brief statement before the cameras. "We have suffered a loss that cannot be weighed," he intones flatly. "I will do my best. That is all I can do. I ask for your help—and God's." Speculations about the funeral arrangements and updates on the accused assassin in Dallas round out the evening's coverage. NBC concludes its broadcasting day with a symphonic tribute from the NBC Studio Orchestra.

On Saturday, the trauma is eased somewhat by religious ritual and Constitutional tradition. Close friends, members of the president's family, government officials, and the diplomatic community arrive to pay their respects at the White House, where the president's body is lying in state. Former Presidents Truman and Eisenhower speak for the cameras, offering condolences to the Kennedy family and expressions of faith in democratic institutions. Instant documentary tributes to the late president appear on all three networks—quick, makeshift compilations of home movies of Hyannisport frolics, press conference witticisms, and formal addresses to the nation. Meanwhile, more information dribbles in about Oswald, the accused assassin, whom the Dallas police parade through the halls of the City Jail. That evening CBS presents a memorial concert by the Philadelphia Orchestra with Eugene Normandy conducting.

On Sunday an unprecedented televised event blasts the story of the assassination of John F. Kennedy out of the realm of tragedy and into surrealism: the on-camera murder of Lee Harvey Oswald, telecast live. At 12:21 P.M. EST, as preparations are being made for the solemn procession of the caisson bearing the president's casket from the White House to the Capital rotunda, the accused assassin is about to be transferred from the Dallas City Jail to the Dallas County Jail. Alone of the three networks, NBC elects to switch over from coverage of the preparations in Washington, D.C. to the transfer of the prisoner in Dallas. CBS was also receiving

a live feed from Dallas in its New York control room, but opted to stay with the D.C. feed. Thus only NBC carried the murder of Lee Harvey Oswald live. "He's been shot! He's been shot! Lee Oswald has been shot!" shouted NBC correspondent Tom Petit. "There is absolute panic. Pandemonium has broken out." Within minutes, CBS broadcasts its own live feed from Dallas. For the rest of the day all three networks deploy their Ampex videotape technology to rewind and replay the scene again and again. Almost every American in proximity to a television watches transfixed.

Amid the scuffle after the shooting, a journalist's voice can be heard gasping, "This is unbelievable." The next day *New York Times* television critic Jack Gould called the on-air shooting of Oswald "easily the most extraordinary moments of TV that a set-owner ever watched." In truth, as much as the Kennedy assassination itself, the on-air murder of the president's alleged assassin creates an almost vertiginous imbalance in viewers, a sense of American life out of control and let loose from traditional moorings.

Later that same afternoon, in stark counterpoint to the ongoing chaos in Dallas, thousands of mourners line up to file past the president's flag draped coffin in the Capitol rotunda. Senator Mike Mansfield intones a mournful, poetic eulogy. With daughter Caroline by the hand, the president's widow kneels by the casket and kisses the flag, the little girl looking up to her mother for guidance. "For many," recalled broadcasting historian Erik Barnouw, "it was the most unbearable moment in four days, the most unforgettable."

Throughout Sunday, tributes to the late president and scenes of mourners at the Capitol intertwine with news of the assassin and the assassin of the assassin, a Dallas strip club owner named Jack Ruby. Remote coverage of church services around the nation and solemn musical interludes is intercut and dissolved into the endless stream of mourners in Washington. That evening, 8:00 P.M. EST, ABC telecasts *A Tribute to John F. Kennedy from the Arts*, a somber variety show featuring classical music and dramatic readings from the bible and Shakespeare. Host Fredric March recites the Gettysburg Address, Charlton Heston reads from the *Psalms* and Robert Frost, and Marian Anderson sings Negro spirituals.

The next day—Monday, 25 November, a National Day of Mourning—bears witness to an extraordinary political-religious spectacle: the ceremonial transfer of the president's coffin by caisson from the Capitol rotunda to St. Matthews Cathedral, where the funeral mass is to be celebrated by Richard Cardinal Cushing, and on across the Potomac River for burial at Arlington National Cemetery. Television coverage begins at 7:00 A.M. EST with scenes from D.C., where all evening mourners have been filing past the coffin in the Capitol rotunda. At 10:38 A.M. the coffin is placed on the caisson for the procession to St. Matthews Cathedral. Television imprints a series of memorable snapshot images. During the mass, as the phrase from the president's first inaugural address comes through loudspeakers ("Ask not what your country can do for you. Ask what you can do for your country") cameras dissolve to a shot of the flag-draped

coffin. No sooner do commentators remind viewers that this day marks the president's son's third birthday, than outside the church, as the caisson passes by, little John F. Kennedy, Jr. salutes. The spirited stallion Black Jack, a riderless steed with boots pointed backwards in the stirrup, kicks up defiantly. Awed by the regal solemnity, network commentators are quiet and restrained, allowing the medium of the moving image to record a series of eloquent sounds: drums and bagpipes, hoofbeats, the cadenced steps of the honor guard, and, at the burial at Arlington, the final sour note of a bugle playing "Taps."

The quiet power of the spectacle is a masterpiece of televisual choreography. Besides maintaining their own cameras and crews, each of the networks contributes cameras for pool coverage. CBS' Arthur Kane is assigned the task of directing the coverage of the procession and funeral, coordinating over 60 cameras stationed strategically along the route. NBC takes charge of feeding the signal via relay communications satellite to twenty-three countries around the globe. Even the Soviet Union, in a broadcasting first, uses a five-minute news report sent via Telestar. CBS estimated 50 engineers worked on the project and NBC 60, while ABC put its total staff at 138. Unlike the fast-breaking news from Dallas on Friday and Sunday, the coverage of a stationary, scheduled event built on the acquired expertise of network journalism.

The colossal achievement came with a hefty price tag. Trade figures estimated the total cost to the networks at \$40 million, with some \$22,000,000 lost in programming and commercial revenue over the four days. Ironically, the one time none of the networks cared about ratings, the television audience was massive. Though multi-city Nielsens for prime time hours during the Black Weekend were calculated modestly (NBC at 24, CBS at 16, and ABC at 10), during intervals of peak viewership—as when the news of Oswald's murder struck—Nielsen estimated that fully 93% of televisions in the nation were tuned to the coverage. As if hypnotized, many Americans watch for hour upon hour at a stretch in an unprecedented immersion in deep involvement spectatorship. Not incidentally, the Zapruder film, the famous super 8mm record of the assassination, was not a part of the original televisual experience. Despite the best efforts of CBS' Dan Rather, exclusive rights to the most historically significant piece of amateur filmmaking in the twentieth century were obtained by *Life* magazine. The Zapruder film

was not shown on television until March 1975 on ABC's *Goodnight America*. Almost certainly, however, in 1963 it would have been deemed too gruesome and disrespectful of the feelings of the Kennedy family to have been broadcast on network television.

The saturation coverage of the assassination and burial of John F. Kennedy, and the startling murder of his alleged assassin Lee Harvey Oswald on live television, yielded a shared media experience of astonishing unanimity and unmatched impact, an imbedded cultural memory that as years passed seemed to comprise a collective consciousness for a generation. In time, it would seem appropriate that the telegenic president was memorialized by the medium that helped make him. For its part, television—so long sneered at as a boob tube presided over by avaricious Lords of Kitsch—emerged from its four days in November as the only American institution accorded unconditional praise. *Variety's* George Rosen spoke the consensus: "In a totally unforeseen and awesome crisis, TV immediately, almost automatically, was transformed into a participating organ of American life whose value, whose indispensability, no Nielsen audimeters could measure or statistics reveal." The medium Kennedy's FCC commissioner Newton Minow condemned as a "vast wasteland" had served, in extremis, as a national lifeline.

—Thomas Doherty

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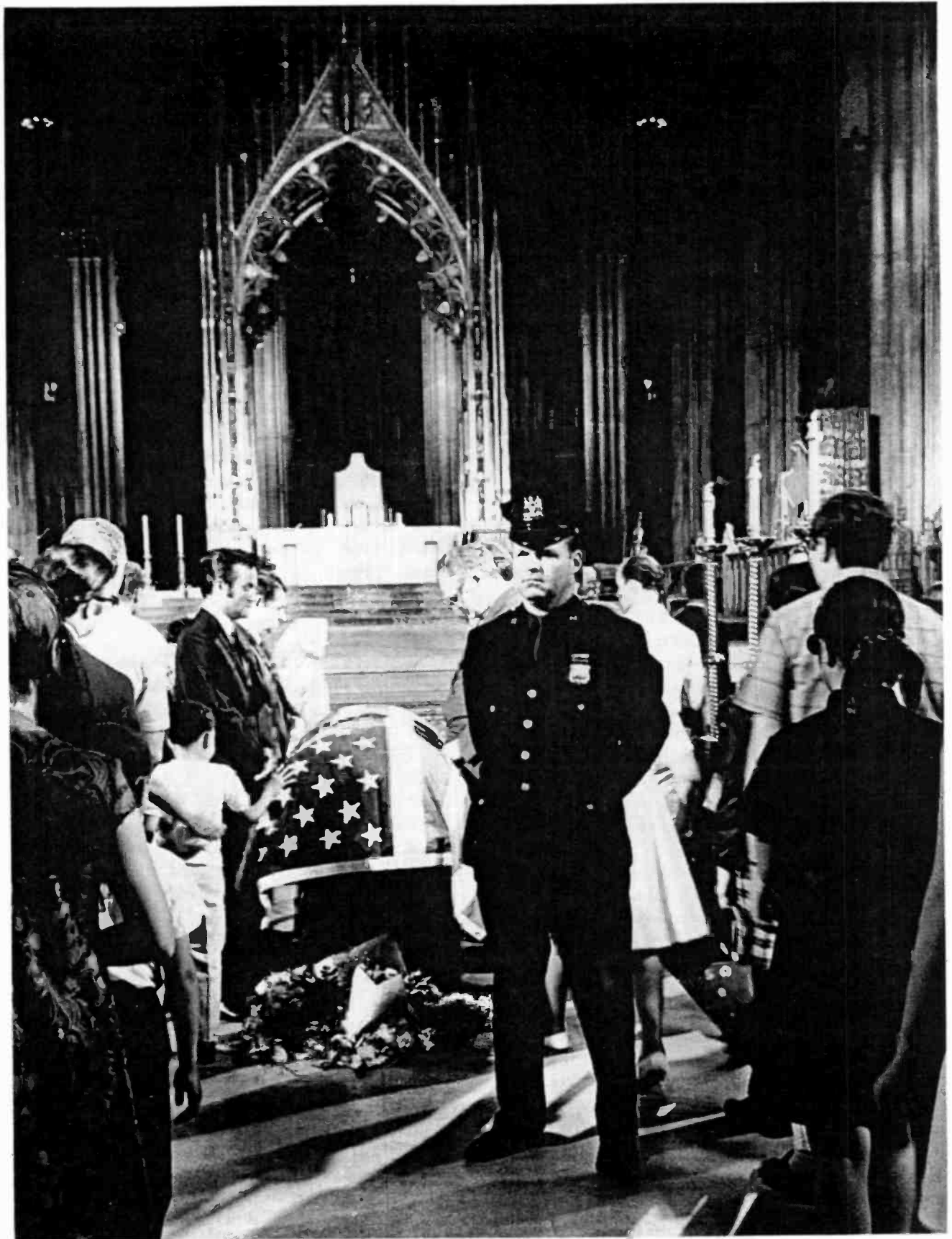
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See also Media Events

## ROBERT F. KENNEDY ASSASSINATION

Shortly after midnight on 5 June 1968, Senator Robert F. Kennedy (D-New York) was assassinated by Sirhan B. Sirhan in the ballroom of the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles, California. All three television networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC) began coverage at the scene just minutes after the shooting. The first broadcast included footage of a

large crowd of supporters gathered in the ballroom, awaiting Kennedy's address following his California presidential primary victory. Muffled sounds emerged from the direction of the podium, the crowd became disorderly, and although the reason for the disruption was still unclear, Steven Smith, Kennedy's brother-in-law, asked everyone to clear the room.



*The funeral of Robert F. Kennedy  
Photo courtesy of the New York City Police Department*

A still photograph of Kennedy sprawled on the floor was televised as reporters noted in voice-over that he had been shot by an unknown assailant. About two hours after the shooting, supplemental footage was shown of Kennedy from behind as he stepped up to the podium, with a crowd around him. Shots were heard, camera angles were jolted in the confusion, but one camera managed to focus on the senator lying injured on the floor.

Intermittent reports provided updates of Kennedy's medical condition. Reporters at the scene first noted his condition by sight only, stating that he had been shot repeatedly but was conscious and had "good color." A physician at the scene remarked that the extent of his injuries was unknown. Later reports were provided by Kennedy's press secretary, Frank Mankiewicz, who stood on a car outside Good Samaritan Hospital to relay more technical information supplied by surgeons. At last he announced Kennedy's death some 26 hours after the shooting.

The whereabouts, identity, and motives of the assassin were vague in early accounts. Two hours after the shooting, reporters noted that a "young man had been caught" but were uncertain whether he was still in the hotel or had been taken into police custody. Described as "dark-skinned" and "curly-haired", and variously as Filipino, Mexican, Jamaican, and Cuban, Palestinian Sirhan B. Sirhan was identified nearly 10 hours later by his brother Adel after a still photograph of him was shown on television. Although he made no statements to police, eyewitnesses claimed that at the time of the shooting Sirhan said, "I did it for my country." In response to the crowd's angry chant of "kill him, lynch him," anchorman Walter Cronkite reiterated that Sirhan was "presumed innocent until proven guilty." Questions concerning Sirhan's motives and whether he was part of a conspiracy are mired in controversy to this day.

A description of the weapon was similarly indeterminate. In the earliest reports, a policeman stated that celebrity Roosevelt "Rosie" Grier had first grabbed the weapon but that he currently had no idea where or what type the weapon was. Within one hour of the shooting, controversy had begun to emerge in terms of conspiracy: some eyewitnesses reported that the assassin had used a six-shot revolver; others said that more than six shots had been fired. One reporter suggested that there might have been more than one gun—and more than one gunman. Two hours later, however, the weapon was identified as an Iver Johnson .22-caliber pistol, a weapon capable of eight shots. Los Angeles Police Chief Thomas Reddin stated several hours after this that the pistol had been traced to a missing gun report, though the gunman himself had not yet been identified. He was uncertain at this point if the man in custody was actually the assailant. Special reports on the pistol's history of ownership began to air nine hours after the shooting; 18 hours after the shooting, detailed special reports related the histories of the pistol and the assassin, who by this time had been identified as Sirhan.

The issue of violence played a crucial role in many of the shooting reports. One reporter noted that the United

States would, with its rash of assassinations in the 1960s, appear to outsiders to be "some sort of violent society." The Reverend Ralph Abernathy, speaker for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, aimed his criticism more pointedly in the direction of President Lyndon Johnson and the Vietnam War by saying that Kennedy had worked against "the violence, the hatred, and the war mentality" that had been "poisoning" America. Kennedy's opponent in the Democratic primary, Senator Eugene McCarthy, echoed this sentiment in his condemnation of violence at home and abroad. Some 12 hours after the shooting, Johnson responded to criticism in a special address in which he denounced violence "in the hearts of men everywhere" and suggested the establishment of a commission to investigate the causes of violence in society. The commission would be jointly directed by the president and Congress and would be composed of academic, political, and religious leaders.

More immediate measures were also proposed to deal with the security of political candidates. Following an early report that police had planned no special security for Kennedy, President Johnson declared that full secret service protection would be provided for all leading announced candidates for national positions rather than for the position-holders alone. In the meantime, reporters announced that Senator McCarthy, New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller, and Republican candidate Richard Nixon had called off all appearances.

Others at the Ambassador Hotel rally were also injured. Shortly after the shooting, it was reported that Jesse Unruh, Kennedy's campaign manager, had been hit, along with Paul Shrade, head of the United Automobile Workers union. Four hours later, added to the list were William Weisel, an ABC unit manager; Ira Goldstein, a California news service reporter; Elizabeth Evans, a political supporter; and Irwin Stroll, a teenage bystander.

Coverage of the shooting and its aftermath continued to be broadcast until the early evening of 5 June, when networks began switching back to programs "already in progress." ABC opted not to broadcast a professional baseball game and instead had a special report on "The Shooting of RFK." Other networks informed viewers that regular programming would be interrupted occasionally to provide updated reports of Kennedy's condition. Early on the morning of 6 June, a news conference was held to announce Kennedy's death. His funeral was televised on 7 June, and highlights were televised on 8 June.

—Kevin A. Clark

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## KENNEDY-MARTIN, TROY

British Writer

Troy Kennedy-Martin began his career as a television screenwriter in 1958 and quickly emerged as a leading member of a group of writers, directors, and producers at the BBC who were pushing the limits of British television drama. As well as writing episodes of crime series, literary adaptations, and original miniseries, Kennedy-Martin became an outspoken proponent of a new approach to television drama that would exploit what he saw as the properties of the medium.

His first major chance to test these ideas came with the BBC police series *Z Cars*, which proved enormously popular and ran from 1962 to 1965. The series was acclaimed for the fast pace and gritty realism with which it depicted a Lancashire police force coping with the problems of a modern housing estate. Its view of the police offered a sharp contrast to the homespun philosophy of PC Dixon in the BBC's *Dixon of Dock Green*, which had been extremely popular with family audiences since its debut in 1955. Kennedy-Martin wrote the first episode of *Z Cars*, and six more during the initial season, but did not return for the later seasons because he felt the series had lost its critical edge.

In 1964 he published an article in the theater magazine *Encore* in which he argued forcefully for a "new television drama." Through its attack on "naturalism," this article set the terms for a lively, if sometimes confusing, debate on realism in television drama which persists into the present. Kennedy-Martin advocated using the camera to do more than just show talking heads, by freeing the dramatic structure from the limits of real time, and creating more complex relations between sound and image. In particular, he wanted to exploit what he called "the total objectivity of the television camera" which gave the medium a built-in Brechtian critical dimension that worked against subjective identification with characters.

From Kennedy-Martin's point-of-view, the value of *Z Cars* lay in its respect for reality: its refusal to idealize the police and its attempt to reveal the underlying social causes that led to crime. Yet, because the style remained "naturalistic," Kennedy-Martin felt that it was soon compromised by the generic and institutional constraints that encourage identification with the police and the demonization of the criminal.

Despite his disappointment with *Z Cars*, Kennedy-Martin continued to write within popular crime and action genres, notably for Thames Television's police series *The Sweeney* (1975-78). He also wrote screenplays for several action films, with the same sense of frustration that his critical intentions were subverted in the production process.

Some of the formal innovations which Kennedy-Martin called for in his manifesto were incorporated into *Diary of a Young Man*, a six-part serial broadcast by the BBC in 1964, written by Kennedy-Martin and John McGrath and

directed by Ken Loach. Other writers, notably David Mercer and Dennis Potter, also explored the possibilities of a non-naturalistic television drama. Yet it was not until the 1980s that Kennedy-Martin was able to produce work that fulfilled both his critical and formalist goals. First came a fairly free adaptation of Angus Wilson's *The Old Men at the Zoo* as a five-part serial, broadcast by the BBC in 1983, a powerful and disturbing science-fiction parable about a political order whose logic leads to the destruction of Britain in a nuclear war.

Fears of nuclear power and government bureaucracy also drove Kennedy-Martin's major achievement, *Edge of Darkness*, a political thriller broadcast in six parts on BBC2 in late 1985 and promptly repeated in three parts on consecutive nights on BBC1. This serial combined the "naturalistic" tradition of British television drama on social issues with a popular thriller format and elements of fantasy and myth. A police inspector, investigating the murder of his daughter, discovers that she belonged to an anti-nuclear organization that had uncovered an illegal nuclear experiment backed by the government. The break with naturalism occurs when the murdered woman simply appears beside her father and starts a conversation with him, linking his investigation to the fusion of myth and science in the ecological movement to which she had belonged.

The popularity of political thrillers on British television after 1985 confirmed the significance of *Edge of Darkness* as a key work of the decade. Although Kennedy-Martin advocated the development of short dramatic forms, not unlike the music videos which emerged in the 1980s, he has made a major contribution to British television drama in the developments of the long forms of series and serials.

—Jim Leach

TROY KENNEDY-MARTIN. Born 1932. Creator of long-running TV police series *Z Cars*, though only remained with it for three months, and of *The Sweeney* among other series; has also worked in Hollywood. British Academy of Film and Television Arts Award, 1983.

### TELEVISION SERIES

1962-65	<i>Z Cars</i>
1964	<i>Diary of a Young Man</i> (with John McGrath)
1975-78	<i>The Sweeney</i>
1983	<i>Reilly—Ace of Spies</i>
1983	<i>The Old Men at the Zoo</i>
1985	<i>Edge of Darkness</i>
1986	<i>The Fourth Floor</i>

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## THE KENNEDY-NIXON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES, 1960

On 26 September 1960, 70 million U.S. viewers tuned in to watch Senator John Kennedy of New York and Vice President Richard Nixon in the first-ever televised presidential debate. It was the first of four televised "Great Debates" between Kennedy and Nixon. The first debate centered on domestic issues. The high point of the second debate, on 7 October, was disagreement over U.S. involvement in two small islands off the coast of China, and on 13 October, Nixon and Kennedy continued this dispute. On 21 October, the final debate, the candidates focused on American relations with Cuba.

The Great Debates marked television's grand entrance into presidential politics. They afforded the first real opportunity for voters to see their candidates in competition, and the visual contrast was dramatic. In August, Nixon had seriously injured his knee and spent two weeks in the hospital. By the time of the first debate he was still twenty pounds underweight, his pallor still poor. He arrived at the debate in an ill-fitting shirt, and refused make-up to improve his color and lighten his perpetual "5:00 o'clock shadow." Kennedy, by contrast, had spent early September campaigning in California. He was tan and confident and well-rested. "I had never seen him looking so fit," Nixon later wrote.

In substance, the candidates were much more evenly matched. Indeed, those who heard the first debate on the radio pronounced Nixon the winner. But the 70 million who watched television saw a candidate still sickly and obviously discomforted by Kennedy's smooth delivery and charisma. Those television viewers focused on what they saw, not what they heard. Studies of the audience indicated that, among television viewers, Kennedy was perceived the winner of the first debate by a very large margin.

The televised Great Debates had a significant impact on voters in 1960, on national elections since, and, indeed, on our concerns for democracy itself. The impact on the election of 1960 was significant, albeit subtle. Commentators broadly agree that the first debate accelerated Democratic support for Kennedy. In hindsight, however, it seems the debates were not, as once thought, the turning-point in

the election. Rather than encouraging viewers to change their vote, the debates appear to have simply solidified prior allegiances. In short, many would argue that Kennedy would have won the election with or without the Great Debates.

Yet voters in 1960 did vote with the Great Debates in mind. At election time, more than half of all voters reported that the Great Debates had influenced their opinion; 6% reported that their vote was the result of the debates alone. Thus, regardless of whether the debates changed the election result, voters pointed to the debates as a significant reason for electing Kennedy.

The Great Debates had a significant impact beyond the election of 1960, as well. They served as precedent around the world: Soon after the debates, Germany, Sweden, Finland, Italy, and Japan established debates between contenders to national office. Moreover, the Great Debates created a precedent in American presidential politics. Federal laws requiring that all candidates receive equal air-time stymied debates for the next three elections, as did Nixon's refusal to debate in 1968 and 1972. Yet by 1976, the law and the candidates had both changed, and ever since, presidential debates, in one form or another, have been a fixture of U.S. presidential politics.

Perhaps most important, the Great Debates forced citizens to rethink how democracy would work in a television era. To what extent does television change debate, indeed, change campaigning altogether? What is the difference between a debate that "just happens" to be broadcast and one specifically crafted for television? What is lost in the latter? Do televised debates really help us to evaluate the relative competencies of the candidates, to evaluate policy options, to increase voter participation and intellectual engagement, to strengthen national unity? Fundamentally, such events lead to worries that television emphasizes the visual, when visual attributes seem not the best, nor most reliable, indicators of a great leader. Yet other views express confidence that televised presidential debates remain one of the most effective means to operate a direct democracy. The issue then becomes one of improved form rather than changed forum.



*The Kennedy-Nixon Debates*

The Nixon-Kennedy debates of 1960 brought these questions to the floor. Perhaps as no other single event, the Great Debates forced us to ponder the role of television in democratic life.

—Erika Tyner Allen

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See also U.S. Presidency

## KENYA

Kenyan television is a classic example of an industry whose chances for development have been consistently frustrated by government sensitivity and political interference. The medium's 30-year history in Kenya is marked by stunted growth, from excessive government regulation and extensive abuse by the dominant political forces.

In 1959, when the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation was established by the British colonial administration with the objective of providing radio and television broadcasting. The proposal for the formation of a public corporation had been submitted by a commission appointed earlier in the year to report on the advantages and disadvantages of

a television service for Kenya, and the impact of such a service on radio broadcasting. The 1959 Proud Commission rejected earlier findings by another commission in 1954 that television was "economically impracticable in Kenya" and concluded that the new medium was likely to be financially self-reliant if it was set up as a fully-fledged commercial outfit.

Between 1959 and 1961, and in keeping with the Proud Commission's recommendations, the colonial administration contracted a consortium of eight companies to build and operate a television service. The eight firms, seven of which were from Europe and North America, formed Television Network Ltd. which was charged with the responsibility of setting up the national television broadcasting system. The consortium, cognizant of the developments pushing toward Kenya's political independence, created the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation as an autonomous public organization. The idea was to have the corporation wield as much independence as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). By the end of 1962, a transmission station and recording studio had been set up, and television was officially launched the following year.

The corporation created by the consortium bore a striking semblance to the BBC. It drew its revenue from advertising, annual license fees on receiver sets, and government subventions. The vision of financially self-sustaining television service was however misplaced, especially since the new medium failed to attract as much advertising as the older and more popular radio broadcasting service. Within the first full financial year of television broadcasting—July 1963 to June 1964—the corporation posted a loss of nearly \$1 million, and had to resort to government loans and supplementary appropriations to remain afloat. Coincidentally, Kenya had gained independence and the new government, worried about the threat to national sovereignty posed by the foreign ownership of the broadcasting apparatus, decided to nationalize the corporation in June 1964. After the takeover, the corporation was renamed Voice of Kenya (VoK) and was converted to a department under the Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism (later renamed Ministry of Information and Broadcasting). Its new role as the government mouthpiece was to provide information, education and entertainment. And while the government adopted a capitalist approach to economic development, which embraced private sector participation in all areas of the economy and even welcomed participation in a number of electronic broadcasting activities, private ownership of broadcasting concerns was disallowed.

Between 1964 and 1990, television and radio were owned and controlled by the state, and the two media exercised great caution in reporting politically-sensitive news. During this period, several attempts were made to move away from the broadcasting system set up. The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting replaced annual license fees with a one-time permit fee, and the drive for commercial self-sustenance was replaced by a politically-in-

spired initiative for increased local content and a sharper nationalistic outlook. The objective was elusive, however, as the VoK television was only able to achieve a 40% local programming content by the mid-1980s against the target of 70% local content. Television also failed to become an authoritative national medium: studies in 1985 showed that only 17% of electronic media audience regarded television as the best source of information, compared to 86% who rated radio as their prime news source.

Several reasons were advanced for poor performance of television. Besides being a preserve of the educated minority in the country, the spread of ownership of television sets was severely curtailed by the poor penetration of the national electrical power grid. A more tenacious barrier was the poor transmission the country received from the 55 small transmission and booster stations, whose weak signals generally covered small areas or were constrained by the country's rugged topography. As such, household audiences have been growing mainly within the major urban areas, or near large rural centers served by electricity and near a booster station.

In 1989, the VoK was renamed Kenya Broadcasting Corporation and accorded semi-autonomous status, founded on the premise that it would adopt a more commercially-oriented stance. Although the corporation unveiled grandiose plans to expand news coverage and improve local programming content, it was unable to chart out an independent editorial position, and is still widely seen as a part of the government propaganda machinery. Some progress has however been made in increased weekly on-air periods, and enhancement of color transmission. Until the early 1990s, the corporation relied on cheap but time-consuming air-mail services for the supply of foreign news footage even though the country was serviced by Intelsat. Since 1994, the corporation has been retransmitting large chunks of the BBC World Service Television several nights per week.

Since March 1990, a second television station, the Kenya Television Network (KTN) has been in operation, offering a mixture of relayed retransmission of the American Cable News Network (CNN) programming and light entertainment. Transmitting on UHF channel, KTN started out as a pilot project for a 24-hour subscriber TV service in Nairobi and its environs, but has apparently abandoned plans to scramble its signal and currently derives most of its revenue from advertising and TV production services. It was initiated as a joint venture between Kenya's ruling party, Kanu, and the London-based Maxwell Communications, but the British media group withdrew after the death of its founder, Robert Maxwell.

In spite of its private ownership position, KTN has been unable to provide independent news coverage because of excessive political interference with its editorial direction, a problem that forced its management to scrap the transmission of local news for over one year between 1993 and 1994. About 95% of the station's programs are foreign, mainly because most of its 24-hour service is a retransmission of the CNN signal. A second private station, Cable Television Network (CTN), launched in March 1994, has also failed

to inspire major changes in Kenya's television industry. CTN has been trying to build a subscriber base in Nairobi via overhead cables passed along existing electrical power pylons. Its intermittent transmissions have so far comprised Indian drama and films. A third private station, Stellavision, was licensed in the early 1990s but had yet to start broadcasting by 1996.

The licensing of three private stations, however, says little about Kenya's commitment to liberalizing the airwaves. In spite of heavy pressure from a number of interested investors, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting has declined to license more stations on the grounds that broadcasting frequencies are inadequate, and on a declared fear of losing its authoritarian control over the information dissemination process. Although about two dozen applications for new radio and television licenses were submitted between 1985 and 1995, the government refused to allow full private sector participation in the industry, and instead reinforced tactics to regulate electronic news flows. For example, even though KTN received the CNN signal clearly, it opted for delayed transmission, hoping to sieve out anything which could be unpalatable to the government.

Due to the centralized nature of Kenyan television, only a handful of small production houses have been set up in the country. Most local productions are from the KBC teams and the government camera crew located in provincial headquarters. Virtually all programs have been either in English or Swahili; English is the language on two thirds of total air time. Most of the small production houses concentrate on commercials and documentary filming.

—Nixon K. Kariithi

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## KIDS IN THE HALL

### Canadian Sketch Comedy Program

**K***ids in the Hall* (*KITH*) is a sketch comedy program produced by Lorne Michaels' Broadway Video and co-financed by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and the U.S. cable network, Home Box Office (HBO). *KITH* aired in Canada on the CBC and in the United States on HBO, CBS, and another cable network, Comedy Central. The members of *KITH* performance group are Dave Foley, Bruce McCulloch, Kevin McDonald, Mark McKinney, and Scott Thompson. The name derives from U.S. comedian Jack Benny's habit of attributing some of his material to aspiring comedians whom he called "the kids in the hall".

*KITH* was formed in 1984 when McCulloch and McKinney, who had worked together in Calgary as part of a group named the Audience, teamed up with Foley and McDonald's Toronto-based group, *KITH*. Thompson officially joined in January 1985. That same year, McCulloch and McKinney were hired as writers for NBC's *Saturday Night Live* (*SNL*) after a talent scout saw *KITH* in performance. Significantly, *SNL* had also been created by Michaels, himself an ex-patriate Canadian living and producing in New York. Also in 1985, Foley appeared in the film *High Stakes*, and Thompson and McDonald toured with Second City. In 1986, *KITH* were reunited in Toronto and Michaels finally saw them perform. He immediately envisaged a television project around them. In 1987, he moved *KITH* to New York and, paying each member \$150 per week, had them perform in comedy clubs, write new material, and

rehearse sketches. In 1988, Michaels produced their HBO special. The regular series followed.

*KITH* immediately attracted a cult following and broke new ground by combining shock humour with a finely developed sense of performance and a generosity of spirit, which invited audiences to question their presuppositions rather than simply to mock the targets of the humour. Characteristic of *KITH*'s style are well-rounded personifications of both men and women, homosexuals, business executives, prostitutes and drug users, and such creations as the half human/half fowl Chicken Lady, gay barfly Buddy Cole, the angry "head crusher", the annoying child Gavin, and the teenager drawn to older women. These personifications consistently draw upon the inner resources of the characters themselves, showing their encounters with society rather than society's judgment upon them.

*KITH* also occupies an interesting place within Canadian television. First, although a Canadian show filmed in Toronto, it was produced by a New York-based company best known for turning comedians such as Steve Martin and John Belushi into major stars. *KITH* could therefore serve as Canadian content while gaining access to the much larger and more lucrative U.S. market. Second, although a CBC program, *KITH* attracted a youthful cult audience unfamiliar to the CBC and inconsistent with its core demographic. Third, *KITH* cracked the U.S. market by targeting an audience understood not in terms of its membership in a Canadian national cultural community but a North American

audience understood in terms of its relative youth and sophistication with comedy. Fourth, the success of *KITH* coincided with the moment when the CBC attempted to change its corporate culture by adopting some of the practices of other North American networks and embracing urbanity unreservedly.

However, *KITH* also extended certain existing aspects of Canadian television. *KITH* adopted the sketch rather than the situation comedy format. Canadian broadcasting has attempted situation comedy only sparingly and unevenly, whereas its sketch comedy record reaches back at least to the 1940s with radio's *The Happy Gang*. On television, sketch comedy appears in the early 1950s with Wayne and Shuster and comes to include *Nightcap*, *SCTV*, *The Frantics*, *S and M Comic Book*, *Codco*, *The Vacant Lot*, *Three Dead Trolls in a Baggie*, *This Hour Has 22 Minutes*, and others.

Within the North American context, *KITH* also exemplified the relative openness of Canadian broadcasting. For example, many of *KITH*'s themes and situations were initially deemed inappropriate for U.S. network TV and it therefore debuted on HBO. When CBS did pick it up, *KITH* underwent certain deletions. Canadian television, however, because of the traditional preponderance of public broadcasting, is more experimental and less censorious, and has long been open to a much broader range of social, political, and cultural attitudes than would be possible on U.S. television. This created a space for *KITH*'s shock humor and extended the CBC's commitment to more challenging material.

*KITH* repeated the tradition of exporting Canadian comedy to American television through such notables as Lorne Michaels himself, Dan Aykroyd, Dave Thomas, Martin Short, James Carrey, John Candy, Catherine O'Hara, Rick Moranis, Mike Meyers, and others.

*KITH* was terminated by the principals themselves who are now pursuing acting, writing, and music careers mainly in the United States. A *KITH* fanzine and video exist, as well as *KITH* merchandise. A *KITH* book and movie are anticipated and a *KITH* newsgroup is maintained on usenet. There may be *KITH* reunions and concert tours in the future.

—Paul Attallah

#### PERFORMERS

David Foley  
Scott Thompson  
Kevin McDonald  
Bruce McCulloch  
Mark McKinney

**PRODUCER** Lorne Michaels

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

- CBC



Kids in the Hall  
Photo courtesy of CBC

1989–95

Thursday 9:30

- HBO, CBS, Comedy Central, Sky Channel (Europe)
- Various Times

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See also Canadian Programming in English

## KINESCOPE

The first and most primitive method of recording television programs, production, or news story, a kinescope is a film made of a live television broadcast. Kinescopes are usually created by placing a motion picture camera in front of a television monitor and recording the image off the monitor's screen while the program is being aired. This recording method came into wide use around 1947. Before videotape, this process was the standard industry method of creating a permanent document, for rebroadcast and for archival purposes. The term "kinescope" comes from the combination of two words: the Greek "kinetic," meaning of or related to motion, and "scope," as in an observational instrument such as a microscope.

Actually, kinescope is the name for the cathode-ray tube in a television receiver which translates electrical signals into a picture on a lighted screen. The use of the word "kinescope" to describe a filmed recording of a television broadcast was derived from this piece of equipment. Originally they were called "kinescope recordings," but, due to repeated usage in spoken language, the term was usually shorted to just "kinescope," and then often shortened again to just "kine" or "kinnie". The picture quality created by kinescopes was admittedly and understandably poor—they appeared grainy, fuzzy, even distorted—yet they were the only method for documentation available to stations and producers at that time. Though their poor picture quality generally prohibited any extensive reuse, many programs were rebroadcast from kinescope in order to save money, to allow broadcast at a different time or, more frequently, to expose the programs to a wider audience. Cities and locales outside of an antenna's reach and without wire or cable connection had no way of seeing programming produced in and broadcast from New York City, programming which constituted the majority of television at the time. In order for a program to be seen in outlying areas (either beyond the city limits or elsewhere across the country), kinescope films were shipped from station to station in a practice known as "bicycling."

For many stations the airing of kinescopes (despite the very poor picture quality) was a necessary way to fill the programming day. This was especially true in the early days of educational television, which had high goals but little money with which to achieve them. Though kinescoped programs could never be very timely, they could be educational and, in this case, they were the best way to fill a void. The National Educational Television and Radio Center (later NET) in Ann Arbor, Michigan, was the country's largest clearinghouse for kinescope distribution until the late 1950s.

Because kinescopes were considered so unsatisfactory many companies attempted to find more efficient, less cost-

ly, and more aesthetically pleasing methods of recording programs. Singer Bing Crosby, who was seeking a more convenient way of producing his television specials without having to perform them live, had his company Bing Crosby Enterprises create and demonstrate the first magnetic videotape recordings in 1951. The RCA and Ampex companies would also display electronic videotape recording methods before the end of the decade with the Ampex standard eventually adopted by the television industry.

But the true demise of the kinescope (at least as far as entertainment programming is concerned), like most things in television, was ultimately driven by economic concerns, and can be attributed to *I Love Lucy* and its stars and producers Desi Arnaz and Lucille Ball. When beginning their landmark show, the couple insisted on producing in California, their home of many years. Philip Morris, the cigar and cigarette manufacturer, already signed on as the show's sponsor, wanted the program produced in New York because more potential smokers lived east of the Mississippi: Philip Morris would not settle for inferior kinescopes playing on the East Coast. In response Arnaz and cinematographer Karl Freund devised a method of recording performances on film. Their system used three cameras to record the live action while a director switched among them to obtain the best shot or angle. The show was later edited into the best performance in a manner much like a feature film. The result not only was a superior recording good for repeated airing throughout the country, it also presaged the move of the TV industry from New York to the West Coast, where fully equipped film studios eagerly entered television production and recouped some of the losses they had encountered with the rise of the newer medium. Moreover, the new filmed product created, almost accidentally, TV's most profitable byproduct, the rerun.

The kinescope, the one and perhaps only method of television recording technology to be completely obsolete in the industry today, is now of use only in archives and museums where the fuzzy, grainy texture often adds to their charm as artifacts and antiquities. Fortunately, for those who would understand and present the history of television programming, that charm is matched by the historical value of even this partial record of an era all but lost.

—Cary O'Dell

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## KING, LARRY

### U.S. Talk-Show Host

Larry King, television and radio talk-show host, claims to have interviewed over 30,000 people during his career. In 1989, *The Guinness Book of World Records* credited him as having logged more hours on national radio than any other talk show personality in history.

His nationwide popularity began with his first national radio talk show, premiering over the Mutual Network in 1978. In 1985, the Cable News Network (CNN) scheduled a nightly one-hour cable-television version of King's radio program. *Larry King Live* has become one of CNN's highest-rated shows and positioned King as the first American talk-show host to have a worldwide audience. Currently, the program reaches over 200 countries, with a potential audience of 150 million.

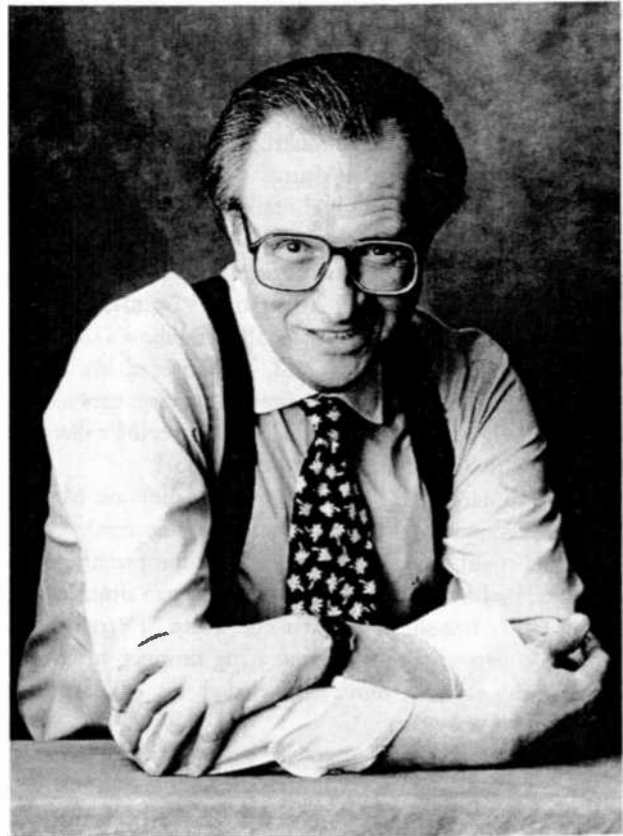
Called cable television's pre-eminent pop-journalist, King is characterized as "interviewer," not "journalist." Described as having an "aw-shucks" quality, he is an ad-lib interviewer who claims not to over-prepare for his guest. "My lack of preparation really forces me to learn, and to listen," he says. His guests are given a wide range of latitude while responding to questions that any person on the street might ask. Rather than acting as an investigative reporter, King prides himself in asking "human questions," not "press-conference questions." He sees himself as non-threatening, non-judgmental, and concerned with feelings.

King's radio broadcast career began with a 1957 move to Miami, Florida, where he worked for station WAHR as a disc jockey and sports talk-show host. He changed his name from the less euphonious Larry Zeiger when the general manager noted that his name was "too German, too Jewish. It's not show-business enough . . ."

After a year, he joined WKAT, a station that gave DJs a great deal of freedom to develop their personalities. King took advantage of the opportunity by inventing a character called "Captain Wainright of the Miami State Police." Sounding like Broderick Crawford, Wainright interrupted traffic reports with crazy suggestions—like telling listeners to save a trip to the racetrack by flagging down police officers and placing their bets with them. The Wainright character became so popular that bumper stickers appeared with "Don't Stop Me. I Know Capt. Wainright."

In 1958, King's celebrity status led to his first major break as host of an on-location interview program from Miami's Pumpernik Restaurant. He interviewed whoever happened to be there at the time. Never knowing who his guest would be and unable to plan in advance, he began to perfect his interviewing style, listening carefully to what his guest said and then formulating questions as the conversation progressed.

Impressed with King's Pumpernik show, WIOD employed him in 1962 to do a similar radio program originating from a houseboat formerly used for the ABC television series, *Surfside 6*. Because of the show's on-the-



Larry King  
Photo courtesy of Larry King

beach location and because of the publicity it offered the television series, *Surfside 6* became an enormous success. WIOD gave King further exposure as the color commentator for the Miami Dolphins' broadcasts. While riding a tide of popularity during 1963, he did double duty as a Sunday late-night talk-show host over WLBW-TV. In 1964, he left WLBW-TV for a weekend talk show on WTVJ-TV. He added newspaper writing to his agenda with columns for *The Miami Herald*, *The Miami News*, and *The Miami Beach Sun-Reporter*.

Of this period, King said he was "flying high." Unfortunately, his life flew out of control. He ran up outrageous bills and fell \$352,000 into debt. Still worse, he was charged with grand larceny and accused of stealing \$5,000 from a business partner. On 10 March 1972, the charges were dropped, but the scandal nearly destroyed his career. It would take four years before he worked regularly in broadcasting again. King candidly presented this period of his life to the public in his book, *Larry King*.

From 1972 to 1975, King struggled to get back on his feet. In the spring of 1974, he took a public relations job with a horse racing track in Shreveport, Louisiana. In the



fall, he became the color commentator for the short-lived Shreveport Steamers of the World Football League.

In 1975, after returning to Miami, he was re-hired by a new general manager at WIOD for an evening interview show similar to his previous program. Over the next several years, he gradually recovered as a TV interviewer, a columnist for *The Miami News*, and as a radio commentator for the Dolphins. Still deep in debt, he claimed bankruptcy in 1978.

In the same year, the Mutual Broadcasting Network persuaded him to do a late-night talk show that debuted on 30 January 1978 in 28 cities as the *Larry King Show*. It was first aired from WIOD, but beginning in April 1978, it originated from Mutual's Arlington, Virginia, studios, which overlook the capital. Originally, the show's time slot was from midnight to 5:30 A.M. and divided into three distinct segments, a guest interview, guest responses to callers, and "Open Phone America." King greeted callers by identifying their location: "Memphis, hello."

In February 1993, King's radio talk show on Mutual (now the Westwood Mutual Broadcasting System) moved from late night to an afternoon drive time reaching 410 affiliates. By June 1994, Westwood also began simulcasting King's CNN live show, the first ever daily "TV/radio talk show." As part of the agreement, King dropped his syndicated radio show, a move that ended his regular radio broadcasting activities.

Larry King's CNN program received a huge boost in 1992 by attracting the presidential candidates. On 20 February his interview with H. Ross Perot facilitated Perot's nomination. Viewers of *Larry King Live* learned of Mr. Perot's candidacy even before his wife did. Because of King's call-in format, Perot was approachable as he responded to questions from viewers. The interview initiated a new trend in campaigning as other candidates followed suit by side-stepping traditional news conferences with trained reporters in favor of live call-in talk shows. The new boom in "talk-show democracy" invited voters back into the political arena formerly reserved for politicians and journalists, and marked a new stage in television's influence on the U.S. political process.

—Frank J. Chorba

**LARRY KING.** Born Lawrence Zeiger in Brooklyn, New York, U.S.A., 19 November 1933. Educated at Lafayette High School. Married: 1) Alene Atkins, 1961 (divorced, 1963); 2) Alene Atkins, 1967 (divorced, 1971), child: Chaia; 3) Sharon Lepore, 1976 (divorced, 1982); 4) Julia Alexander, 1989, child: Andy. Disc jockey and host, radio interview show at various stations, Miami, Florida, 1957–71; columnist, various Miami papers, 1965–71; freelance writer and broadcaster, 1972–75; radio talk-show host, WIOD in Miami, 1975–78; host, the Mutual Broadcasting System's *Larry King Show*, since 1978; host, CNN's *Larry King Live*, since 1985; host, the Goodwill Games, 1990; columnist,

*USA Today* and *The Sporting News*. Member: the Friars Club and the Washington Center for Politics and Journalism. Recipient: George Foster Peabody Award, 1982; National Association of Broadcasters' Radio Award, 1985; Jack Anderson Investigative Reporting Award, 1985; International Radio and TV Society's Broadcaster of the Year, 1989; American Heart Association's Man of the Year, 1992; named to Broadcaster's Hall of Fame, 1992. Address: Mutual Broadcasting System, Inc., 1755 Jefferson Davis Highway, Arlington, Virginia 22202, U.S.A.

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1985– *Larry King Live*

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See also Talk Shows

## THE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., ASSASSINATION

**D**r. Martin Luther King, Jr., leader of the American Civil Rights Movement, was assassinated on 4 April 1968 in Memphis, Tennessee, while lending support to a sanitation workers' strike. He was shot by James Earl Ray at approximately 7:05 P.M. Ray's bullet struck King as he was standing on his balcony at the Lorraine Motel; King died approximately one hour later. Although no television cameras were in the vicinity at the time of the assassination, television coverage of the event quickly followed.

News reports of King's wounding appeared first, but reporters remained consistent with the traditional news format, making early reports of the shooting seem both impersonal and inaccurate. The assassination occurred at

the same time as the evening news, and several anchormen received the information during their live broadcasts; because details of the shooting were not yet clear, inaccurate information was offered in several cases. Julian Barber of WTTG in Washington, D.C., for example, mistakenly reported that King had been shot while in his car. Following this presentation of incorrect details, Barber then proceeded to introduce the station's weatherman. The rest of the newscast followed a standard format with only minor interruptions providing information about King's condition.

Similarly, Kondrashov recalls that Walter Cronkite had almost finished delivering his report on *The CBS Evening*



*The funeral of Martin Luther King, Jr.  
Photo courtesy of API World Wide Photos*

*News* when he received word of King's wounding. Visibly shaken, he announced the shooting. Moments after the announcement, however, the news program faded into commercial advertising. With little information available, the networks continued with their regularly scheduled programming and only later interrupted the programs with their station logos. At that point an anonymous voice announced that King was dead.

Having received word of King's death, all three networks interrupted programming with news programs. Awaiting President Lyndon Johnson's statement, all three featured anchormen discussing King's life and his contributions to the Civil Rights Movement. The networks then broadcast Johnson's statement, in which he called for Americans to "reject the blind violence" which had killed the "apostle of nonviolence." In addition, the networks also covered Hubert Humphries' response, and presented footage of King's prophetic speech from 3 April, in which he acknowledged the precarious stage of his life. Although the networks had reporters positioned in Memphis, there were no television reporters on the scene because an official curfew had been imposed on the city in an attempt to prevent violence.

According to McKnight, the immediacy of the television coverage prompted riots in over 60 American cities, including Chicago, Denver, and Baltimore. Television coverage of King's death and the riots it sparked continued for the next five days. King's life was featured on morning shows (e.g., NBC's *The Today Show*), evening news programs, and special programs. The riots themselves commanded exten-

sive television coverage (e.g., CBS' *News Nite* special on the Riots). Carter suggests that the riots following King's assassination represent a significant shift from previous riotous activities, from responses dealing primarily with local issues to the national focus emerging in the wake of the King riots. National television coverage of the circumstances surrounding the King assassination may have contributed to this shift.

The King assassination is a significant moment in the history of the Civil Rights Movement as well as in the history of the United States. In death, as in life, Dr. King influenced millions of Americans. From the first reports of his shooting to the coverage of his funeral services on 9 April at the Ebenezer Church on the Morehouse College Campus, television closely followed his struggle. Even after his death, news coverage of King's legacy continued when, on 11 April, President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Bill.

—Vidula V. Bal

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## KINNEAR, ROY

British Actor

**A** portly and popular comic character actor, Roy Kinnear proved to be a reliable guest star on many television programmes and a dependable lead in his own right. He was born in Wigan, Lancashire, and educated in Edinburgh. When he was 17 he enrolled in the Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts (RADA) but his studies there were interrupted when National Service conscription took him to the war. He later returned to the theatrical world and appeared on stage in repertory theatre in the 1950s. In 1959 he joined Joan Littlewood's famous Theatre Workshop in the East End of London and appeared in some of their biggest successes.

Television made Roy Kinnear a household name; his big break was the satire series *That Was the Week That Was* (TW3). TW3 was controversial and highly popular. The team consisted of a group of irreverent, bright young things hell-bent on attacking the hypocrisies of the establishment. One criticism often made of the show was that the protagonists came across as smug, but Kinnear was spared from that accusation as his role in the group was that of the common

man. In sketches he would usually be cast as a normal, working-class chap baffled by the complexities and machinations of the government and the media. Viewers could identify with the character and were endeared to him. Indeed Kinnear's very ordinariness and likeability assured him a long career in the medium.

He was a regular guest star on long-running series such as *The Avengers*, often co-starred in TV plays and was a semi-regular on *Minder* (as Whaley), and *George and Mildred* (as Jerry). He was not adverse to appearing as a straight man (albeit a very funny one) to comedian Dick Emery in various Dick Emery shows, and his familiar face was put to use in various TV commercials. Kinnear starred in his own sitcoms, shaped round his persona: as daydreamer Stanley Blake in *A World of His Own* (1965, BBC); as compulsive worrier George Webley in *Inside George Webley* (1968 and 1970, Yorkshire Television); as greengrocer and ladies' hairdresser Alf Butler in *No Appointment Necessary* (1977, BBC); as building-firm manager Joe Jones in *Cowboys* (1980–81, Thames Television); as Sidney Pratt, manager of struggling

escapologist Ernest Tanner (Brian Murphy) in *The Incredible Mr. Tanner* (1981 London: Weekend Television); as Arnold Bristow, used-car dealer and psychic in *The Clairvoyant* (1986, BBC) and in his last sitcom, as the tipsy headmaster, R. G. Wickham, in the short-lived school sitcom *Hardwicke House* (1987, Central), which was pulled from the schedules half-way through its run following accusations of bad taste.

Kinnear worked regularly for more than 25 years on television. Much of his success was due to the warmth that the public felt toward him and the esteem in which he was held by his fellow professionals. Throughout this period Kinnear still made appearances in the theatre and acted in support roles in more than 50 movies. While on location for *The Return of the Musketeers* (1989), he suffered a fatal fall from his horse.

—Dick Fiddy

**ROY KINNEAR.** Born in Wigan, Lancashire, England, 8 January 1934. Attended George Herriot School, Edinburgh; Royal Academy of Dramatic Art. Married: Carmel Cryan; children: Karina, Kirsty and Rory. Made debut as stage actor in repertory, Newquay, 1955; appeared in repertory at Nottingham, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Perth; joined Joan Littlewood's Theatre Workshop, London, 1959, and later appeared in pantomime and with the Royal Shakespeare Company and National Theatre Company, among others; established reputation as television comedian in *That Was the Week That Was*, and starred in several situation comedies; also appeared as character actor in many films. Died in Spain, 20 September 1988.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1962	<i>That Was the Week That Was</i>
1964	<i>A World of His Own</i>
1970	<i>Inside George Webley</i>
1980	<i>Cowboys</i>
1986	<i>The Clairvoyant</i>
1987	<i>Hardwick House</i>

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

1981	<i>Dick Turpin</i>
1984	<i>The Zany Adventures of Robin Hood</i>

#### FILMS

*Sparrows Can't Sing*, 1962; *Tiara Tahita*, 1962; *The Boys*, 1962; *Heavens Above!*, 1963; *The Small World of Sammy Lee*, 1963; *A Place to Go*, 1963; *The Informers*, 1963; *French Dressing*, 1964; *The Hill*, 1965; *Help!*, 1965; *The Deadly Affair*, 1966; *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*, 1966; *Albert Carter QOSO*, 1967; *How I Won the War*, 1967; *The Mini-Affair*, 1968; *Till Death Us Do Part*, 1968; *The Bed Sitting Room*, 1969; *Lock Up Your Daughters*, 1969; *On a Clear Day You Can See Forever*, 1970; *Scrooge*, 1970; *Taste the Blood of Dracula*, 1970; *The Firechasers*, 1970; *Egghead's Robot*, 1970; *Willie Wonka and the Chocolate*



Roy Kinnear

Photo courtesy of the British Film Institute

*Factory*, 1971; *Melody*, 1971; *Raising the Roof*, 1971; *The Alf Garnett Saga*, 1972; *Madame Sin*, 1972; *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 1972; *The Pied Piper*, 1972; *That's Your Funeral*, 1973; *The Cobblers of Umbridge*, 1973; *The Three Musketeers*, 1974; *Barry McKenzie Holds His Own*, 1974; *Juggernaut*, 1974; *The Amorous Milkman*, 1974; *The Four Musketeers*, 1975; *Three for All*, 1975; *One of Our Dinosaurs is Missing*, 1975; *Royal Flash*, 1975; *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes' Smarter Brother*, 1975; *Not Now Comrade*, 1976; *Chimpmates*, 1977; *Herbie Goes to Monte Carlo*, 1977; *The Last Remake of Beau Geste*, 1977; *Eskimo Nell*, 1977; *Watership Down*, 1978 (voice only); *Hound of the Baskervilles*, 1978; *The London Connection! The Omega Connection*, 1979; *The Princess and the Pea*, 1979; *Mad Dogs and Cricketers*, 1979; *A Fair Way to Play*, 1980; *High Rise Donkey*, 1980; *Hawk—The Slayer*, 1980; *Hammett*, 1981; *The Girl in the Train*, 1982; *The Boys in Blue*, 1983; 1984, 1984; *Squaring the Circle*, 1984; *Vote: June European Parliament Election*, 1984; *Pavlova*, 1984; *Pirates*, 1985; *Neat and Tidy*, 1986; *Casanova*, 1987; *Falcon's Maltester*, 1987; *The Return of the Musketeers*, 1988.

#### STAGE (selection)

*Make Me an Offer*, *Sparrers Can't Sing*, *The Clandestine Marriage*, *The Travails of Sancho Panza*, *The Cherry Orchard*.

See also *That Was the Week That Was*

## KINOY, ERNEST

U.S. Writer

Ernest Kinoy is one of U.S. television's most prolific and acclaimed writers. His career spans five decades, from the live anthology dramas of the 1950s to the made-for-television movies of the 1990s. His best-known works—like scripts for *The Defenders* and *Roots*—have dramatized social and historical issues. Outside of television, Kinoy is less well known than some of his contemporaries from the golden age of television, like Mel Brooks and Paddy Chayefsky. Within the industry, however, Kinoy has always been recognized for his well-crafted television dramas. He has also written successfully for radio, film, and the stage.

Kinoy wrote for many shows in the 1950s, including *The Imogene Coca Show* and *The Marriage*, a series for Hume Cronyn and Jessica Tandy. He was best known for contributing to live anthology dramas like *The duPont Show of the Week*, *Studio One*, and *Playhouse 90*. When the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) held an inquiry into the decline of the live dramas, Kinoy and other writers offered damaging testimony about network unwillingness to broadcast "serious" drama. CBS, under scrutiny, resurrected a weighty dramatic series that would soon showcase Kinoy's talents—*The Defenders*. Kinoy won two Emmy Awards writing for the series, which was created by his colleague Reginald Rose. The show followed two idealistic lawyers, a father and son, who confronted controversial issues and moral paradoxes on a weekly basis. In "Blacklist," one of Kinoy's most celebrated episodes, Jack Klugman played a blacklisted actor who finally received a serious part after ten years, only to be harassed by vehement anti-Communists. In another well-known Kinoy episode, "The Non-Violent," James Earl Jones played a black minister thrown in jail with a wealthy, white civil rights activist. Like *Dr. Kildare*, another series that Kinoy wrote for, *The Defenders* was sometimes described as a New Frontier character drama for its exploration of social ethics. During this same period, Kinoy also wrote for the series *The Nurses* and *Route 66*.

In the 1970s, Kinoy shifted to made-for-television movies and feature films. He often had two or more scripts produced in a year. Notable accomplishments included *Crawlspace* (1972), a CBS movie about a family adopting a homeless man, and *Buck and the Preacher* (1972), an action-packed black western directed by Sidney Poitier for the big screen. Kinoy's television career took a new turn in 1976 when he wrote two docudramas for producer David L. Wolper: *Victory at Entebbe*, about the Israeli rescue operation in Uganda, and *Collision Course*, based on Harry Truman's struggles with Douglas MacArthur. Kinoy subsequently worked on Wolper's blockbuster docudrama *Roots* (1977), winning an Emmy for an episode he co-wrote with William Blinn. Kinoy served as Wolper's head writer on *Roots: The Next Generations* (1979). In 1981, he received an Emmy nomination and Writers Guild of America award for another of his television docudramas, *Skokie*, about street



Ernest Kinoy

Photo courtesy of Broadcasting and Cable

demonstrations attempted by Neo-Nazis in the Jewish neighborhoods of Skokie, Illinois.

In the 1980s and 1990s, Kinoy's made-for-television movies continued to receive praise. His scripts included *Murrow* (1985), about the famous broadcaster, and TNT's *Chernobyl: The Final Warning* (1990). Kinoy is a rare presence in contemporary television. A writer known for quality drama, he has enjoyed success during each of television's five decades.

—J.B. Bird

ERNEST KINOY. Born 1 April 1925. Educated at Columbia University, New York, U.S.A. Began writing career in radio; staff writer for NBC Radio, 1948-60; writer for numerous television shows, since 1950s; president, Writers Guild of America, East, 1969-71; writer of several made-for-television movies and motion pictures. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1963, 1964, 1977.

### TELEVISION

1948-58	<i>Studio One</i>
1954-55	<i>The Imogene Coca Show</i>
1954	<i>The Marriage</i>
1956-61	<i>Playhouse 90</i>
1960-64	<i>Route 66</i>
1961-64	<i>The duPont Show of the Week</i>
1961-65	<i>The Defenders</i>
1961-66	<i>Dr. Kildare</i>
1962-65	<i>The Nurses</i>

**MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES**

- 1972 *Crawlspace*
- 1973 *The President's Plane Is Missing*
- 1974 *The Story of Jacob and Joseph*
- 1976 *Victory at Entebbe*
- 1976 *The Story of David*
- 1976 *Collision Course*
- 1977 *The Deadliest Season*
- 1977 *Roots*
- 1979 *Roots: The Next Generation*
- 1980 *The Henderson Monster*
- 1981 *Skokie*
- 1985 *Murrow*
- 1990 *Chernobyl: The Final Warning*

**FILMS**

*Brother John*, 1972; *Buck and the Preacher*, 1972.

**PUBLICATION**

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See also Anthology, Drama; *Defenders*; Golden Age of Television Drama; *Playhouse 90*; *Roots*; *Route 66*

**KINTNER, ROBERT E.****U.S. Media Executive**

Robert E. Kintner was a television executive who, as network president, influenced the development of two major networks (ABC and NBC) during the tumultuous decade of the 1950s. This former journalist fused his passion for journalistic excellence and his zeal for high entertainment ratings into a successful formula which shaped network programming trends for several decades. Kintner was lauded within the industry and the press for applying the "doctrine of common sense to many a ticklish problem" and for his refreshing "cold realism." He defended the embattled television industry during the quiz show scandals of the late 1950s, and spearheaded the move to make television a respectable journalistic medium by dedicating unprecedented network resources and air time to news and documentary programming.

Beginning his career as a reporter, Kintner established a national reputation in the late 1930s with a syndicated political column co-written with Joseph Wright Alsop, with whom he also collaborated on a number of best-selling books on American politics. Kintner's entry into broadcasting came when he was hired by ABC owner and chair Edward J. Noble in 1944 as a vice president of public relations and radio news. Six years later, Kintner was named president of the ABC network, which was just beginning to provide television service and was the clear underdog in competition with NBC and CBS.

With a keen understanding of television's potential as a journalistic medium, Kintner's major coup at ABC was the



Robert E. Kintner

Photo courtesy of Broadcasting and Cable



network's full coverage of the Army-McCarthy hearings, which brought Senator Joseph McCarthy's tactics to public light and established ABC as a major source for public affairs coverage. On the entertainment front, under Kintner's leadership the production-weak ABC struck groundbreaking deals with Walt Disney and Warner Brothers studios for the production of weekly television series. The success of such filmed television programming as *Disneyland* (and its offshoots) and the hit western *Cheyenne* influenced the programming trends at all three networks; by the late 1950s, Hollywood studio-produced westerns dominated the Nielsen ratings.

Kintner left the ABC presidency in 1956, in a period of great network growth, joined NBC in early 1957, and was named president in July 1958. As the first journalist to head a network, Kintner took pride in the informational potential of broadcasting, and believed that TV could fulfill its mission to society through news programming. Known affectionately as the "managing editor" of the NBC news division because of his hands-on approach, Kintner was directly responsible for the development of a strong news component at NBC. By increasing budget allocations and air time for the news division, and hiring top news executives and journalists (often from CBS, with whom NBC was in ferocious competition), Kintner had by the end of the decade built a high-prestige, unequalled news division at NBC which reigned throughout the early 1960s.

The major components of Kintner's three-pronged public affairs initiative were the nightly network newscasts, the development of strong prime-time documentary series, and the pre-emption of regular programs to provide live coverage of breaking news events. The anchor team of Chet Huntley and David Brinkley dominated news programming during this period, and in late 1963 both NBC and CBS lengthened their evening newscasts from fifteen to thirty minutes, a move which many critics credited as making television a serious information medium comparable to newspapers.

Kintner's vision of the medium as a way to educate and inform citizens about social issues was enabled by public and government pressures—especially in the wake of the quiz show scandals—to increase the prestige of the industry by increasing prime-time public affairs programming by the networks. Kintner revitalized NBC's network documentary units, which had focused mainly on cultural programming, to begin to take on serious social and political issues in series such as *NBC White Paper*. By 1962 Kintner claimed that the networks were "proving what's right with television"—bringing space flights, civil rights riots, election coverage and swiftly breaking events into America's living rooms. Although often gently criticized for micro-managing the NBC news division, Kintner hosted the transformation of news and informational programming from a peripheral aspect of television programming to the position of prestige in broadcasting.

This "golden age" of television journalism was directly related to the historical moment—especially the years of President John F. Kennedy's "New Frontier" initiative, marked by the charismatic charm of a made-for-media president, the dra-

matic struggles of the Civil Rights Movement, the patriotic Cold War-era fervor of America's race into space, and the coming of age of American news broadcasting with the live coverage of the aftermath of the Kennedy assassination. Kennedy's image-oriented New Frontier forged an alliance with television, an alliance described by Mary Ann Watson in *The Expanding Vista* as a "symbiotic bond" between Kennedy and the television medium which would forever alter the relationship between the public and the president. Similarly, the centrality of television in the political process increased dramatically under Kintner's reign at NBC, with the coverage of the 1960 campaigns, the "Great Debates" between Kennedy and Nixon, paid political advertisements, and especially the election coverage (Watson reports that over 90% of American homes were tuned in).

Kintner was an active player in the public controversies surrounding the quiz show scandals of 1959, and he used this opportunity to redefine the mission and the structure of commercial television. Testifying before the House Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight in 1959, Kintner claimed that the networks, as well as the public, were victims of deception by those who rigged quiz shows. Although the networks were criticized by the subcommittee for "lack of diligence" in taking action, Kintner strongly defended his network, claiming that NBC was taking active steps to "investigate and safeguard the integrity of the shows" and had taken direct production control over the quiz shows away from the sponsors.

Under intense public criticism about the entertainment programming standards, as well as mounting pressure from the FCC and from civic and religious groups in the wake of the quiz scandals, Kintner recognized this period as a crossroads for the TV industry, and advocated that the industry take actions to recover public confidence. In the face of concerns about sex and violence in television shows, Kintner also defended the network in 1961 before the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency (the Dodd Committee), which charged the TV industry with violating moral codes, lacking imagination and shirking its responsibilities in the drive for higher ratings.

Believed to watch more television than any of his contemporaries in the industry, Kintner's addiction to "the box" was frequently noted. He was perceived as a paradox by some critics, such as Jack Gould of *The New York Times*, who wrote about him in 1965: "He can rationalize the pap of the medium with a relaxed opportunism that stands in strange contrast to his initiative in news and public affairs. . . . He embodies [both] the promise and problem of mass communication—how to keep up the quarterly dividend while offering both folk rock and the oratorio."

In early 1966 Kintner left NBC and was appointed as a special assistant and Cabinet secretary to President Lyndon B. Johnson. In a parting interview upon leaving NBC, Kintner advocated greater experimentation in TV programming, calling for programs dealing with more controversial social, economic and political subjects in both news and entertainment programming.

—Pamela Wilson



ROBERT EDMONDS KINTNER. Born in Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., 12 September 1909. Swarthmore College, B.A. 1931. Married: Jean Rodney, 1940; children: Susan and Michael. Served in the U.S. Army during World War II. Financial news reporter, *Herald Tribune*, 1933–37; columnist, *Herald Tribune* and North American Newspaper Alliance, 1937–41; vice president of public relations, ABC, 1944–50; president, ABC, 1950–56; president, NBC, 1956–66; cabinet liaison for Lyndon B. Johnson administration, 1966–67. Recipient: Legion of Merit, World War II. Died in Washington, D.C., 3 December 1980.

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## KIRCK, HARVEY

### Canadian News Anchor

Harvey Kirck, news anchor for the privately-owned Canadian Television Network (CTV) from 1963 to 1984, has been called Canada's version of Walter Cronkite. In his autobiography he even noted how his retirement after twenty years was planned to ensure that he broke Cronkite's record. In fact, Kirck never exercised a similar power over the news or over the public mind, but he did become a celebrity, a recognized "Face and Voice of the News" in English Canada.

Beginning in 1948, Kirck served a long apprenticeship in private radio as an announcer who hosted programs, narrated commercials, wrote, delivered, and occasionally reported the news. In 1960 he became a news anchor for a television station where, he claimed later, he learned the importance of being a performer: "You have to develop a bullet-proof persona, and send him out to face the damnable, merciless camera." Three years later, he joined the CTV news service, then stationed in Ottawa, as one of four men (another was Peter Jennings) who served in two pairs of co-anchors on the model of NBC's *The Huntley-Brinkley Report*. The fledgling network, only two years old, was determined to challenge the dominance of the established *The National* (then *CBC Television News*) offered by the Canadian Broadcast Corporation (CBC). The peculiar arrangement of alternating pairs of co-anchors soon devolved into a more normal structure and Kirck took over the responsibility as chief anchor as well as news editor.

After a change in the ownership structure of the network, *CTV News* was moved in 1966 to Toronto, the media hub of English Canada. It was a mixed blessing for Kirck: he lost his

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See also American Broadcasting Company; Army-McCarthy Hearings; National Broadcasting Company; *NBC White Paper*; Warner Brothers Presents

position as news editor to concentrate on the task of presenting the news (though he also continued to participate in the writing of the newscast). Even though CTV's resources were slight—much of the material came from American sources or the private affiliates—it hoped to produce a bright and lively newscast at 11:00 P.M. with a distinctly American flavor that would contrast with the supposedly stodgy, and British, approach of the CBC. From 1971 to 1972 *CTV News* had drawn roughly even with CBC's *National* at 950,000 viewers a night in the common area covered by both networks (CTV did not then cover the country). A 1972 CBC survey discovered that *CTV News* scored higher as "more complete, lively, aggressive, fresh, friendly, interesting and in-touch".

That success owed something to Kirck's persona. He was a tall, eventually heavy-set man with a craggy and weathered face that signaled experience. His voice was deep and resonant, authoritative rather than casual. He might seem a bit gruff but he was eminently believable: a survey carried out in 1977 found that people had confidence that he fully understood what he presented.

But that persona was not enough to overcome the deficiencies in the quality of *CTV News*. During the next few years, *The National* secured an apparently unshakable lead over its rival, except in the metropolitan centers where *CTV News* moved ahead. In 1976 management scored a coup by hiring away from the CBC its news anchor, Lloyd Robertson, as well as a top news producer, Tim Kottcheff. Robertson and Kirck became co-anchors, which allowed each more freedom to go on special assignment. The relationship be-

tween the two men, by all published accounts, remained good, perhaps because Kirck's salary was also increased (at Robertson's request) to the new level. The result established the fact that news anchors, as in the United States, were now celebrities who could command hefty salaries.

In fact the duo made an odd couple: Robertson was smaller, younger, and handsome, with a perfect diction, whilst Kirck was taller and bulkier, older, increasingly rugged, boasting what Trueman refers to as a "tough, truck-driver delivery". There appeared to be no obvious reason for the pairing. The CTV coup did little to improve the fortunes of its flagship newscast, perhaps bringing another 100,000 viewers. In his autobiography Kirck himself wondered what might have been the result if the network had invested funds in the newsroom and its facilities rather than big name salaries. In 1982 the competitive situation changed dramatically when CBC moved *The National* back to 10:00 P.M. as part of a new hour of news and public affairs. Shortly afterwards, Kirck retired from the nightly newscast, though he continued to appear on CTV for occasional broadcasts.

—Paul Rutherford

**HARVEY KIRCK.** Born in Uno Park, Ontario, Canada, 14 October 1928. Married: 1) Maggie, 1947 (divorced); 2) Renate, 1962 (divorced); 3) Brenda, 1983. Began career as radio announcer, program host, news reader, 1948–60; television announcer and news reader, 1960–63; news anchor, Canadian Television Network, 1963–84.

#### TELEVISION

1963–84      *CTV News*

#### PUBLICATION

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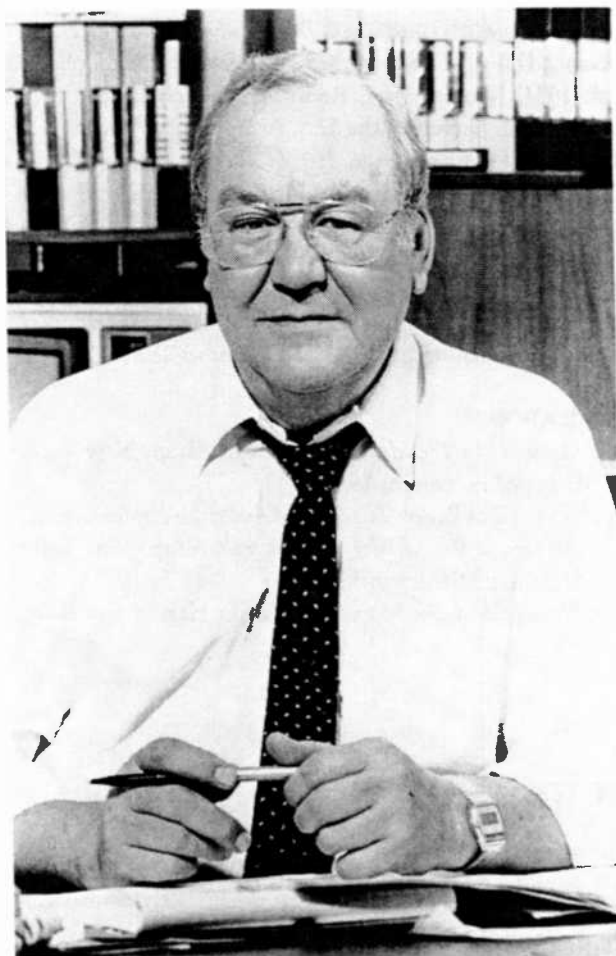
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## KLUGE, JOHN

### U.S. Media Mogul

**J**ohn Kluge ranks as one of the least known but most powerful moguls in the modern television industry in the United States. The major television networks and their affiliates deservedly draw the most attention, but Kluge proved a group of independent TV stations could make millions of dollars. His Metromedia, Inc., pioneered independent stations operations through the 1960s and 1970s. In the mid-1980s Rupert Murdoch offered Kluge nearly \$2



Harvey Kirck  
Photo courtesy of Harvey Kirck

Nash, Knowlton. *Prime Time at Ten: Behind-the-Camera Battles of Canadian TV Journalism*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987.

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See also Canadian Programming in English

billion for the Metromedia stations, which then served as the basis for Murdoch's FOX television network. This deal made Kluge one of the richest persons in the United States.

It was the food business that led Kluge to television. In 1951 he invested in a Baltimore, Maryland, food brokerage enterprise, increased sales dramatically, sold his majority stake in the mid-1950s, and began to look for another industry that was growing. He found television. In 1956

Kluge was too late to enter network television, but he saw possibilities with independent TV stations. He assembled an investment group and purchased the former DuMont stations. He ran Metromedia on a tight budget, saving rent, for example, by headquartering the company across the Hudson River from New York City, in Secaucus, New Jersey. He seized upon the programming strategy of simply re-running old network situation comedies and low budget movies. And Metromedia made millions with relatively small audiences, because costs of operation were so low.

Under his stewardship, Metromedia grew into the largest independent television business in the United States. Thereafter Kluge purchased assorted businesses to add to his Metromedia empire. Over the years he acquired the Ice Capades, the Harlem Globetrotters, music publishing companies holding such titles as *Fiddler on the Roof*, *Zorba the Greek*, and *Cabaret*, television production and syndication units, *Playbill* magazine, and a highly profitable direct mail advertising division. But he did make mistakes. One disastrous misstep was Kluge's 1960s purchase of the niche magazine *Diplomat*; another came with his proposal for a fourth TV network. Neither project succeeded, and the failures cost Metromedia millions of dollars.

Kluge reached his greatest successes in television by buying the syndication rights to *M\*A\*S\*H*. With this asset, he finally gave rival network affiliates a contest for ratings in the early fringe time period. Not one to sit still, during the early 1980s Kluge cooked up a deal to take Metromedia private. In 1984, by structuring a \$1.3 billion leveraged buyout on unusually favorable terms, Kluge ended owning three-quarters of the new company and pocketing \$115 million in cash in the process. Now private and in full control, Kluge did not hesitate when Rupert Murdoch approached him with \$2 billion to buy Metromedia's television stations.

Out of TV, Kluge attended to his other businesses. Under the Metromedia name, he began to manufacture paging devices and mobile telephones. In managing these telecommunication ventures, Kluge retraced the steps he took in his television career: buy a license in a major market at an affordable price, then wait as the market evolves, and finally cash in.

In 1995 the Actava Group Inc., Orion Pictures Corp., MCEG Sterling Inc., and Metromedia International Telecommunications, Inc., signed an agreement to form a global communications entity to be named Metromedia International Group, Inc. Kluge already owned a major stake in Hollywood's Orion Pictures. The new four-part alliance merged wireless cable and Hollywood production skills to sell all forms of mass communication to citizens in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Republics.

Investing and selling has benefited Kluge enormously. His wealth, which *Forbes* estimated at \$5 billion as of the mid-1990s, vaulted him onto the list of the richest persons in the United States. Kluge spent his wealth so he could live like a king in a 250-room Georgian mansion, Albemarle,



John Kluge

Photo courtesy of Broadcasting and Cable

situated on 10,000 acres in rural Virginia, near Charlottesville. He hosted frequent shoots for his guests, handing out antique guns to aim at birds released by a large staff of British-born retainers. In 1988 neighbors began pressing charges when their household pets turned up dead; local wildlife officials successfully prosecuted Kluge's staff for slaughtering hawks, a protected species.

Kluge represents the TV entrepreneur in the true sense of the word. David Sarnoff and William Paley, more publicized figures who started networks, have long been the subject of major biographies and much research. Kluge, perhaps because his efforts have been directed toward a less glamorous side of the television industry, has not been studied. But as a pioneer in independent television station ownership and operation, he deserves the same degree of attention.

—Douglas Gomery

JOHN (WERNER) KLUGE. Born in Chemnitz, Germany, 21 September 1914. Attended Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A.; Columbia University, B.A. in economics 1937. Married: 1) Theodora Thomson, 1946 (divorced); 2) Yolanda Zucco, 1969 (divorced); children: Samantha and Joseph; 3) Patricia Rose Gay, 1981 (divorced, 1990); child: John W. Kluge II. Served in U.S. Army intelligence, 1941–45. Immigrated to U.S., 1922; worked assembly line, Ford Motor Company; vice president and sales manager, Otten Brothers, 1937–41; bought radio station WGAY, Silver Springs, Maryland, 1946; president and director, WGAY, 1946–59; president, New England Fritos, 1947–55; president, Mid-Florida Radio Corporation, Orlando, Florida, 1952–59; president and director, St. Louis

Broadcasting Corporation, 1953–58; president, New York Institute of Dietetics, 1953–60; president and director, Pittsburgh Broadcasting Company, 1954–59; president, treasurer and director, Capitol Broadcasting Company, Nashville, Tennessee, 1954–59; partner, Nashon Properties, Nashville, Tennessee, 1954–60; owner, Kluge Investment Company, Washington, D.C., 1956–60; president and director, Washington Planagraph Company, 1956–60; founder, with David Finkelstein, wholesale food operation Kluge, Finkelstein and Company, Baltimore, 1956; partner in Texworth Investment Company, Fort Worth, Texas, 1957–60; president, treasurer and director, Associated Broadcasters, Inc., Ft. Worth-Dallas, 1957–59; chair of the board, Seaboard Service Systems, Inc., 1957–58; treasurer and director of television operation, Mid-Florida Radio Corporation, 1957–60; partner in Western New York Broadcasting Company, Buffalo, New York, 1957–60; president, Washington Food Brokers Association, 1958; president, Metropolitan Broadcasting Company (MPC; became Metromedia, Inc., 1961; then Metromedia Company, 1980s), 1959; bought World Wide Broadcasting (WWB), 1960, sold WWB, 1962; vice president, later president and chairman of the executive committee, United Cerebral Palsy (UCP) Research and Educational Foundation, from 1972; purchased Texas-based LDS, 1983; bought Florida-based Network 1, 1984; purchased all outstanding shares (72%) of Metromedia Company, becoming sole owner, 1984; sold off most Metromedia assets, 1984–92; became 69% owner, Orion Pictures, 1988; merged Metromedia Long Distance with long-distance divisions of International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT), forming Metromedia-ITT, 1989; merged Metromedia-ITT with Resurgens Communications Group and LDDS Communications to form LDDS Metromedia Communications, 1993. Chair of the board, treasurer, director, Kluge, Finkelstein and Company, since 1993; chair of the board and treasurer, Tri-Suburban Broadcasting Corporation and Washington, Kluge and Company; chair of the board, president, and treasurer, Washington, Silver City Sales Company; director, Marriott-Hot Shoppes, Inc., Chock Full O' Nuts Corporation, National Bank of Maryland, Waldorf Astoria Corporation, Just One Break, Inc., Belding Heminway Company, Inc.; board of directors, Bear Stearns Companies, Inc., Schubert Foundation, Occidental Petroleum Corporation, LDDS Metromedia, and national advisory board, Chemical Banking Corporation; trustee,

Strang Cancer Prevention Center; chair, James Madison National Council of the Library of Congress. Member: advisory council, Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company; board of governors, New York College of Osteopathic Medicine; National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters. Address: Metromedia Company, 1 Meadowlands Plaza, East Rutherford, New Jersey 07073, U.S.A.

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See also Murdoch, Rupert

## KNOWLEDGE NETWORK

### Canadian Distance Education Network

The Knowledge Network is the educational television network of the province of British Columbia, a part of the province's larger effort to make post-secondary education available to all parts of the province using various delivery systems. In 1978, the province established the Open

Learning Institute (OLI), to develop and deliver educational programming using distance education methods. These included correspondence distance courses, audio, film, teleconferencing, videodiscs, and strategies for reaching outside the conventional classroom. In 1980, in order to further the

goals of distance education, the province created the Knowledge Network as part of OLI. The Knowledge Network today reaches over 90% of all households in British Columbia. Its mandate, however, has led it to pursue two different types of audience. On the one hand, the Knowledge Network was mandated to provide general public education programs which might interest casual viewers. On the other hand, the Knowledge Network was also directed to collaborate with the province's educational institutions to deliver formal instruction which would only interest registered students. This double focus has led to a progressive diversification in the types of programs offered.

In 1988, however, OLI was substantially re-organized. Renamed the Open Learning Agency (OLA), it was reshaped into three constituents: (1) the Open University, offering courses in the arts, sciences, and administrative studies, (2) the Open College, responsible for adult basic education and vocational courses, and (3) the Knowledge Network responsible for the delivery of courses and the provision of general educational programming.

The Knowledge Network's pursuit of two different types of audience is typical, however, of virtually all educational networks in Canada. As organizations concerned with education, educational networks naturally attempt to extend and give shape to the larger projects of their respective ministries of education. Consequently, they are involved in the delivery of course material, collaborate with educational institutions, and reflect various curricula in their scheduling. As television networks, however, they also find themselves confronted with a much broader constituency—in terms of age, background, ability, education, etc.—than would be likely in any classroom. Furthermore, they reach this constituency under conditions unconducive to learning. Hence, like all other educational networks, the Knowledge Network has construed education in a broad sense. It means not only

formal education or the content of lectures and courses, but also the attempt to create a generally literate, lively, and well-educated citizenry.

The result is clear in the Knowledge Network's schedule. The Knowledge Network devotes roughly half of its 6,000 annual broadcast hours to traditional educational material (credit and non-credit courses, college and university lectures, K-12 content, etc.). Furthermore, less than 30% of its content consists of tele-courses. It devotes the other half of its broadcasting hours to content of a more general and entertaining nature. This includes programs devoted to film (international, Hollywood, Canadian), general documentaries, teleplays, how-to programs, music programs, children's shows, and so on.

In recent years, the very effort to construe education as both formal and informal has led to the criticism that educational networks are no longer fulfilling their mandates. For some they are increasingly perceived as publicly-funded entertainment undertakings competing unfairly with the private sector. This has, in turn, led to calls for them to be defunded, re-organized, abolished, or sold to private interests.

—Paul Attallah

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## KOPPEL, TED

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

When Ted Koppel addressed Catholic University's graduating class in 1994, he proclaimed, "We have reconstructed the Tower of Babel, and it is a television antenna." In Koppel's words, "We now communicate with everyone and say absolutely nothing." This may be Koppel's opinion of television in general, but few observers would accept it as a description of Koppel or his late-night news and public affairs program, *Nightline*, which began on ABC in 1980. Koppel and *Nightline* have repeatedly won awards and consistently attracted large audiences, even battling against such successful network stars as Johnny Carson and David Letterman. In the eyes of many worldwide TV viewers, Koppel is a celebrity, a respected, gutsy commentator, one of the best interviewers on TV, and a superb reporter. *Newsweek* once called him the

"smartest man in television." Clearly, Ted Koppel does not "say absolutely nothing."

After first working in radio news at WMCA in New York, Koppel joined ABC News in 1963 as one of the youngest news reporters to ever work for a network, and quickly rose through the ranks of the organization. He covered Vietnam, and became the bureau chief for Miami, then Hong Kong, and then chief diplomatic correspondent in 1971. In this capacity he established himself as one of television's best reporters. But then on 4 November 1979 Iranians seized the American embassy in Iran, taking Americans hostage, and television news took another step toward becoming the most reliable source of news. Four days later at 11:30 P.M. ABC News aired a program called *The Iran Crisis: America Held Hostage* anchored by Frank

Reynolds. Roone Arledge, ABC News president, decided this program would continue till the hostage crisis was over, and that it would eventually become a regular late-night newscast. After about five months *The Iran Crisis* became *Nightline*, and Koppel, who had anchored *The Iran Crisis* several times, became the permanent anchor for the new program. Since 1980 it has been difficult to separate Koppel from *Nightline*.

Koppel has won Peabody, duPont-Columbia, and Emmy awards, as well as countless of other awards. Koppel went to South Africa for a week-long series in 1985 to analyze apartheid, and subsequently won a Gold Baton duPont-Columbia prize for the series. Koppel also brought Jim and Tammy Bakker to *Nightline*, attracting 42% of network viewers. He brought George Bush and Michael Dukakis to TV in the last days of the 1988 presidential election when neither was giving interviews. Also in 1988 Koppel went to the Middle East to report on Arab-Israeli problems and held a town meeting attended by hundreds of Israeli and Arab citizens. And Koppel has probably brought Henry Kissinger (who once tried to hire Koppel as his press spokesman at the State Department) to TV more than any other interviewer. Among many other accomplishments, Koppel achieved a journalistic coup by being the first Western journalist to reach Baghdad after Iraqi's Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait in 1990. (Koppel eventually began his own production company so he could produce his own programs, such as *The Koppel Reports*.)

Koppel's success has been earned under the scrutiny of millions of viewers, and he has had his share of critics. But as media critic Bernard Timberg comments, Koppel is resourceful. While dealing with enormous programming, technological, and economic changes in the business of electronic journalism (not to mention enormous egos), Koppel has persisted and has come out on top. But the style of *Nightline* was established early as "us-versus-them" during the Iran hostage crisis. Critics like Michael Massing have said Koppel and *Nightline* are not impartial; some feel that, especially with Kissinger's influence, the show (and therefore Koppel) serves as a "transmission belt for official U.S. views." Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (a watchdog organization also called FAIR) has charged Koppel's *Nightline* as being overly influenced by white, male, corporate guests. In other words, the audience frequently only gets one side of an issue. However, Koppel wants to be seen as impartial, and he wants *Nightline* to be a program where "people of varying stripes and political persuasions can feel comfortable." Koppel recognizes the possibility, raised by critics, that his work can actually influence news events, but says that all the journalist can hope for is to "bring events to the attention of people in government," and of course to the public. In his book on ABC News, Gunther describes Koppel's *Nightline* as the most significant addition to television news since *60 Minutes* was created in the 1960s. If this is so, then Ted Koppel may be one of the most significant journalists working in the medium.

—Clayland H. Waite



Ted Koppel  
Photo courtesy of ABC

TED KOPPEL. Born in Lancashire, England, 8 February 1940. Educated at Syracuse University, New York, U.S.A., B.A. in speech 1960; Stanford University, M.A. in mass communications research and political science 1962. Married: Grace Anne Dorney, 1963, children: Andrea, Deirdre, Andrew, and Tara. Reporter, radio station WABC, 1963–1967; television reporter, Saigon Bureau of ABC News, Vietnam, 1967–68; Miami bureau chief, ABC News, 1968; Hong Kong bureau chief, 1969–71; chief diplomatic correspondent, ABC News, 1971–80, correspondent, *ABC News Closeup*, 1973–74, anchor, ABC News programs, from 1975; anchor of *The Koppel Reports*, since 1988. Recipient: George Polk Award for TV network reporting, numerous Emmy Awards, three George Foster Peabody Awards, eight DuPont/Columbia awards, seven Overseas Press Club awards, two Society of Professional Journalism awards. Address: c/o ABC News, 1717 De Sales Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036, U.S.A.

#### TELEVISION

- |         |  |
|---------|--|
| 1967–80 | <i>ABC News</i> (correspondent and bureau chief) |
| 1973–74 | <i>ABC News Closeup</i> (correspondent)          |
| 1975–76 | <i>ABC Saturday Night News</i> (anchor)          |
| 1980–   | <i>Nightline</i> (anchor)                        |

#### TELEVISION SPECIALS

- |         |                                     |
|---------|-------------------------------------|
| 1973    | <i>The People of People's China</i> |
| 1974    | <i>Kissinger: Action Biography</i>  |
| 1975    | <i>Second to None</i>               |
| 1988–90 | <i>The Koppel Reports</i>           |

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*Nightline: History in the Making and the Making of Television*, with Kyle Gibson. New York: Times Books, 1996.

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Massing, M. "Ted Koppel's Neutrality Act." *Columbia Journalism Review* (New York), March-April, 1989.

## KOVACS, ERNIE

## U.S. Comedian

Ernie Kovacs, a creative and iconoclastic comedian, pioneered the use of special effects photography in television comedy. On the 50th anniversary of the beginning of television in 1989, *People Weekly* recognized him as one of the television's top 25 stars of all time. During the 1950s, Kovacs' brilliant use of video comedy demonstrated the unique possibilities of television decades before similar techniques became popular on *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In* and the various David Letterman shows. His live shows were characterized by ad-libbed routines, enormous flexibility with the TV camera, experimentation with video effects, complete informality while on camera, and a permissiveness that expanded studio boundaries by allowing viewers to see activity beyond the set.

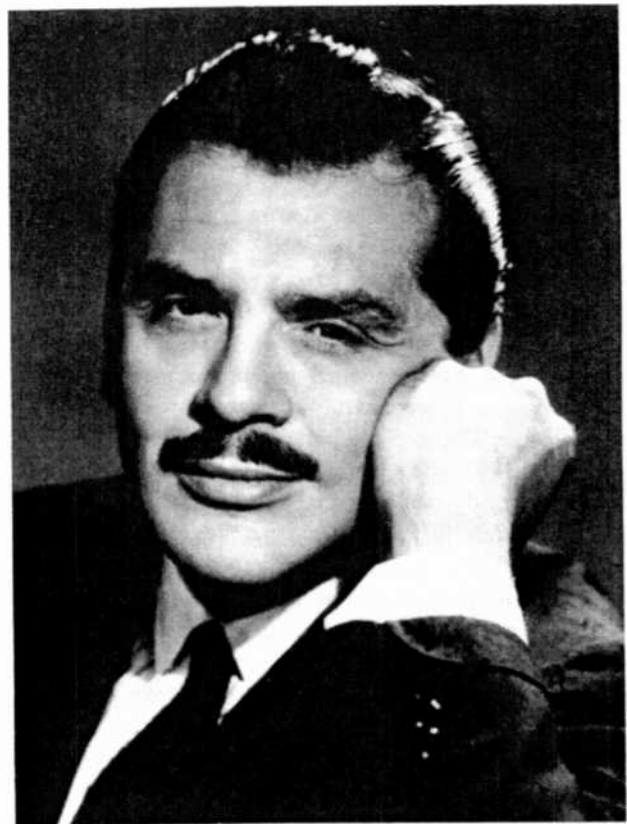
His routines frequently parodied other programs and introduced imaginative Kovacsian characters such as the magician Natzo Hepplewhite, Professor Bernie Cosnowski, and Mr. Question Man, who resembled Johnny Carson's Carnac the Magnificent. The best known of his creations was the Nairobi Trio, three ape instrumentalists playing "Solfeggio" in a deadpan manner like mechanical monkeys. The high point came when the percussionist turned jerkily to the conductor and bopped him on the head with a xylophone hammer.

Following a career in radio, Kovacs' transition to television came in 1950 when he simultaneously hosted several programs on NBC's WPTZ in Philadelphia. His first show, *Deadline for Dinner*, consisted of cooking tips from guest chefs. When a guest did not show, he did his own recipe for "Eggs Scavok," his name spelled backwards. In August 1950, he hosted a quiz and fashion program titled *Pick Your Ideal*, basically a 15-minute promotional for the Ideal Manufacturing Company. In November of that year he pioneered one of TV's first morning wake-up programs. The unstructured format required improvisational abilities Kovacs had mastered on radio. The daily 90-minute slot was titled *3 To Get Ready*. (The number three referred to channel 3, or WPTZ).

Kovacs' off-the-wall style was extremely unorthodox in early television. He approached the medium as something totally new. While his contemporaries were treating TV as an extension of vaudeville stages, Kovacs was expanding the visible confines of the studio. His skits incorporated areas previously considered taboo, including dialogue with the camera crew, the audience, and forays into the studio corridor.

Impressed with his abilities, NBC network executives scheduled his first network show, *It's Time for Ernie*, in May 1951. The daily 15-minute broadcast aired from WPTZ, featuring Kovacs and music from a local combo known as the Tony deSimone Trio. In July he received his first prime-time slot as a summer replacement for *Kukla, Fran, and Ollie*. *Ernie in Kovacsland* opened with the music "Oriental Blues" and title cards with cartoon drawings of Ernie. A voice-over announced: "Ernie in Kovacsland! A short program—it just seems long."

Early in 1952, Kovacs reappeared on daytime TV as host for *Kovacs on the Corner*, the final show to originate from



Ernie Kovacs

Photo courtesy of Edie Adams



Philadelphia. Similar to radio's *Allen's Alley*, Kovacs strolled along a cartoon-like set and talked to such neighborhood characters as Luigi the Barber, Pete the Cop, Al the Dog, and Little Johnny Merkin, a midget. One program segment allowed a selected audience member to say hello to folks back home. A closed window filled the screen. On the window shade was printed the phrase "Yoo-Hoo Time." When the shade was raised, the excited audience member waved, saying "Yoo-hoo!"

In April 1952, Kovacs moved to WCBS in New York as host of a local daytime comedy variety show named *Kovacs Unlimited*. Known for its parodies of other programs, *Kovacs Unlimited* resembled the contemporary *Saturday Night Live*. It was Kovacs' longest-running series out of New York, lasting 21 months.

In December, CBS aired a new, national *Ernie Kovacs Show* opposite NBC's *Texaco Star Theater* with Milton Berle. Kovacs produced and wrote the show himself and, as with his earlier broadcasts, much of the program was improvised. Unlike other TV comedies, there was no studio audience, nor was canned laughter used. In Kovacs' view, the usefulness of an audience was diminished because they could not see the special effects. Described as his "hallucinatory world," the program featured many ingenious video effects as though illusion and reality were confused. In his skits, paintings came to life, flames from candles remained suspended in midair, and library books spoke.

Kovacs reappeared periodically in shows over various networks. In April 1954, the DuMont network's flagship station, WABD in New York, scheduled him as a late-night rival to Steve Allen. NBC aired his show as a daytime comedy premiering in December 1955 and in prime time a year later. Kovacs' final appearances were in a monthly series over ABC during 1961 and 1962. He received an Emmy for the 1961 series sponsored by Dutch-Masters Cigars. Regulars on many of Kovacs' early shows were Edie Adams, who became his second wife, straight-men Trigger Lund and Andy McKay, and the Eddie Hatrak Orchestra.

The most extraordinary episode in Kovacs' career was the half-hour NBC broadcast, without dialogue, known as the "Silent Show." Seen on 19 January 1957, it was the first prime-time program done entirely in pantomime. Accompanied only with sound effects and music, Kovacs starred as the mute, Chaplinesque "Eugene," a character he earlier developed during the fall of 1956 when hosting *The Tonight Show*. In 1961, Kovacs and co-director Joe Behar received the Directors Guild of America Award for a second version of the program over ABC.

Kovacs was an avant-garde experimenter in a television era governed by norms from earlier entertainment media. In his routines, he pioneered the use of blackouts, teaser openings, improvisations with everyday objects, matting techniques, synchronization of music and sound with images, and various camera effects including superimpositions, reverse polarity (a switch making positive seem negative), and reverse scanning (flipping images upside down). Recent TV documentaries have celebrated his work. These include WNJT's *Cards and Cigars: The Trenton in Ernie Kovacs* (1980), Showtime Cable's *Ernie Kovacs: Television's Original*

*Genius* (1982), and ABC's *Ernie Kovacs: Between the Laughter* (1984). In 1987, he was inducted into the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Hall of Fame.

—Frank J. Chorba

**ERNIE KOVACS.** Born in Trenton, New Jersey, U.S.A., 23 January 1919. Attended New York School of Theatre and American Academy of Dramatic Art in Manhattan. Children from first marriage: Betty and Kippie; 2) Edie Adams, 1954, one daughter. As teenager, performed in stock companies, 1936–39; hospitalized, for 19 months, 1939; formed own stock company, 1941–43; columnist for hometown newspaper, *The Trentonian*, 1945–50; announcer, director of special events, and assistant of programming, radio station WTTM, 1942–50; first worked in television, 1950, on cooking show for WPTZ-TV; morning show, WPTZ-TV, 1950; *It's Time for Ernie*, NBC-TV, 1951; host, various shows, 1950s; first film, *Operation Mad Ball*, 1957; *Bell, Book and Candle*, 1958; first starring vehicle in British film *Five Golden Hours*, 1961. Recipient: Emmy Awards, 1957 and 1961; Directors Guild of America Awards, 1961; named to Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Hall of Fame, 1987. Died in Los Angeles, 13 January 1962.

#### TELEVISION SERIES (selection)

- 1951      *It's Time for Ernie*
- 1951      *Ernie in Kovacsland*
- 1952–53, 1956 *The Ernie Kovacs Show*  
                  (first titled *Kovacs Unlimited*)
- 1960–61      Silents Please (host)

#### TELEVISION SPECIALS

- 1957      Festival of Magic (host)
- 1961      *Private Eye, Private Eye* (host)
- 1961–62      *The Ernie Kovacs Special*

#### FILMS

*Operation Mad Ball*, 1957; *Bell, Book and Candle*, 1958; *It Happened to Jane*, 1958; *Our Man in Havana*, 1959; *Wake Me When It's Over*, 1960; *Strangers When We Meet*, 1960; *Pepe*, 1960; *North to Alaska*, 1960; *Five Golden Hours*, 1961; *Sail a Crooked Ship*, 1961; *Cry for Happy*, 1961.

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See also *Ernie Kovacs Show*

## KRAFT TELEVISION THEATRE

### U.S. Anthology Series

**K**raft *Television Theatre* proved to be one of the most durable and honored programs of the Golden Age, airing on NBC from 1947 to 1958. Produced by the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency, this live anthology drama was designed to mesh with Kraft's overall marketing strategy, which stressed the concept of "gracious living," an appeal to middle-class, suburban, family values. *Kraft Television Theatre* featured quietly paced, intimate dramas; as one Kraft representative put it, the show was be a "respectful guest in America's living rooms."

Although *Kraft Television Theatre* quickly established itself as a critical favorite after its premiere in May 1947, in Kraft's estimation the show was only as useful as its ability to move product. In this it succeeded beyond fondest expectations. The first indication of the magnitude of the program's sales prowess came from Thompson's Sales Department which reported in June that McLaren's Imperial Cheese, a new Kraft product advertised nowhere else but on television, was flying off grocers' shelves.

The decision to feature food preparation over hard-sell personality or price appeals was not made lightly. Kraft's advertising personnel were concerned that using a model or a recognized spokesman would detract from the product, so Thompson designed live commercials that used a single-focus technique. Each program had, on average, a pair of two-minute breaks, at which time cameras focused on a pair of feminine hands as they demonstrated the preparation of various dishes as announcer Ed Herlihy relayed the recipe to the viewer. This careful approach paid off for Kraft; sales of advertised products rose dramatically in television cities, and, even more importantly, a poll conducted by *Television* magazine in November 1947 showed that *Kraft Television Theatre* had the highest sponsor identification of any show on television.

Kraft and Thompson prided themselves on keeping costs at a minimum in the early years. The dramatic emphasis was on warm and engaging family fare ("realism with a modest moral," as one executive said) solicited from young playwrights in New York; all performers were selected by Thompson's Casting Department. Although the show was almost entirely an agency product, NBC took a great interest in the program's operation—too much, at times, for the agency's liking.

Still, *Kraft Television Theatre* remained Thompson's defining program, and through its long run (the show never went on hiatus during its eleven years on the air), featured such outstanding plays as Rod Serling's "Patterns," "A Night to Remember," in which the Titanic disaster was memorably reproduced, and a version of Senator John F. Kennedy's book *Profiles in Courage*. Several noted directors, including George Roy Hill, Fielder Cook, and Sidney Lumet, also served their apprenticeships on the program.

In October 1954, a second *Kraft Television Theatre* debuted, this time on ABC. The addition of another series



Kraft Television Theatre: Burlesque  
Photo courtesy of Kraft Foods, Inc.

surprised many industry observers who expected Kraft, if anything, to pare their television activities. The original *Kraft Television Theatre* was never a ratings success, but Kraft apparently never expected it to be, consistently claiming that they measured the show's popularity by the number of recipe requests, not by its Nielsens. The ABC version was conceived with the intent of creating another advertising vehicle for Kraft's burgeoning product line, such as the new Cheez Whiz. However, sales figures from products advertised on the ABC program did not justify the additional \$2 million in costs, so Kraft pulled the show in January 1955.

By 1958, the anthology drama had yielded to serial narratives with their recurring characters and situations, and in April 1958, after a sustained period of ratings lassitude, Kraft decided to sell the rights to the program to Talent Associates, a production company headed by David Susskind. The movement from agency to package production relieved much of Kraft's financial obligation to the show, as they could now split production costs with Susskind. *Kraft Television Theatre* remained on the air only a few more months before it was completely reconfigured by

Talent Associates as *Kraft Mystery Theatre*, which lasted until September 1958.

—Michael Mashon

#### ANNOUNCERS

Ed Herlihy (1947–55)

Charles Stark (1955)

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

##### • NBC

May 1947–December 1947      Wednesday 7:30–8:30

January 1948–October 1958      Wednesday 9:00–10:00

##### • ABC

October 1953–January 1955      Thursday 9:30–10:30

#### FURTHER READING

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See also Advertising, Company Voice; Advertising Agency; Anthology Drama; Golden Age of Television; *Hour Glass*

## KUKLA, FRAN AND OLLIE

### Children's Puppet/Variety

**K***ukla, Fran and Ollie* was the first children's show to be equally popular with children and adults. The show's immense popularity stemmed from its simplicity, gentle fun and frolic and adult wit. Burr Tillstrom's Kuklapolitan Players differed from typical puppets in that the humor derived from satire and sophisticated wit rather than slapstick comedy. At the height of the show's popularity, the cast received 15,000 letters a day, and its ratings were comparable to shows featuring Milton Berle and Ed Sullivan.

The basic format of the show was simple: Fran Allison stood in front of a small stage and interacted with the characters. The format was derived from the puppet act Tillstrom performed for the RCA Victor exhibit at the 1939 New York World's Fair. Acting as an entr'acte for another marionette show at the World's Fair, Kukla and Ollie would comment on the activities, sometimes heckle the announcer, and coax the actresses and models acting as spokespersons for the exhibit to come up onto the stage and talk with them. Never working from a written script, Tillstrom improvised over 2,000 performances at the Fair, each one different because of his personal dislike of routine. During World War II, Tillstrom and his Kuklapolitan Players performed in USO shows, at army hospitals, and for bond drives, where he met radio personality Fran Allison.

In 1947, the majority of television sets were located in taverns and saloons. Network executives were looking for a television show that could be watched at home and decided the Kuklapolitans would be the perfect "family fare". The

group was contracted for 13 weeks on daytime TV and stayed for the next ten years.



Kukla, Fran and Ollie

The first episodes were aired daily from 4:00 to 5:00 in the afternoon on local Chicago television station WBKB, which was later acquired by NBC. When the network completed its New York-Chicago transmission lines in 1948, *Kukla, Fran and Ollie* began to air nationwide. By its second season, the growing adult audience prompted the network to move the show to a 7:00 P.M. half-hour time slot. By its third season, the show had six million viewers. In 1951, NBC cut the half-hour format to fifteen minutes, which, ironically, caused the ratings to soar even higher because audiences craved more of their favorite characters. After several seasons, the daily program was shifted to a weekly program on Sunday afternoons. When the series switched from NBC to ABC in 1954, it returned to a daily broadcast. When the series was canceled in 1957, it was one of the longest running programs on television, second only to Kraft Television Theatre.

With few exceptions (e.g., elaborately staged versions of *The Mikado* and an original operetta of *St. George and the Dragon*), all of the shows were improvised. Pre-show preparation consisted of a meeting between Tillstrom, Allison, director Lewis Gomavitz, musical director Jack Fascinato, costume designer Joe Lockwood, and producer Beulah Zachary to discuss the basic premise for that day's program.

The popularity of the show stemmed from how it created its own unique world of make-believe. The characters were not caricatures, but rather well-developed, three-dimensional individuals with distinct histories, personalities, eccentricities and foibles. In the show's initial episodes, the Kuklapolitans were strong characters, but not individuals. In the simple banter between Allison and one of the "kids" (as Tillstrom, Allison and others referred to them), audiences learned more of their individual histories: where they went to school, their relatives, how an ancestor of Ollie's once swam the Hellespont and took in too much water and thereby drowned the family's fire-breathing ability, and about the time Beulah Witch was arrested by Interpol for flying too low over the United Nations building.

The leader of the troupe was Kukla, a sweet-natured and gentle clown who was something of a worry-wart. Oliver J. Dragon (Ollie), atypical of traditional puppet show dragons, was a mischievous, one-toothed dragon with a penchant for getting into trouble. Other members of the Kuklapolitans included grand dame Madame Ophelia Oglepuss, Stage Manager Cecil Bill (who spoke a language comprehensible only to the other Kuklapolitans), Colonel R.H. Crackie, a debonair Southern gentleman, floppy-eared Fletcher Rabbit, Beulah Witch (named for producer Beulah Zachary—with the intentional misspelling), Ollie's mother Olivia Dragon and niece Dolores, whom audiences saw grow from an noisy infant into a typical teenage dragonette, and many others. Their human qualities endeared them to their audience.

It could be said that Allison acted as "straight man" to this cast of characters, but her role was much more. A quick wit in her own right who could maintain the pace set by

Tillstrom, Allison served simultaneously, according to Tillstrom, as "big sister, favorite teacher, baby-sitter, girlfriend and mother." Allison was equally responsible for adding to the characters' histories. She was the first to mention Ollie's mother and prompted Tillstrom to create the character for a future show.

The Kuklapolitans returned briefly for one season in 1961 for a daily five-minute show without Fran Allison. *Kukla, Fran and Ollie* was revived for two seasons (1969–1971) for PBS, and from 1971 to 1979, the Kuklapolitans and Allison served as hosts for the Saturday afternoon *CBS Children's Film Festival*. The characters continued to appear in syndicated specials in the early 1980s. In all of these series and formats, the essential elements of the original series remained the same.

In its initial ten-year run, *Kukla, Fran and Ollie* received a total of six Emmy nominations for Best Children's Program but won only once, in 1952. It was awarded a Peabody as the outstanding children's program of 1949. In a tribute to creator Burr Tillstrom, co-worker Donald Corren (*Chicago*, July 1986) said, "The acceptance of television puppetry as a form of entertainment and communication exists because *Kukla, Fran and Ollie* was as much a part of the original television vocabulary as were 'station identification,' 'the six-o'clock news,' or the chimes that identified NBC." Because the Kuklapolitans were such vibrant characters, Tillstrom specified in his will that they are never to be put on display inertly unless they are moving and speaking as he intended them to be seen.

—Susan R. Gibberman

#### HOSTESS

Fran Allison

#### ANNOUNCER

Hugh Downs

#### PUPPETEER

Burr Tillstrom

#### MUSICAL DIRECTOR

Jack Fascinato

#### PUPPETS

*Kukla*

*Ollie (Oliver J. Dragon)*

*Fletcher Rabbit*

*Mme. Ophelia Oglepuss*

*Beulah Witch*

*Cecil Bill*

*Col. Crackie*

*Mercedes*

*Dolores Dragon (1950–57)*

*Olivia Dragon (1952–57)*

**PRODUCERS** Burr Tillstrom, Beulah Zachary

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY**

## • NBC

November 1948–51      Monday-Friday 7:00-7:30

November 1951–June 1952      Monday-Friday 7:00-7:15

## • ABC

September 1954–August 1957      Monday-Friday 7:00-7:15

**FURTHER READING**Corren, Donald. "Kukla, Me, and Ollie: Remembering Chicago's Legendary Puppeteer, Burr Tillstrom." *Chicago*, July 1986."End of the Affair." *Time* (New York), 9 September 1957.Gehman, Richard B. "Mr. Oliver J. Dragon...and Friends." *Theatre Arts* (New York), October 1950.Haynes, George Gleve. "Kukla, Fran and Fletcher." *New York Times*, 30 June 1989."Kukla, Fran and Ollie." In Wilk, Max, editor. *The Golden Age of Television: Notes from the Survivors*. Mount Kisco, New York: Moyer Bell, 1989."Shed a Tear for Them." *Newsweek* (New York), 9 September 1957."The Tillstrom Kids." *Newsweek* (New York), 22 August 1949."Top Hat Dragon." *Newsweek* (New York), 7 December 1953."You've Got to Believe." *Time* (New York), 2 January 1950.

See also Allison, Fran; Chicago School of Television; Children and Television; Tillstrom, Burr

**KURALT, CHARLES****U.S. News Correspondent**

Charles Kuralt is best known for his critically acclaimed series of "On the Road," television "essays" on America and for his fifteen year tenure as host of the equally acclaimed *CBS Sunday Morning* series. Through a CBS network career spanning thirty-seven years, this award-winning journalist and author has brought the life and vitality of back-roads America to an eager audience while providing a television home for the arts, the environment and the offbeat.

Kuralt began his career as a reporter-columnist in 1955 for the *Charlotte News*. His penchant for unusual human interest stories found a home in the *News*' daily "People" column which in turn earned him the 1956 Ernie Pyle Memorial Award. A year later he was recruited for CBS. His first network job was to re-write wires and cables from overseas correspondents for radio newscasts, but he quickly advanced to the position of writer for *CBS Evening News*. In 1958, he moved to the CBS television news assignment desk, where he also covered fast-breaking stories. A year later, he became a full-fledged correspondent—the youngest person ever to win that position. His star continuing to rise, in 1960, he was chosen over Walter Cronkite to host a new CBS public affairs series, *Eyewitness to History*. However, within four months he was replaced by Cronkite and was moved back to general assignment reporting. He was named chief of CBS' newly established Latin American bureau during the Kennedy administration, then chief west coast correspondent in 1963. He also reported from various global hot spots in Africa, Europe and Southeast Asia, including four tours of duty in Vietnam.

Contributing special reports to the documentary series, *CBS Reports*, and anchoring several public affairs specials in addition to his regular reporting duties, Kuralt began to tire of the grind and rivalry inherent in daily reporting. To remedy this, he devised his plan for "On the Road." After an initial negative reaction, he managed to win minimal sup-

port from network executives who granted him a three-month trial.

Kuralt's three-month trial began in October 1967, and turned into a twenty-five-year odyssey. With cameraman



Charles Kuralt

Photo courtesy of Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research

Izzy Bleckman and soundman Larry Gianneschi, he logged more than one million miles in six motor homes while producing approximately 500 "On the Road" segments. Staying off the interstates and with no set itinerary, he drew upon viewer letters, a state-by-state clipping file, and occasional references from public relations firms and local chambers of commerce to find unusual stories and unsung heroes. He had total freedom to discover America.

In the early 1970s, CBS considered reassigning Kuralt but he was ever reluctant to leave the road. He did serve as co-host with Sylvia Chase on the short-lived *CBS News Adventure* in 1970, and in May 1974, on *Magazine*, an afternoon news and features program. He also contributed pieces to another short-lived prime-time magazine show, *Who's Who* (1977). With Dan Rather and Barbara Howard concentrating on more famous high-profile newsmakers, in typical Kuralt fashion, he brought the *Who's Who* viewing audience such unlikely characters as the inventor of the shopping cart, champion boomerang throwers and an eighty-nine-year-old kite flyer.

With network assurance that he could continue *On the Road*, on 28 January 1979, Kuralt assumed the anchor position on the new *CBS News Sunday Morning*. Leisurely paced and low key, in keeping with its early Sunday morning time slot, the ninety-minute show examined major headlines, provided a weekly in-depth cover story and a series of special reports on law, science, the environment, music, the arts, education and world affairs. In essence, with its eclectic view of America, *Sunday Morning* became a natural extension of "On the Road," providing an outlet for topics not regularly covered on other newscasts. Commented Milton Rhodes, president of the American Council for the Arts, in the June 1987 issue of *Horizon*: "Nowhere else on television does a journalist of Kuralt's reputation discuss the arts as regularly, as fully, and as intelligently as he."

For eighteen months, Kuralt combined his *Sunday Morning* activities with his ongoing "On the Road" reports, but in October 1980, he left the road to become anchor for the daily morning network news offering. *Morning with Charles Kuralt* would be criticized for being too slow-paced for the time period and, in mid-March 1982, Kuralt was replaced as anchor and sent back out on the road. Within two years, his new "On the Road" reports became the centerpiece of yet another short-lived prime-time series, *The American Parade*.

Openly opposed to the fast-paced, minimal information format of many news broadcasts, through the years Kuralt has chastised television executives for "hiring hair instead of brains." Quoted in *TV Guide* on 2 April 1994, Kuralt said, "I am ashamed that so many [anchorpersons] haven't any basis on which to make a news judgment, can't edit, can't write, and can't cover a story." As *TV Guide's* Neil Hickey reported, these are all things Kuralt can do and for which he has been honored with eleven Emmy Awards and three Peabody Awards.

Into the 1990s, Kuralt continued his *Sunday Morning* efforts and for an approximate five-month period beginning

in October 1990, co-hosted the nightly news summary, *America Tonight*, four nights a week, with Lesley Stahl. Then on 3 April 1994, at the age of fifty-nine, he retired from CBS with a poetic good-bye to his audience at the conclusion of his *Sunday Morning* broadcast.

Described by *Newsweek* on 4 July 1983, as "our beloved visiting uncle" and a "deToqueville in a motor home," Kuralt worked to awaken America to the beauty of its landscape, the depth and character of its people and to the qualities of excellence possible in television journalism. As a fitting tribute to a celebrated career, in April 1996, Kuralt was honored for his lasting contributions with the National Association of Broadcasters 1996 Distinguished Service Award.

—Joel Sternberg

CHARLES BISHOP KURALT. Born in Wilmington, North Carolina, U.S.A., 10 September 1934. Educated at University of North Carolina, B.A. 1955. Married: Suzanna Folsom Baird, 1962; children from previous marriage: Lisa Bowers White and Susan Guthery Bowers. Columnist and reporter, *Charlotte* (North Carolina) *News*, 1955–57; writer, CBS News, 1957–59; correspondent, CBS News, from 1959; first host of *Eyewitness*, 1960; named CBS News chief Latin America correspondent, 1961; chief west coast correspondent, 1963; CBS News, New York, 1964; "On the Road" correspondent and host, from 1967; *CBS Sunday Morning* correspondent, from 1979, host, from 1980. Recipient: Ernie Pyle Memorial Award, 1956; George Foster Peabody Broadcasting Awards, 1969, 1976, 1980; eleven Emmy Awards; International Radio-TV Society's Broadcaster of the Year, 1985; DuPont-Columbia Award; George Polk Award; National Association of Broadcasters Distinguished Service Award, 1996. Address: CBS News, 524 West 57th Street, New York City, New York 10019, U.S.A.

#### TELEVISION SERIES (writer, correspondent, host)

1957–59	<i>CBS Evening News</i> (writer)
1959–	<i>CBS News</i> (correspondent)
1960–61	<i>Eyewitness to History</i> (host)
1970	<i>CBS News Adventure</i>
1977	<i>Who's Who?</i>
1979–94	<i>CBS News Sunday Morning</i> (correspondent, host)
1980–82	<i>Morning with Charles Kuralt</i>
1983	<i>On the Road with Charles Kuralt</i>
1984	<i>The American Parade</i>
1990	<i>America Tonight</i>

#### PUBLICATIONS

*To the Top of the World: The First Planned Polar Expedition.*

New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968.

*Dateline America.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1979.

"Point of View: This New News Isn't Good News." *Chicago Tribune*, 2 May 1982.

"On the Road with Charles Kuralt." *Reader's Digest* (Pleasantville, New York), December 1983.  
*On the Road with Charles Kuralt*. New York: Putnam, 1985.  
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*North Carolina Is My Home*. Charlotte, North Carolina: East Woods Press, 1986.  
 "Backroads: Journeys Through the South to Places 'Like Nowhere Else.'" *Chicago Tribune*, 4 January 1987.  
*A Life on the Road*. New York: Putnam, 1990.  
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 "A National Conscience Has Awakened." *U.S. News and World Report* (Washington, D.C.), 20 January 1986.  
 Phillips, John. "Travels with Charlie." *Car and Driver* (New York), July 1995.  
 Rathbun, Elizabeth. "Kuralt Returns to 'Road' Stop; Buys Minnesota Condo." *Broadcasting and Cable* (Washington, D.C.), 4 September 1995.  
 Rhodes, Milton. "The Arts, Sunday Morning, and Charles Kuralt." *Horizon* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama), June 1987.  
 Waters, Harry F. "Travels with Charlie and Bill." *Newsweek* (New York), 4 July 1983.

## KUREISHI, HANIF

British Writer/Director

**H**anif Kureishi, an Anglo-Pakistani writer, is best known to international audiences as the screenwriter of *My Beautiful Laundrette*, one of the greatest international successes of British television's Channel Four.

Born in London of an English mother and a Pakistani father, Kureishi documents the population of London's margins—an underclass of disenfranchised youth, immigrants from former British colonies, leftist intellectuals, sexual outlaws (gays, lesbians, and heterosexuals refusing serial monogamy), and those individuals who cross class, ethnic, and sexual boundaries. His stories are often set in the Notting Hill district, a neighborhood at the center of the country's most violent racial unrest.

Notting Hill is also the home of film and television director, Stephen Frears, with whom Kureishi collaborated on two projects for Channel Four's Film on Four, *Laundrette* and *Sammy and Rosie Get Laid*. Frears is one of many British directors who has worked on films produced exclusively for television as well as those which are theatrically released, but have been funded all or in part by television (the two Frears-Kureishi films are examples of the latter). He has repeatedly claimed that television—not the cinema—is the best site for communicating the quality of daily life in

Britain. When he encountered Kureishi's script for *My Beautiful Laundrette*, he was excited by the prospect of bringing the story of the everyday lives of a group of entrepreneurial Pakistanis and disenfranchised white youth to a British television audience of up to 12 million people, 74% of whom never attend the cinema.

The film centers on Omar, a Pakistani caught, like so many of Kureishi's characters, between two worlds—those of his leftist intellectual father, now a bitter alcoholic, and of his Uncle Nasser, a wealthy slumlord who lets his nephew revamp one of his laundromats. Omar first employs and then becomes lovers and partners with a former school chum, Johnny, one of the hundreds of unemployed white youths in London in the 1980s. The racist attacks on Omar by the other white youth are graphically depicted, but Kureishi does not demonize the perpetrators. In the universe of his stories, the once-colonized are sometimes the new exploiters, and left vs. right, us vs. them dichotomies don't apply. Omar respects his father, but imitates his economically successful uncle, keeping his homosexual love affair with Johnny from both.

In *Sammy and Rosie Get Laid*, Rafi, a Pakistani official and wealthy factory owner returns to London to rekindle relationships with his son Sammy, his leftist English



daughter-in-law, Rosie, and his former mistress Alice. The film condemns Rafi's association with a government that used torture on its citizens, but Kureishi endows the character with lively hedonistic impulses that underscore his affinity with his non-monogamous son and daughter-in-law, whose leftist beliefs are more in sync with the writer's.

Critics usually point to Kureishi's masterful use of irony in these two films whose characters embody Thatcher's meritocrats and entrepreneurs, but who still find their identity in some of the sensual excesses of the 1960s—most notably sexual experimentation and/or drugs—that were decried by the Thatcher regime. Kureishi has written in his "Film Diary," that "openness and choice in sexual behavior is liberating," while "ambition and competitiveness are stifling narrowers of personality." By that prescription, his major characters—ambitious, competitive, but risk takers in sensuality—are complex studies in the contradictions of 1980s Britain.

—Mary Desjardins

**HANIF KUREISHI.** Born in London, England, 5 December 1954. Attended King's College, University of London, B.A. in philosophy. Began career as playwright with *Soaking in Hell*, produced in London, 1976; has also directed his own work. Address: Deborah Rogers Ltd, 20 Powis Mews, London W11 1SN, England.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1993 *The Buddha of Suburbia*

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

1984 *My Beautiful Laundrette*  
1987 *Sammy and Rosie Get Laid*  
1991 *London Kills Me* (also director)

#### RADIO

*You Can't Go Home*, 1980; *The Trial*, 1982.

#### STAGE

*Soaking in Hell*, 1976; *The Mother Country*, 1980; *The King and Me*, 1980; *Outskirts*, 1980; *Tomorrow-Today!*, 1981; *Cinders*, 1981; *Borderline*, 1981; *Artists and Admirers*, with David Leveaux, 1982; *Birds of Passage*, 1983; *Mother Courage*, 1984; *My Beautiful Laundrette*, 1986.

#### PUBLICATIONS

*Borderline*. London: Methuen, 1981.  
*Birds of Passage*. Oxford: Amber Lane Press, 1983.



Hanif Kureishi

Photo courtesy of Hanif Kureishi

"Introduction to My Beautiful Laundrette." In, *My Beautiful Laundrette*. London: Faber and Faber, 1986.

"Film Diary." *Granta* (Cambridge), Autumn 1987.

*Sammy and Rosie Get Laid: The Script and the Diary*. New York: Penguin, 1988.

*The Buddha of Suburbia*. London: Faber, 1990; New York: Penguin, 1991.

*London Kills Me*. London, Boston: Faber and Faber, 1991.

*Outskirts and Other Plays*. London, Boston: Faber and Faber, 1992.

*The Black Album*. London, Faber and Faber, 1995.

*The Faber Book of Pop*, editor, with others. London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1995.

#### FURTHER READING

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See also Channel Four; *Film on Four*



# L

## LA FRENAIS, IAN

British Writer

Ian La Frenais ranks among British television's most accomplished comedy writers. Most of his greatest successes were collaborations with BBC writer-producer Dick Clement; with Clement he has contributed several of the most enduringly popular comedy series of the last three decades.

La Frenais's early experience as an insurance salesman in his native Newcastle-upon-Tyne was to prove invaluable when he came to write the first of the classic comedy series that he created in partnership with Clement. He happened to meet Clement while on holiday and they devised a sketch about two cocky northern lads for Clement's director's exams. The BBC was much impressed by the scenario and their sketch was developed into the massive hit *The Likely Lads*, which was one of the fledgling BBC2's first big successes. The series revolved around the squabbles and contrasting aspirations of two friends, Bob Ferris (Rodney Bewes) and Terry Collier (James Bolam). La Frenais's writing showed facility with characterization and an easy grasp of northern traits and humour, as well as a certain acuteness in exposing the absurdities of the British class system in a rapidly changing world. Sequels all too often turn out to lack the flair and uniqueness of originals. In this case, when the series was revived some years later as *Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads?*, with Bob now engaged to be married and an even more vituperative Terry newly released from the Army, the critics were unanimous in finding the humour even sharper and more effective. There was no critical dissent when the programme was voted Best Situation Comedy of the Year in 1973.

Clement and La Frenais returned to the humour of North East England at regular intervals over the years, notably in the extraordinarily successful series *Auf Wiedersehen, Pet*, about a gang of Geordie building labourers obliged to pursue their trade in Germany, and in *Spender*, which starred former *Auf Wiedersehen* bricklayer Jimmy Nail. However, the pair proved that they were by no means restricted to purely regional comedy drama and in the mid-1970s they scored another huge hit with the classic prison comedy *Porridge*, starring the multi-faceted comedian Ronnie Barker.

Barker's cockney Norman Stanley Fletcher, a habitual criminal obliged by his innate good nature to guide his young cellmate Godber (Richard Beckinsale) through the vicissitudes

and dangers of life behind bars, was hailed as a masterpiece of comic invention and the programme became a favourite of prison audiences throughout the country. A sequel, *Going Straight*, which followed Fletcher's life after his release was less successful, lacking the dramatic tension that came with the confines of the original. In some respects Clement and La Frenais had already had a dry run for *Porridge* in their series *Thick as Thieves*, in which two crooks (Bob Hoskins and John Thaw) competed for the love of the same woman. This series ended after just eight episodes, when Thaw began work on *The Sweeney* police series. The original plan had been to return the two central characters to prison, where their relationship would have to adjust to new circumstances.

Collaborative efforts on situation comedies in the 1990s—including the disappointing *Full Stretch*, about a luxury car-hire business—have proved less notable. Though, with Clement, La Frenais enjoyed significant success as a screenwriter with his script for the cult film *The Commitments* (a triumph that prompted the pair to attempt a television version under the title *Over the Rainbow*). In the 1990s, La Frenais's solo contributions as writer have been more successful, with the popular *Lovejoy* series, adaptations for television of the Jonathan Gash novels about an antiques dealer with an eye for the main chance (and for the ladies). As before, La Frenais's easy humour and skillful characterization was deemed essential to the show's success.

—David Pickering

IAN LA FRENAIS. Born in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England, 7 January 1937. Attended Dame Allan's School, Northumberland. Married: Doris Vartan, 1984; one stepson. Worked as insurance salesman before establishing reputation as a screenwriter and producer; formed comedy writing partnership with BBC producer Dick Clement; partner, with Clement and Allan McKeown, in Witzend Productions. Recipient: British Academy of Film and Television Arts Awards; Broadcasting Guild Awards; *Evening News* Award; Pye Television Award; Screen Writers Guild Award; Society of Television Critics Award; Writers Guild of America Award; London Film Critics Circle Award; *Evening Standard* Peter Sellers Award, 1991. Address: Elliot Webb/Bob Broder, Broder-Kurland-Webb-Uffner Agency, 8439 Sunset Boulevard, Suite 402, Los Angeles, California 90069, U.S.A.

**TELEVISION SERIES**

- 1964–66      *The Likely Lads* (with Dick Clement)  
 1968      *The Adventures of Lucky Jim* (with Dick Clement)  
 1972      *The Train Now Standing*  
 1973–74      *Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads?* (with Dick Clement)  
 1973      *Seven of One* (with Dick Clement)  
 1974      *Thick as Thieves* (with Dick Clement)  
 1974–77      *Porridge* (with Dick Clement)  
 1975      *Comedy Playhouse* (with Dick Clement)  
 1976–77      *On the Rocks*  
 1978      *Going Straight* (with Dick Clement)  
 1979      *Billy*  
 1983      *Further Adventures of Lucky Jim* (with Dick Clement)  
 1983–84      *Auf Wiedersehen, Pet* (with Dick Clement)  
 1985      *Mog* (with Dick Clement)  
 1986      *Lovejoy*  
 1990      *Spender* (with Jimmy Nail)  
 1990      *Freddie and Max* (with Dick Clement)  
 1991      *Old Boy Network* (with Dick Clement)  
 1993      *Tracey Ullman: A Class Act* (with others)  
 1993      *Full Stretch* (with Dick Clement)  
 1993      *Over the Rainbow* (with Dick Clement)

**MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIE**

- 1983      *Sunset Limousine* (with Wayne Kline)

**TELEVISION SPECIALS** (with Dick Clement)

- 1980      *My Wife Next Door*  
 1981      *Mr. and Mrs. Dracula*  
 1982      *There Goes the Neighbourhood*  
 1993      *Tracy Ullman Special*

**FILMS** (writer)

*The Jokers* (with Dick Clement), 1967; *The Touchables* (with Dick Clement), 1968; *Hannibal Brooks* (with Dick Clement and Tom Wright), 1969; *Otley* (with Dick Clement), 1969; *The Virgin Soldiers* (with John Hopkins and John McGrath), 1970; *Villain* (with Dick Clement and Al Lettieri), 1971; *Catch Me a Spy* (with Dick Clement), 1971; *The Likely Lads* (with Dick Clement), 1976; *It's Not the Size That Counts* (with Dick Clement and Sid Collin), 1979; *To Russia... with Elton*, 1979; *Doing Time* (with Dick Clement), 1979; *The Prisoner of Zenda* (with Dick Clement), 1979; *To Russia... with Elton* (director only), 1979; *Water* (with Dick Clement and Bill Persky), 1985; *Vice Versa* (with Dick Clement), 1988; *Wilt* (with Dick Clement), 1989; *The Commitments* (with Dick Clement and Roddy Doyle), 1991.

**FILMS** (producer)

*Porridge* (with Dick Clement), 1979; *Doing Time* (with Allan McKeown), 1979; *To Russia... with Elton*, 1979; *Bullshot*, 1983; *Water* (with Dick Clement), 1985; *Vice Versa* (with Dick Clement), 1988; *Wilt* (with Dick Clement), 1989; *The Commitments* (with Dick Clement and Marc Abraham), 1991.

**STAGE** (writer)

*Billy* (1974); *Anyone for Denis?* (co-producer), 1982.

**PUBLICATIONS**

*The Likely Lads*, with Dick Clement; *Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads?*, with Dick Clement; *Porridge*, with Dick Clement; *Auf Wiedersehen, Pet*, with Dick Clement.

See also *Likely Lads*

## LA PLANTE, LYNDA

British Writer

Considered one of the most important contemporary British television dramatists, Lynda La Plante is energetic, prolific and has achieved success in several diverse media fields. Originally an actress, La Plante is also a best-selling novelist and currently runs her own production company, La Plante Productions, as well as having gained both popular and critical recognition for her serious and intelligent television dramas. Apart from her series *Lifeboat* (1994), which was centred on the intrigues of a coastal community (almost in the fashion of a soap opera), La Plante's dramas have been generally constructed round the imperatives of crime, punishment and underworld intrigue.

As an actor, La Plante appeared on British television in several well-known crime series of the late 1970s and early 1980s, including *The Sweeney* and *The Gentle Touch*. Usually

typecast as either a prostitute or a gangsters' moll, La Plante's experience of television acting not only ensured that she was grounded in the narrative dynamics of the British crime series, but was also made only too aware of the subordinate role generally assigned to female characters in the genre. Having written for her own pleasure since her childhood, La Plante began to write and submit her own scripts for various current police series, scripts which attempted to create roles for women which were much more intelligible, independent and less subordinate to men. As fate would have it, one of her scripts, entitled *The Women*, ended up on the desk of producer Verity Lambert at Euston Films at a time when she and her colleague Linda Agran were consciously looking for television dramas which would feature women both at the centre of events and the action. *The Women* became the series *Widows* which was broadcast to great public acclaim in 1983

and which was to transform La Plante's career from actor to television dramatist.

Despite the centrality of women in her writing career, whether as characters such as Dolly Rawlins (*Widows* and *She's Out*) and Jane Tennison (*Prime Suspect*), or as producers such as Lambert, La Plante has eschewed any identification with feminism or feminist agendas. Although undeniably aware of the questions raised and changes brought about by "second wave" feminism, she has included women's issues (such as Tennison's abortion in the *Prime Suspect* series) in incidental rather than pivotal positions in her dramas.

It would also be true to say that La Plante's female heroines are neither saintly nor unproblematic. Dolly Rawlins murdered her husband, and Jane Tennison finds it necessary to repress her own emotional needs to the extent that she not only obscures much of her own femininity (qualities traditionally accepted as feminine such as care and compassion) but, at times, she seemingly manages to lose all humanity.

Despite the problematic nature of her heroines, La Plante's work has still, however, been accused by some critics of producing an underlying subtext which actively espouses ideas of the politically correct and which succeeds in portraying all men as bastards and oppressors of women. On reflection, it would seem, rather, that La Plante has, in fact, provided some of the most disturbingly frank yet sympathetic male characters to appear on British television in recent times. In programmes such as *Civvies* (but also in *Comics* and *Prime Suspect*), La Plante has uniquely explored the bonds of love between heterosexual men. Although poorly received by public and critics (because of its brutality and lack of sentiment), *Civvies* undoubtedly portrays extraordinary love between men.

Male violence is often at the heart of La Plante's work. She does not excuse it, nor does she shy away from its reality and implications. In many ways she is eager to get to the heart of this violence and depict it in a matter of fact way. This can be seen in a more formalised way in *Seconds Out*, *Prime Suspect* and to a lesser extent in *Framed*, where La Plante explores some of the dynamics of boxing. She displays obvious fascination with how dimensions of male physicality and brutality are enacted and performed in boxing competitions, training sessions and sparring bouts.

La Plante's dramas, on the whole, do not champion either sex, but try to discuss both inequalities and power relations as they exist within society. For the most part, her protagonists (both male and female) stand for reason, the ability to think intelligently, and for expertise. In her dramas, La Plante is not interested in small-scale petty crime; she is preoccupied by both exceptional crimes and feats of exceptional detection. La Plante's crime dramas often focus on the minutiae of planning (*Widows*, *Prime Suspect*, *Framed*, *She's Out*) and the exhibition of particular skills and expertise such as Gloria's demonstration of weapons in *She's Out*.



Lynda La Plante

Photo courtesy of Goodman Associates

A concern for realism and accuracy of procedure (whether in a police station, a pathology lab or a prison) has become one of the hallmarks of La Plante's work. Her dramas are based on her own detailed and painstaking research and her elaborate and detailed scripts demand absolute accuracy of mise-en-scene, performance and procedure. With the formation of her own production company, it will be interesting to follow the possible future effects of her enhanced influence and control over her own dramatic products.

—Ros Jennings

LYNDA LA PLANTE. Born in Liverpool, Merseyside, England, 1946. Began career as an actor, later scriptwriter and producer; founder, La Plante Productions company, 1995.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1983	<i>Widows</i>
1986	<i>Hidden Talents</i>
1991–	<i>Prime Suspect</i>
1992	<i>Civvies</i>
1992	<i>Seconds Out</i>
1992	<i>Framed</i>
1993	<i>Seekers</i>
1993	<i>Comics</i>

1994	<i>Lifeboat</i> (also producer)
1994	<i>In the Firing Line</i> (presenter)
1994	<i>She's Out</i> (also co-producer)
1995	<i>Prime Suspect 3</i>
1995	<i>The Governor</i>

## LAMBERT, VERITY

### British Producer

By the early 1980s Verity Lambert's influence as a television producer and executive had made her not only one of Britain's leading businesswomen, but possibly the most powerful member of the nation's entertainment industry. With a résumé which lists many of the most noteworthy successes from the past 30 years, Lambert has served as a symbol of the women's advancement in the media. By the early 1990s, however, Lambert's name had also become associated with one of the more spectacular disasters in the history of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC).

Lambert's career did not quite suggest such dramatic highs or lows when the BBC first hired her in the early 1960s. She had already worked on the British ABC's *Armchair Theatre*, a prestigious commercial television series, and she had worked in American television with David Susskind. After 18 months, however, she returned to ABC, only to quit over their refusal to hire women directors. But when the BBC hired Sydney Newman away from ABC in 1963, the BBC's new head of drama in turn brought along Lambert, who, at age 27, became the corporation's youngest producer.

Lambert's BBC assignment, producing a new children's program, may be her most internationally-known achievement; for its first three seasons (1963–65), Lambert guided the development and production of *Doctor Who*. Although those three seasons might easily be overlooked in the twenty-five-plus history of the series, *Doctor Who* fans have repeatedly stressed Lambert's importance. During her tenure she both oversaw the creation of the original Doctor as a willful, often irresponsible pacifist, and presided over the phenomenal explosion of popular interest in writer Terry Nation's cyborg villains, the ever-hardy Daleks.

As Tulloch and Alvarado argue in *Doctor Who: The Unfolding Text* (1983), Lambert herself represents the convergence of discourses which helped to make *Doctor Who* so original and enduring. Over the course of the previous decade, the BBC had sought to meet the challenge of ITV by broadening its own definition of high culture beyond the realm of classical literature and its adaptation. Coming from the upstart world of commercial television, Lambert's association with the production of original dramas, heavy in social realism, became part of the BBC's continuing efforts to maintain its audiences. Moreover, Lambert and *Doctor Who* were not based in the children's department, and Lambert's inexperience with and even indifference to the

### FURTHER READING

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See also Mirren, Helen; *Prime Suspect*

established conventions of children's programming helped to lay the ground for the cross-generational audiences that made the series a groundbreaking success. Perhaps it was simply assumed that, "as a woman," Lambert was somehow automatically qualified for the job. Indeed, interviewers have often emphasized Lambert's decision not to have children of her own. Lambert has just as often refused to supply the sometimes expected displays of remorse: in the early 1980s, she cheerfully claimed "But I can't stand babies—no, I love babies as long as their parents take them away."

Lambert's career subsequent to *Doctor Who* continued to display similar mixtures of social awareness and slick commercial savvy. After producing an awarding-winning



Verity Lambert

Photo courtesy of Verity Lambert

series of Somerset Maugham's short stories and other projects, Lambert left the BBC in 1970 for London Weekend Television. She returned to co-create *Shoulder to Shoulder* (1974), a multi-part history of the suffragette movement. The next year Lambert joined Thames Television as controller of the drama department, becoming the company's director from 1982 to 1985. During that time Lambert was responsible for a number of highly successful productions with high exposure abroad, including *Rumpole of the Bailey*, the American Emmy-winning *Edward and Mrs. Simpson*, and Quentin Crisp's landmark biography, *The Naked Civil Servant*.

In 1976 Lambert had also joined the Thames subsidiary Euston Films, Ltd., and from 1979 to 1982 she served as its chief executive. At Euston Films she developed *Danger UXB*, as well as the gangster drama, *Out*. She was also responsible for the 1979 *Quatermass* sequel, *The Flame Trees of Thika*, and *Reilly: Ace of Spies*, as well as *Minder* (1979–82), the popular working class crime series, with which she is most often associated in Britain. Series such as *Out*, *Reilly* and *Minder* helped to solidify her reputation as a woman who could produce tough, male-oriented programming, a reputation she has both acknowledged and decried as sexist.

Lambert's move into feature films came when she was named head of production for Thorn-EMI, replacing the man responsible for the disastrous, big budget flops *Can't Stop the Music* and *Honky Tonk Freeway*. During what she calls this "terrible, horrible time" (1982–85), Lambert did persuade the company to join with Rank Film Distribution and Channel Four in backing a new British Screen Finance Consortium, a step which helped further to blur the distinctions in Britain between film and television production.

After leaving Thorn-EMI, her production company, Cinema Verity, produced the Meryl Streep film *A Cry in the Dark* (1988). Lambert's most public project, however, has been an elaborate, high-budget soap opera, *Eldorado* (1992–93). Like *Doctor Who*, *Eldorado* was an attempt by the BBC to prove itself competitive in an rapidly evolving market. This time, however, Lambert was not so lucky. A disaster of fully publicized dimensions, *Eldorado* was only Lambert's second experience with the genre (the first was in the 1960s, *The Newcomers*). Critics quickly turned on Lambert's "tough" *Minder* reputation and blamed her for *Eldorado*'s departures from the familiar British conventions for soap opera. The "greatest of all British television drama producers" had dared to set a soap opera in Spain, and filled it with a multilingual array of British expatriates and foreigners far removed from the milieu of either *Coronation Street* or the BBC's own "quality" soap, *EastEnders*.

Lambert defended *Eldorado* to the end, and continued to produce a range of programming, from sitcoms to the gritty thriller *Comics* (1993), written by *Prime Suspect*'s Lynda La Plante.

—Robert Dickinson

VERITY LAMBERT. Born in London, England, 27 November 1935. Attended Roedean School; La Sorbonne, Paris. Began career in television, 1961; drama producer, BBC Television, 1963; drama producer, London Weekend Television, 1970; rejoined BBC, 1973; controller of drama department, Thames Television, 1974; chief executive, Euston Films Ltd, 1979–82; director of drama, Thames Television, 1981–82; director, Thames Television, 1982–85; director of production, Thorn EMI Screen Entertainment, 1982–85; independent producer for film and television from 1985; founder, Cinema Verity Ltd, 1985; MacTaggart Lecturer, Edinburgh Television Festival, 1990; governor: British Film Institute, 1981–86 (chair, production board, 1981–82); National Film and Television School, since 1984. LLD, University of Strathclyde, 1988. Recipient: Veuve-Clicquot Businesswoman of the Year, 1982; Woman's Own Woman of Achievement, 1983. Address: The Mill House, Millers Way, 1A Shepherds Bush Road, London W6 7NA, England.

#### TELEVISION SERIES (selection)

1963–65	<i>Doctor Who</i>
1965	<i>The Newcomers</i>
1966–67	<i>Adam Adamant Lives</i>
1968	<i>Detective</i>
1969	<i>Somerset Maugham Short Stories</i>
1971–72	<i>Budgie</i>
1973–74	<i>Shoulder to Shoulder</i>
1976–77	<i>Rock Follies</i>
1978–92	<i>Rumpole of the Bailey</i>
1978–80	<i>Hazell</i>
1978	<i>Edward and Mrs. Simpson</i>
1978	<i>Out</i>
1979	<i>Danger UXB</i>
1979–93	<i>Minder</i>
1979	<i>Quatermass</i>
1980	<i>Fox</i>
1983	<i>Reilly: Ace of Spies</i>
1987	<i>American Roulette</i>
1989	<i>May to December</i>
1990	<i>Coasting</i>
1991	<i>GBH</i>
1991, 1992	<i>The Boys from the Bush</i>
1992	<i>Sleepers</i>
1992–93	<i>Eldorado</i>
1992–94	<i>So Haunt Me</i>
1993	<i>Comics</i>
1994	<i>Class Act</i>
1994	<i>She's Out</i>
1995	<i>Class Act II</i>

#### FILMS

*The Sailor's Return*, 1978; *Charlie Muffin*, 1979; *The Knowledge*, 1979; *Not For Publication*, 1984; *Morons from Outer Space*, 1985; *Dreamchild*, 1985; *Restless Natives*, 1985; *Link*, 1986; *Clockwise*, 1986; *A Cry in the Dark*, 1988.



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See also *Doctor Who*, *Minder*, *Quatermass*, *Rumpole of the Bailey*

## LANE, CARLA

## British Writer

Carla Lane is one of the most successful British sitcom writers—she has conceived of and written numerous shows which have proved tremendously popular, and contributed to many others. Lane carries particular significance within British television, as she is one of few British counterparts to the women writers, directors, and producers of American prime-time sitcoms.

Lane broke into television when she and Myra Taylor created *The Liver Birds*, a BBC sitcom based on two young women sharing a Liverpool bedsit and their mainly amorous adventures. Having moved to London from her native Liverpool at a time when, Lane reports, being from Liverpool wasn't something people were interested in, she succeeded in demonstrating her writing skills precisely by flaunting Liverpool culture. Over the following ten years and one hundred episodes, a highly recognisable style developed in Lane's writing of *The Liver Birds*. The characteristics of her work include themes on sexual and personal relationships, contemporary characters, and narratives more realistic than British television comedy had hitherto allowed. Ironically, Lane's comedy has always been distinctive for its lack of jokes, and can be best defined as comedy-drama. She describes herself as writing dialogue not jokes, with humour emerging through characters and speech rather than action.

*Butterflies*, Lane's next popular success, marked an increasing seriousness and melancholic tone in her sitcoms. The long-running BBC show *Butterflies* (1978–82), presented an intimate and studied portrait of middle-aged, suburban housewife, Ria (Wendy Craig), as she became attuned to the shortcomings of her life. Initially the BBC argued with Lane that comedy was not ready for a married woman stricken by another man, but Lane persevered and Ria was embarked on an adulterous affair. Although not championing women's issues, Lane writes from a woman's experience and point of view, which is clearly evident in the relationships defined in *Butterflies*. Her shows are, consequently, favourites with women viewers.

Lane furthered many of her earlier themes in ensuing sitcoms, including *Solo*, *The Mistress* (both starring Felicity Kendal); *Leaving*; and *I Woke Up One Morning* (all BBC). In addition to creating portraits of life up and down the

social scale, these and other shows took social issues as a backdrop for character development, focusing by turns on adultery, divorce, alcoholism. Unemployment, another issue, was the typically unconventional background of Lane's next major show, *Bread* (BBC, 1986–91), which was once again informed and inspired by Liverpool, and revolved around the Boswells, a working-class family consisting of a matriarch and her unemployed children. *Bread* was in no sense an instant success—it took a while for viewers to warm to the indulgent, staunchly Catholic mother and her family of unashamed scroungers—but within two years the sitcom had gained almost soap status, and came close to overtaking top soap *EastEnders* in the ratings.

Whilst Lane's contribution to British television has been officially recognised by an OBE, her work has not always received critical approval. There has often been an aversion to her subtle, anecdotal, and often poignant approach to programmes that have been labeled as comedy. BBC's recognition of the popular appeal of her writing has been confirmed in the ratings. Lane's phenomenally popular success stemmed from her insight into character construction, and her skill at allowing humour to flourish in situations not conventionally considered for such potential, yet which exist as everyday realities.

—Nicola Foster

CARLA LANE. Born in Liverpool, Merseyside, England. Writer for television in collaboration with Myra Taylor, notably with *The Liver Birds*; subsequently embarked on long series of successful solo series. Recipient: OBE, 1989.

## TELEVISION SERIES (selection)

1969–79, 1996	<i>The Liver Birds</i> (with Myra Taylor)
1971–76	<i>Bless This House</i> (with Myra Taylor)
1978–82	<i>Butterflies</i>
1981–82	<i>Solo</i>
1985–87	<i>The Mistress</i>
1985	<i>I Woke Up One Morning</i>
1986–91	<i>Bread</i>
1993–	<i>Luv</i>
1995	<i>Searching</i>

## LANGUAGE AND TELEVISION

In spite of the centrality of the visual image in television, this medium combines visibility with both oral and written varieties of language. Television is thus distinguished from print media by its predominantly aural-oral mode of language use, while visibility separates it from the exclusively aural medium of radio.

Orality is generally viewed as the "normal" or "natural" mode of communication through language. Being face-to-face, interactive, immediate and non-mediated (e.g. through writing, print or electronic media), oral communication and the oral tradition are considered by some theorists, such as Innis, to be indispensable to a free and democratic life. Unlike oral communication, which is usually dialogic and participatory, written language separates the writer and the reader in space and time, and relies on other senses. According to this perspective, audiovisual media, especially television, restore the pre-print condition of harmony of senses by using the ear and the eye and calling into play the remaining senses of touch, smell and taste. This view is rejected by those who argue that the "mechanized" orality of radio and television provides a one-way communication flow from the broadcaster to the hearer or viewer, thus eliminating a fundamental feature of the spoken language: its dialogue and interactivity. Television, like writing, then, overcomes the barriers of space, reaches millions of viewers, and may contribute to the centralization of power and knowledge.

Many viewers see television as an oral medium, a perception constantly reinforced by announcers, anchors and reporters who try to engage in an informal, conversational style of speaking. Among their techniques are the use of direct forms of address, (e.g., "Good evening," "Thank you for watching..." or "Please stay with us..."), the maintenance of eye contact with viewers while reading the script from teleprompters or printed copy, and the attempt to be, or at least appear, spontaneous.

This on-the-air conversationality is, however, different from everyday talk in significant ways. For instance, television talk aims at avoiding what is natural in face-to-face conversation—errors such as false starts or pauses, and repetitions, hesitations and silence. A manual of script writing advises the beginner: "Structure your scripts like a conversation, but avoid the elements of conversations that make them verbose, redundant, imprecise, rambling, and incomplete" (Mayeux 1994). Furthermore, the broadcaster is required to have a good or "polished" voice, and is advised "to articulate, enunciate, breathe from the diaphragm, sound authoritative, stay calm under fire, and, all the while, be conversational!" (Freedman 1990).

Viewers, by contrast, engage in an aural or auditory communication with the medium. Even in call-in shows, the majority of viewers are not able to speak. The few who go on the air via telephone are selected through a gatekeeping process, and are often instructed to be brief and to the point. Language,

then, much like studio setup and camera position, is used to create a sense of intimate involvement, a sharing of time and space. Phil Donahue, for example, uses words such as "we," "us," "you," and "here" in order to create a sense of communion between the host, and the studio and home audiences, e.g., in "You'll forgive us, Mr. X, if we are just a little sceptical of your claim that all we need to do. . . ." Similarly, another linguistic code, the frequent use of the present tense, is used to create a sense of audience involvement, and apparently allows the host, the guest and the home audience to share the same moment of broadcast time, even though most shows in the United States were, by the early 1990s, either pre-recorded or packaged as syndication reruns.

In spite of the presence of seeming spontaneity in talk genres, they are usually semi-scripted, and involve a preparation process including research, writing, editing and presentation. As Timberg points out, over a hundred professionals were involved in producing and airing a "spontaneous" talk show like *The Tonight Show* each evening, for example, and as much as 80% of the interview with guests on the Letterman show was worked out in advance. Non-scripted, ad lib and unprepared talk shows do, however, appear both on mainstream networks (e.g. *Larry King Live*), and on low-budget or semi-professional programs of local, community or alternative television.

While some theorists, such as Ong, admit the written bases of television's spoken language and conceptualize it as "secondary orality", there is a tendency to explain the popularity of television by, among other things, equating its orality with that of the face-to-face speech. Some researchers see in popular talk shows (such as *Donahue* or *Kilroy*) a forum or a public sphere where audiences, in the studio and in front of the screen, engage in oppositional dialogue. Others find the talk shows essentially conformist, contributing to the maintenance of the status quo.

Romanticizing the orality of television is as problematic as denouncing it as an impoverished form of speech. Language changes continually, and television, as a social institution and powerful technology, creates new discourses, new modes of language use, new forms of translation, and new forms of communication between communities with different linguistic abilities. "Natural" and TV languages coexist in constant interaction, influencing each other and contributing to the dynamism of verbal communication. Language consists of numerous varieties rooted in socio-economic differentiation (e.g., working class language, legal language), gender (male and female languages), age (e.g., children's language), race (e.g., black English), geography (e.g., Texan English), ethnicity, and other formations. Each variety may include diverse styles with distinct phonological, lexical, semantic and even syntactic features. Television genres provide a panorama of these language varieties and styles, a presentation of amazing language diversity which the viewer will rarely if ever encounter in daily face-to-face communication.

Television fosters an appreciation of the way writing and speaking merge, not only in the production of speech (the oral text), but also on the screen (in print), in genres ranging from weather and stock market reports to commercials and game shows. Even live interviews carry captions identifying the interviewees, their status, location or affiliation. Moreover, "writing for television" has emerged as a new art, which aims not at a literate readership but rather an aural-visual audience. It has developed, for instance, "aural writing styles" or "writing for the ear" allowing the incorporation of music and sound, "visual writing styles" for envisioning images, and "broadcast punctuation" codes for indicating the nuances of on-the-air speech. Training in this new realm of writing is provided in courses offered by academic and professional institutions and in dozens of textbooks and manuals with titles such as Wylie's *Writing for Television* and Blum's *Television Writing*. On a different level, some popular American programs in the United States have generated extensive fan writing, published and exchanged through the Internet. The fandom of science-fiction series *Star Trek*, for example, have produced no less than 120 fanzines (fan magazines), and some novels written by fans are commercially published.

Unlike radio and print media, then, which create meaning primarily through language, television engages in signification through the unity and conflict of verbal, visual and sound codes. The dynamics of this type of signification has not been studied adequately. Viewers and media professionals often claim that the viscosity of television is a sufficient form of communication, as evidenced in the popular belief that "seeing is believing" and "the camera never lies." Much like verbal language, however, the visual and sound components of the television program are polysemic, i.e. they convey multiple meanings, and lend themselves to different, sometimes conflicting, interpretations. Moreover, the verbal text, far from being a mere appendage to the visual, has the power, as Masterman suggests, to "turn images on their heads." McLuhan's well-known aphorism "the medium is the message" implies that all these meanings are, to a large extent, determined by the technology of television, its audiovisuality. But this view has been rejected by, among others, producers and script writers who are rather self-conscious about their independence and claim freedom from the dictates of the medium.

Despite this multiplicity of meanings, language in television, as in all its other manifestations, written or spoken, does not serve everyone equitably or effectively. Far from being neutral, language is always intertwined with the distribution and exercise of power in society. Dichotomies such as standard/dialect or language/vernacular point to some aspects of the unequal distribution of linguistic power. In its phonetic, morphological and semantic systems language is marked by differences of class, gender, ethnicity, age, race, etc.; similarly, the speakers/hearers are also divided by their idiosyncratic knowledge of language, and often communicate in "idiolects," i.e., personal dialects.

Television attempts to control these differences and overcome the cleavages in order to reach sizable audiences. Thus, for example, the Program Standards of CBS requires broadcast language to "be appropriate to a public medium and generally considered to be acceptable by a mass audience." This implies, among other things, that "potentially offensive language" must be generally avoided and "blasphemy and obscenity" are not acceptable. In conforming to standards such as these, many television genres, especially news and other information programs, have developed a language style characterized by simple, clear and short sentences, read or spoken in an appropriate voice.

Born into this unequal linguistic environment, television followed radio in adopting the standard, national or official language, which is the main communication medium of the nation-state. While the schools and the print media established the written standard long before the advent of broadcasting, radio and television assumed, more authoritatively than the "pronouncing" dictionaries, the role of codifying and promoting the spoken standard. In Britain, for example, broadcasters were required until the 1960s to be fluent in the British standard known as Received Pronunciation. In spite of increasing tolerance for dialectisms in many Western countries, news and other information programming on the public and private national networks continue to act as custodians of the standard language.

Thus, much like the language academy and the dictionary, television actively intervenes in the language environment, and creates its own discourses, styles and varieties. In the deregulated television market of the United States, genres known as "tabloid" or "trash" TV usually feel free to engage in potentially offensive language. And, citing an economic imperative to compete with less restrictive programming on cable television, dramas such as Steven Bochco's *NYPD Blue*, use language once prohibited on network television.

Television and radio have also actively participated in the exercise of gender power through language. In the U.S., female voice, especially its higher pitch, was marginalized for "lacking in the authority needed for a convincing newscast," whereas male lower-pitched voices were treated as "overly polished, ultrasophisticated." Thus, in the 1950s, Barnhart points out, that about 90% of commercial copy in the United States was "specifically written for the male voice and personality." According to a British announcer's handbook, women were not usually "considered suitable for the sterner duties of newscasting, commentary work or, say, political interviewing" because of their "voice, appearance and temperament." By the 1970s, however, television responded to the social movements of the previous decade and gradually adopted a more egalitarian policy. Women appeared as newscasters although male anchors still dominated the North American screens in the mid-1990s. The 1979 edition of an American announcer's manual added a chapter on "the new language," which recommended the use of an

inclusive language that respects racial, ethnic and gender differences.

Despite this kind of professional awareness, television's role in the far larger configuration of world-wide language use remains far more constricting. The languages of the world, estimated to be between five to six thousand in number, have evolved as a "global language order," a system characterized by increasing contact and a hierarchy of power relations. About one-fifth of the 5,000 existing languages are used by at least ten thousand speakers each; they are too small to survive. Only about 200 are spoken by more than one million. About sixty are spoken by ten million or more, comprising 90% of the world's population. Twelve languages are spoken by one hundred million or more, accounting for 60% of the world's population. Although Chinese is spoken by one billion people, it is dwarfed by English (which has half a billion speakers) in terms of cultural power. Most of the world's languages remain unwritten while half of them are, according to linguists, in danger of extinction; if state policy was once responsible for language death, the electronic media, including satellite television, are now seen as the main destructive force.

Before the age of broadcasting, contact between languages was primarily through either face-to-face or written communication. Overcoming spatial barriers and the limitations of literacy, radio and television have brought on-the-air languages within the reach of those who can afford the receiving equipment. However, contrary to a common belief that access to broadcasting is easier than to print media, small and minority languages have often been excluded by both radio and television. Being multilingual and multiethnic, the great majority of contemporary states seek national unity in part through a national or official language. As a result, the states and their public television systems either ignore linguistic diversity or actively eliminate it. Private television is equally exclusionist when minority audiences are not large enough to be profitably delivered to advertisers, or if state policy proscribes multilingual minority broadcasting (as is the case in Turkey). Even in Western Europe, indigenous minority languages such as Welsh in Britain had to go through a difficult struggle in order to access television. Both the centralizing states and minorities realize that television confers credibility and legitimacy on language. The use of a threatened language at home, even at school, no longer ensures its survival; language vitality depends increasingly on broadcasting.

Although broadcasting in the native tongue is increasingly viewed as a communication right of every citizen, the majority of languages, especially in developing countries, have not yet been televised. In Turkey, where Turkish is the only official language, some twelve million Kurds are constitutionally deprived of the right to broadcast in their native tongue, Kurdish. Even listening to or watching transborder programs in this language is considered an action against the territorial integrity of the state. In countries where linguistic and communication rights are respected, economic obstacles often prevent multilin-

gual broadcasting. In Ghana, for example, there are over sixty languages or dialects, but in 1992 only six out of 55 hours of weekly television air-time were devoted to "local" languages; the rest was in English, the official language. Television production could not satisfy local tastes and demands. While the rural population could not afford the cost of a TV set, the urban elite tuned to CNN.

New technologies such as satellites, computers, cable and VCR have radically changed the process of televisual production, transmission, delivery and reception. One major change is the globalization of the medium, which has for the first time in history created audiences of the size of one billion viewers for certain programs. Satellite television easily violates international borders, but is less successful in crossing linguistic boundaries. This has led to the flourishing of translation or "language transfer" in the form of dubbing, subtitling, and voice-over. Although the linguistic fragmentation of the global audience is phenomenal, English language programs, mostly produced in the United States and England, are popular throughout the world. Television has accelerated the spread of English as a global lingua franca. For instance, in Sweden where subtitling allows viewers to listen to the original language, television has helped the further spread of English. Also, since the United States is the most powerful producer of entertainment and information, American English is spreading at the expense of other standards of the language such as Australian, British, Canadian, and Indian.

While some observers see in the new technologies the demise of minority languages and cultures, others believe these technologies empower them to resist and survive. Cable television, for instance, has offered opportunities for access to small and scattered minorities. Satellites empowered the refugee and immigrant Kurdish community in Europe to launch a daily program in their native tongue in 1995. Thus, unable to enjoy self-rule in their homeland, they gained linguistic and cultural sovereignty in the sky, beaming their programs to Kurdistan where the language suffers from Turkey's harsh policy of linguisticicide. While this is a dramatic achievement, other experiences, e.g. aboriginal languages in Western countries, are mixed.

Truly empowering is television's potential to open a new door on the prelingually deaf community. The World Federation of the Deaf in Helsinki demands the official recognition of the sign language(s) used by the deaf as one of each country's indigenous language. Television is the main medium for promoting these languages, and providing translated information from print and broadcast media.

While it is possible to launch channels in sign language, it is important to note that the same technology is used by the more powerful states to promote their linguistic and political presence among the less powerful. Thus, the Islamic Republic of Iran's state-run radio was made available via satellite to the sizeable refugee population in North America in 1995, and television was to follow soon.

It is a remarkable achievement of the small screen to allow a home audience of diverse linguistic abilities to communally

watch the same program. This is made possible in some instances by simultaneous broadcasting in spoken language, closed captioning, and sign language through an interpreter in an insert on the screen. In another strategy, *The McNeil-Lehrer News Hour* allows viewers to choose between English and Spanish versions. Television has even popularized an artificial tongue, Klingonese, the "spoken and written language" of the fictional Klingons, a powerful "humanoid warrior race" who built an empire in *Star Trek's* fictional universe. Fans are speaking and studying the language, which is taught in a Klingon Language Institute, with learning materials such as *The Klingon Dictionary*, an audiotape, *Conversational Klingon*, and a quarterly linguistics journal.

Television itself, then, is not a monolithic medium. Moreover, there is no great divide separating the language of television and other media. Throughout the world, television airs old and new films and theatrical performances, while in North America some popular programs such as *Roseanne* and *Star Trek* are simulcast, i.e. broadcast on radio. Linguistic variation is found even within a single genre in mainstream, alternative, local or ethnic televisions. And while a cross-media study of each genre, e.g. news, would reveal medium-specific features of language use, the diversity of genres does not allow us to identify a single, homogeneous language of television. In spite of this rich variety of voices, however, it remains to be seen whether or not a combination of official policies and market forces reduces the overall range and heterogeneity of languages and their uses throughout the world.

—Amir Hassanpour

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See also Closed Captioning; Dubbing; Subtitling; Talk Shows; Voice-Over

## LANSBURY, ANGELA

U.S. Actor

Angela Lansbury's importance to television is primarily related to her production and performance contributions in *Murder, She Wrote*. From its inception in 1984, the CBS broadcast series enjoyed top ten ratings and performed equally well for USA network when it was placed in strip syndication.

As mystery novelist Jessica Beatrice Fletcher, Lansbury initially offered an image of a mature woman living a comfortable, fulfilling life in a stable community of friends in Cabot Cove, Maine. She had often portrayed women older than herself in film and on stage; she was Laurence Harvey's diabolical mother in *The Manchurian Candidate* although she was only three years his senior. When the television series premiered, the almost-60-year-old Lansbury portrayed Jessica as a settled woman who had added professional success to an already complete life. The early years of the series showed Jessica as a secure figure living out the remainder of her life with the status quo—solving mysteries as a diversion.

The balance of traditional values and contemporary change was carefully maintained. Lansbury's Jessica was by no means a militant feminist. She'd been widowed after a long, happy marriage, and her close friends were male. Yet, the fact that she used the androgynous appellation J.B. Fletcher in her writing was often exploited to make subtle comments on differential treatment of male and female authors.

Following the strong lead in from *60 Minutes* on CBS Sunday night, *Murder, She Wrote* was an immediate success and built a strong base of viewer loyalty. The combination of a comfortable lead character, interesting guest and supporting casts, and solid police-procedural scripts provided something for everyone, and the absence of exploitive violence or sexual activity assured that no one was alienated from the program. It was on the basis of this success that Lansbury and her husband Peter Fisher—who received a producer's credit for the series—began to negotiate changes in the series.

Lansbury eventually tired of the series workload and even of the rather dowdy Jessica. Fearing the loss of its strong Sunday night block, CBS agreed to a season which included several *Murder, She Wrote* mysteries with Lansbury introducing stories but not taking part in the action. When Lansbury returned to a full production schedule, Jessica had changed. Not only was she trimmer and better dressed, she had a New York apartment and a university teaching job. She was more involved in the marketing of her books and the mentoring of young authors. She even traveled abroad and occasionally dated. And she still exchanged visits with her Cabot Cove friends. Jessica had grown up instead of growing old.

Lansbury exemplifies the power of individual influence within the television production/distribution system. She is closely identified with a role in a well-constructed popular series; she has retained a significant degree of production



Angela Lansbury

authority in that series; and she has used her authority to create a satisfying role for herself while providing a valuable image of a mature woman continuing to explore new and interesting personal activities.

—Kay Walsh

ANGELA (BRIGID) LANSBURY. Born in London, England, 16 October 1925; came to United States, 1940; became U.S. citizen, 1951. Studied at Webber-Douglas School of Singing and Dramatic Art, London; Feagin School of Drama and Radio, New York. Married 1) Richard Cromwell, 1945 (divorced, 1946); 2) Peter Shaw, 1949; children: Anthony and Deirdre. Began film career as contract player with MGM, 1943; Broadway debut in *Hotel Paradiso*, 1957; stage roles include *A Taste of Honey*, 1960, *Mame*, 1966, *Dear World*, 1969, and *Sweeney Todd*, 1979; appeared as Jessica Fletcher in the television series, *Murder, She Wrote*, 1984–96. Recipient: four Tony Awards; two Sarah Siddons Awards; Woman of the Year, Harvard Hasty Pudding Theatricals, 1977; Theatre Hall of Fame, 1982; British Academy Award, 1991.

### TELEVISION SERIES

1984–96 *Murder, She Wrote*

**TELEVISION MINISERIES**

1984 *The First Olympics —Athens 1896*

**MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES**

1975 *The Snow* (voice)  
 1982 *Sweeney Todd*  
 1982 *Little Gloria . . . Happy at Last*  
 1983 *The Gift of Love: A Christmas Story*  
 1984 *The Murder of Sherlock Holmes*  
 1984 *Lace*  
 1986 *A Talent for Murder*  
 1986 *Rage of Angels: The Story Continues*  
 1988 *Shootdown*  
 1989 *The Shell Seekers*  
 1990 *The Love She Sought*  
 1992 *Mrs. 'arris Goes to Paris*

**TELEVISION SPECIALS**

1989 *The First Christmas Snow* (voice)  
 1993 *The Best of Disney* (co-host)

**FILMS**

*National Velvet*, 1944; *Gaslight*, 1944; *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, 1945; *Till the Clouds Roll By*, 1946; *The Hoodlum Saint*, 1946; *The Harvey Girls*, 1946; *The Private Affairs of Bel Ami*, 1947; *If Winter Comes*, 1947; *The Three Musketeers*, 1948; *Tenth Avenue Angel*, 1948; *State of the Union*, 1948; *Samson and Delilah*, 1949; *The Red Danube*, 1949; *Kind Lady*, 1951; *Mutiny*, 1952; *Remains to Be Seen*, 1953; *The Purple Mask*, 1955; *A Lawless Street*, 1955; *Enjeu de la Vie*, 1955; *Please Murder Me*, 1956; *The Court Jester*, 1956; *The Reluctant Debutante*, 1958; *The Long, Hot Summer*, 1958; *Season of Passion*, 1959; *The Dark at the Top of the*

*Stairs*, 1960; *A Breath of Scandal*, 1960; *Blue Hawaii*, 1961; *The Manchurian Candidate*, 1962; *All Fall Down*, 1962; *In the Cool of the Day*, 1963; *The World of Henry Orient*, 1964; *Dear Heart*, 1964; *Mister Buddwing*, 1965; *Harlow*, 1965; *The Greatest Story Ever Told*, 1965; *The Amorous Adventures of Moll Flanders*, 1965; *Something for Everyone*, 1970; *Bedknobs and Broomsticks*, 1971; *Story of the First Christmas*, *Death on the Nile*, 1978; *The Lady Vanishes*, 1979; *The Mirror Crack'd*, 1980; *The Last Unicorn* (voice), 1982; *The Pirates of Penzance*, 1983; *The Company of Wolves*, 1985; *Beauty and the Beast* (voice), 1991.

**STAGE**

*Hotel Paradiso*, 1957; *A Taste of Honey*, 1960; *Mame*, 1966; *Dear World*, 1969; *Sweeney Todd*, 1979.

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See also *Murder, She Wrote*

## LASSIE

### U.S. Family Drama

**L**assie was a popular long-running U.S. television series about a collie dog and her various owners. Over her more than fifty-year history, Lassie stories have moved across books, film, television, comic books, and other forms of popular culture. The American Dog Museum credits her with increasing the popularity of Collies.

British writer Eric Knight created Lassie for a *Saturday Evening Post* short story in 1938, a story released in book form as *Lassie Come Home* in 1940. Knight set the story in his native Yorkshire and focuses it around the concerns of a family struggling to survive as a unit during the depression. Lassie's original owner Joe Carraclough is forced to sell his dog so that his family can cope with its desperate economic situation, and the story became a lesson about the importance of interdependence during hard times. The story met with immediate popularity in the United States and in Great Britain, and was made into a MGM feature film in 1943,

spanning six sequels between 1945 and 1953. Most of the feature films were still set in the British Isles and several of them dealt directly with the English experience of World War II. Lassie increasingly became a mythic embodiment of ideals such as courage, faithfulness, and determination in front of hardship, themes which found resonance in wartime with both the British and their American counterparts. Along the way, Lassie's mythic function moved from being the force uniting a family towards a force uniting a nation. The ever-maternal dog became a social facilitator, bringing together romantic couples or helping the lot of widows and orphans. In 1954, *Lassie* made her television debut in a series which removed her from Britain and placed her on the American family farm, where once again she was asked to help hold a struggling family together. For the next decade, the *Lassie* series became primarily the story of a boy and his dog, helping to shape our understanding of American boy-



hood during that period. The series' rural setting offered a nostalgic conception of national culture at a time when most Americans had left the farm for the city or suburbia. Lassie's ownership shifted from the original Jeff Miller to the orphaned Timmy Martin, but the central themes of the intense relationship between boys and their pets continued. *Lassie* became a staple of Sunday night television, associated with "wholesome family values," though, periodically, she was also the subject of controversy with parents' groups monitoring television content. *Lassie*'s characteristic dependence on cliff-hanger plots in which children were placed in jeopardy was seen as too intense for many smaller children; at the same time, Timmy's actions were said to encourage children to disobey their parents and to wander off on their own. Despite such worries, *Lassie* helped to demonstrate the potential development of ancillary products associated with television programs, appearing in everything from comic books and Big Little Books to Viewmaster Slides, watches, and Halloween costumes.

By the mid-1960s, actor Jon Provost proved too old to continue to play Timmy and so *Lassie* shifted into the hands of a series of park rangers, the focus of the programming coming to fall almost exclusively upon *Lassie* and her broader civic service as a rescue dog in wilderness areas. Here, the show played an important role in increasing awareness of environmental issues, but the popularity of the series started to decline. Amid increasing questions about the relevance of such a traditional program in the midst of dramatic social change, the series left network television in the early 1970s, though it would continue three more years in syndication and would be transformed into a Saturday Morning cartoon series. Following the limited success of the 1979 feature film, *The Magic of Lassie*, yet another attempt was made in the 1980s, without much impact on the market place, to revive the *Lassie* story as a syndicated television series. The 1994 feature film, *Lassie*, suggests, however, the continued association of the series with "family entertainment."

Many animal series, such as *Flipper*, saw their non-human protagonists as playful, mischievous, and child-like, leading their owners into scrapes, then helping them get out again. *Lassie*, however, was consistently portrayed as highly responsible, caring, and nurturing. In so far as she created problems for her owners, they were problems caused by her eagerness to help others, a commitment to a community larger than the family, and more often, her role was to rescue those in peril and to set right wrongs that had been committed. She was the perfect "mother" as defined within 1950s and 1960s American ideology. Ironically, of course, the dogs who have played *Lassie* through the years have all been male.

—Henry Jenkins

#### CAST

*Jeff Miller* (1954–57) . . . . . Tommy Rettig  
*Ellen Miller* (1954–57) . . . . . Jan Clayton  
*"Gramps" Miller* (1954–57) . . . . . George Cleveland  
*Sylvester "Porky" Brockway* (1954–57) . . . . . Donald Keeler  
*Matt Brockway* (1954–57) . . . . . Paul Maxey



Lassie

*Timmy* (1957–64) . . . . . Jon Provost  
*Doc Weaver* (1954–64) . . . . . Arthur Space  
*Ruth Martin* (1957–58) . . . . . Cloris Leachman  
*Paul Martin* (1957–58) . . . . . Jon Shepodd  
*Uncle Petrie Martin* (1958–59) . . . . . George Chandler  
*Ruth Martin* (1958–64) . . . . . June Lockhart  
*Paul Martin* (1958–64) . . . . . Hugh Reilly  
*Boomer Bates* (1958–59) . . . . . Todd Ferrell  
*Cully Wilson* (1958–64) . . . . . Andy Clyde  
*Corey Stuart* (1964–69) . . . . . Robert Bray  
*Scott Turner* (1968–70) . . . . . Jed Allan  
*Bob Erikson* (1968–70) . . . . . Jack De Mave  
*Garth Holden* (1972–73) . . . . . Ron Hayes  
*Mike Holden* (1972–74) . . . . . Joshua Albee  
*Dale Mitchell* (1972–74) . . . . . Larry Wilcox  
*Keith Holden* (1973–74) . . . . . Larry Pennell  
*Lucy Baker* (1973–74) . . . . . Pamelyn Ferdin  
*Sue Lambert* (1973–74) . . . . . Sherry Boucher

#### DOG TRAINER

Rudd Weatherwax

**PRODUCERS** Jack Wrather, Bonita Granville Wrather, Sheldon Leonard, Robert Golden, William Beaudine, Jr.

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 451 Episodes

## • CBS

September 1954–June 1955      Sunday 7:00–7:30  
 September 1955–September 1971      Sunday 7:00–7:30

**FIRST RUN SYNDICATION**

Fall 1971–Fall 1974

**FURTHER READING**

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See also Children and Television

## LATE NIGHT WITH DAVID LETTERMAN/ THE LATE SHOW WITH DAVID LETTERMAN

### U.S. Talk/Comedy/Variety Show

Fans of late night television have delighted in the antics of host David Letterman in one form or another since the beginnings of his "talk" show on NBC in 1981. For eleven years *Late Night with David Letterman* enjoyed the week night time slot following *The Tonight Show with Johnny Carson* (later *Tonight Show with Jay Leno*). But after being passed over as the replacement for the retiring Johnny Carson on *Tonight*, Letterman accepted CBS' multi-million dollar offer to hop networks. The move brought Letterman and his band leader/sidekick Paul Shaffer to CBS, moved them up an hour in the schedule to run opposite *Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, and prompted renovation of the historic Ed Sullivan Theatre in downtown New York to be the exclusive location for Letterman's new show. *The Late Show with David Letterman* featuring Paul Shaffer and the CBS Orchestra premiered on 30 August 1993, and within weeks had overtaken and passed the Leno show in the ratings race.

It would be too simplistic to classify David Letterman as a talk show host, or his programs as fitting neatly into the talk show genre. Still, the format for both *Late Night* and *Late Show* resembles the familiar late night scenario: An opening monologue by the host usually plays off the day's news or current events. The monologue is followed by two or three guests who appear individually and chat with the host for five to ten minutes. Before and between the guest appearances, the host might indulge in some comedic skit or specialty bit. Despite their similarity to this basic format, however, Letterman's shows differ from others in the areas of program content, delivery, and rapport with guests.

The content of both *Late Night* and *Late Show* has remained remarkably steady over the past fourteen years. Standard installments included "Viewer Mail" which became "The CBS Mailbag" after the move. During this segment, Letterman reads actual viewer letters and often responds to requests or inquiries with humorous, scripted video segments featuring Shaffer and himself. Another long-time Letterman bit is "Stupid Pet Tricks," in which ordinary people travel to the program and showcase pets with unusual

talent. In one sequence Letterman hosted a dog that would lap milk out of its owner's mouth and from that bit sprang "Stupid Human Tricks." In this bit people present unusual talents such as tongue distortion and spinning basketballs; one man vertically balanced a canoe on his chin. One of the most popular elements in Letterman's repertoire is the "Top Ten List." Announced nightly by Letterman, this list "express from the home office in Sioux City Iowa", features an



David Letterman

absurdly comic perspective on current events and public controversies.

Other specialty bits have included sketches such as "Small Town News" during which Letterman reads dorky or ironic headlines from actual small town newspapers, and "Would You Like to Use the Phone?", in which Letterman invites a member of the studio audience to his desk and offers to place a phone call to someone they know. Letterman sent his mother, known to fans as "Letterman's Mom" to the 1994 Winter Olympics in Lillehammer, Norway, where she interviewed First Lady Hillary Clinton and skater Nancy Kerrigan for the *Late Show*. Letterman frequently visits local businesses near his Broadway theatre: the copy shop, a local cafe, and a gift shop owned by "Mujibar and Sirijul", two brothers who have become quite famous because of their visits to the show and their performances in skits on the program.

Letterman's style melds with the content of his program, both often unpredictable and out of control. His delivery is highly informal, and like the content, the personal performance is extremely changeable, given to sudden outbursts and frequent buffoonery. This style builds on the carefully constructed persona of "a regular guy" and Letterman often "wonders" with the audience just how a guy like him managed to become the host of one of the most popular late night shows in America. He has referred to himself as "the gap-toothed monkey boy", and frequently calls himself a "dweeb" (which his band leader Shaffer usually acknowledges as true). This "regular guy" excels at impromptu delivery and the ability to work with his audience. He often hands out "gifts and prizes" such as light bulbs, motor oil, and most notably, his trademark brand "Big Ass Ham". He has been known to send his stand-by audience to Broadway shows when they were not admitted to his taping. Letterman's relationship with his studio and viewing audiences does not always translate to his treatment of his guests, however.

Over the years of *Late Night* and *Late Show*, Letterman has hosted first ladies, vice presidents, film and television stars, national heroes, sports figures, zoo keepers, wood choppers, six-year-old champion spellers, and the girl next door. His relaxed attitude can make guests feel at home, and he can be a very gracious host if he so chooses. But there have been times when he has offended guests (Shirley MacLaine nearly decked him) and been offended by guests (Madonna offended the nation with her obscene language and demeanor on one of her visits with Letterman).

In his later years, Letterman has become prone to interrupting guests and is often guilty of drawing more attention to himself than to his visitors. He does all this with the full recognition that his position and popularity allow him to be as goofy as he likes. The once bitter, skeptical, "NBC" Letterman gave way to the sillier, snottier, "CBS" Letterman who now shouts "Get your own show" at hecklers in his studio audience. Still, as a dedicated and long-term late-night talk show host, he has provided viewing audiences

with zany comedy, great music, and timely, interesting guests. Letterman presents himself as pal and equal to his audiences; letting down a layer of formality allows him to be the spontaneous host that audiences have come to love. Once again, the Ed Sullivan Theater is home to a "Really Big Show".

—Dawn Michelle Nill

## LATE NIGHT WITH DAVID LETTERMAN

### HOST

David Letterman

### BAND LEADER

Paul Shaffer

with

Calvert DeForest as Larry "Bud" Melman

### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

#### • NBC

February 1982–May 1987

Monday-Thursday 12:30-1:30 A.M.

June 1987-August 1991 Monday-Friday 12:30-1:30 A.M.

September 1991–September 1993

Monday-Friday 12:35-1:35 A.M.

## LATE SHOW WITH DAVID LETTERMAN

#### • CBS

August, 1993–

Monday-Friday 11:30-12:30 A.M.

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See also Carson, Johnny; Leno, Jay; Letterman, David; Talk Shows; *Tonight Show*

## LAVERNE AND SHIRLEY

### U.S. Situation Comedy

Originally introduced as characters on *Happy Days*, Laverne De Fazio (Penny Marshall) and Shirley Feeney (Cindy Williams) "schlemiel-schlamazeled" their way into the Tuesday night ABC prime-time line up and into the hearts of television viewers in 1976. The show, set in the late 1950s, centered on the two title characters, and was rated the number one program in its second year of airing. In the earliest years of the long-running sitcom, the two twenty-something women shared an apartment in Milwaukee and worked at Shotz Brewery, the local beer bottling plant. Many of the episodes focused on the humorous complications involving the women or their friends. From ditching blind dates to goofing up on the conveyor belt at the bottling plant, Laverne and Shirley "did it their way" in Milwaukee until 1980 when ABC decided to change the setting of *Laverne and Shirley* to Burbank, California for a new twist. Aside from a change of climate and employment, now in Bradburn's Department store, the central characters and structure of the program remained the same until Williams left the program in 1982. Following her departure, the program continued for one year under the original title, but with Laverne alone as the central character.

"There is nothing we won't try, never heard the word impossible, this time, there's no stopping us, we're gonna do it!" This line from the theme song of the sitcom describes the state of mind of the program's two main characters. With the advantage of two decades of hindsight, *Laverne and Shirley* painted a picture of the 1950s from the single, independent woman's point of view. The plots of the episodes reflected concerns about holding a factory job, making it as an independent woman, and dealing with friends and relatives in the process of developing a life of one's own. Many plots revolved around the girls dating this man or that, or pondering the ideal men they would liked to have met: sensitive, handsome doctors. If on the surface the characters appeared to be longing to fulfill the stereotypical 1950s role of woman, their true actions and attitudes cast them as two of television's first liberated women. They thought for themselves and made things happen in their social circles. Together they fought for causes, from workers' rights at the bottling plant to animal rights at the pound. They helped each other and they helped their friends, who added much texture and comic effect to the program.

Their two male neighbors, Lenny and Squiggy, provided much of the humor in the program with their greasy-1950s appearance and their ironic knack of entering at just the wrong time. If someone said, "Can you imagine anything more slimy and filthy than that?", in would charge Lenny and Squiggy with the famous, distorted "hello!" Despite the fun poked at the two men, they were still portrayed as friends and thus were often caught up in the "Lucy-esque" escapades of Laverne and Shirley. Another prominent character, Carmine Ragusa or "The Big Ragu" was an energetic Italian



Laverne and Shirley

singer. Friend to both women, Carmine was after Shirley's heart. *Laverne and Shirley* gave its lead characters room to explore boundaries and break some stereotypes common in television portrayals of women prior to the 1970s. Shirley was portrayed as interested in marriage, yet she was not sure that Carmine was "the one"; instead of settling, she kept her independence and her friendship with Carmine.

Among the loudest characters on the program was Mr. Frank De Fazio, Laverne's widowed father who owned the local Pizza-Bowl where everyone congregated. In his eyes Laverne was still a little girl, and he frequently checked up on her, evaluated her dates, and attempted to invalidate her decisions. Edna, Frank's girlfriend, acted as a buffer between father and daughter, and even more as a motherly figure to Laverne after she married Frank midway through the program's network run. Though Frank would express his overly protective and chauvinistic views, Edna's buffering reason and Laverne's stubbornness always won out. *Laverne and Shirley* was an early prime-time proponent of women's rights and placed much value in the viewpoints and experiences of 1950's women, suggesting that even in that decade women could be independent.

Since *Laverne and Shirley* was a spin-off of *Happy Days*, and because the programs aired back to back, it was easy to

cross over characters from one to another. Often Laverne and Shirley were visited by Arthur Fonzarelli (better known as The Fonz), or ran into Richie Cunningham or Ralph Malph (all from *Happy Days*) camping in the woods. Viewers were able to carry knowledge from one show (*Happy Days*) to the next (*Laverne and Shirley*) as characters shared experiences with each other outside the context of their own programs. The programs were thus able to layer meanings or overlap realities between previously mutually exclusive television families.

While visits to or from *Happy Days* characters were always extra fun, *Laverne and Shirley* provided seasons of hilarious antics and left behind many memorable pictures uniquely their own—Laverne's clothing, always decorated with large, cursive "L's," the milk and Pepsi concoction that was her favorite beverage, the giant posters of Fabian, and Shirley's infamous Boo-Boo kitty, a two-foot stuffed cat that was the true ruler of her heart. Laverne and Shirley may have been a female "odd-couple", Shirley fanatically neat and Laverne hopelessly sloppy, but they balanced each other and provided a system of mutual support demonstrating that women could compete in the world of work as well as in the world of ideas. From a 1950s perspective, for two young women, that indeed was "making our dreams come true".

—Dawn Michelle Nill

#### CAST

*Laverne De Fazio* . . . . . Penny Marshall  
*Shirley Feeney* (1976–82) . . . . . Cindy Williams  
*Carmine Ragusa* . . . . . Eddie Mekka  
*Frank De Fazio* . . . . . Phil Foster  
*Andrew "Squiggy" Squigman* . . . . . David L. Lander  
*Lenny Kosnowski* . . . . . Michael McKean  
*Mrs. Edna Babish De Fazio* (1976–81) . . . Betty Garrett  
*Rosie Greenbaum* (1976–77) . . . . . Carole Ita White  
*Sonny St. Jaques* (1980–81) . . . . . Ed Marinaro  
*Rhonda Lee* (1980–83) . . . . . Leslie Easterbrook

## THE LAWRENCE WELK SHOW

### U.S. Musical Show

One of television's most enduring musical series, *The Lawrence Welk Show*, was first seen on network TV as a summer replacement program in 1955. Although the critics were not impressed, Welk's show went on to last an astonishing 27 years. His format was simple: easy-listening music, what he referred to as "champagne music," and a "family" of wholesome musicians, singers, and dancers.

The show ran on ABC for the first 16 years and was known in the early years as *The Dodge Dancing Party*. ABC canceled the show in 1971, not because of lack of popularity, but because it was "too old" to please advertisers. ABC's cancellation did little to stop Welk, who lined up more than

#### PRODUCERS

Garry Marshall, Thomas L. Miller, Edward K. Milkis, Milt Josefsberg, Marc Sotkin

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY 112 Episodes

##### • ABC

January 1976–July 1979	Tuesday 8:30-9:00
August 1979–December 1979	Thursday 8:00-8:30
December 1979–February 1980	Monday 8:00-8:30
February 1980–May 1983	Tuesday 8:30-9:00

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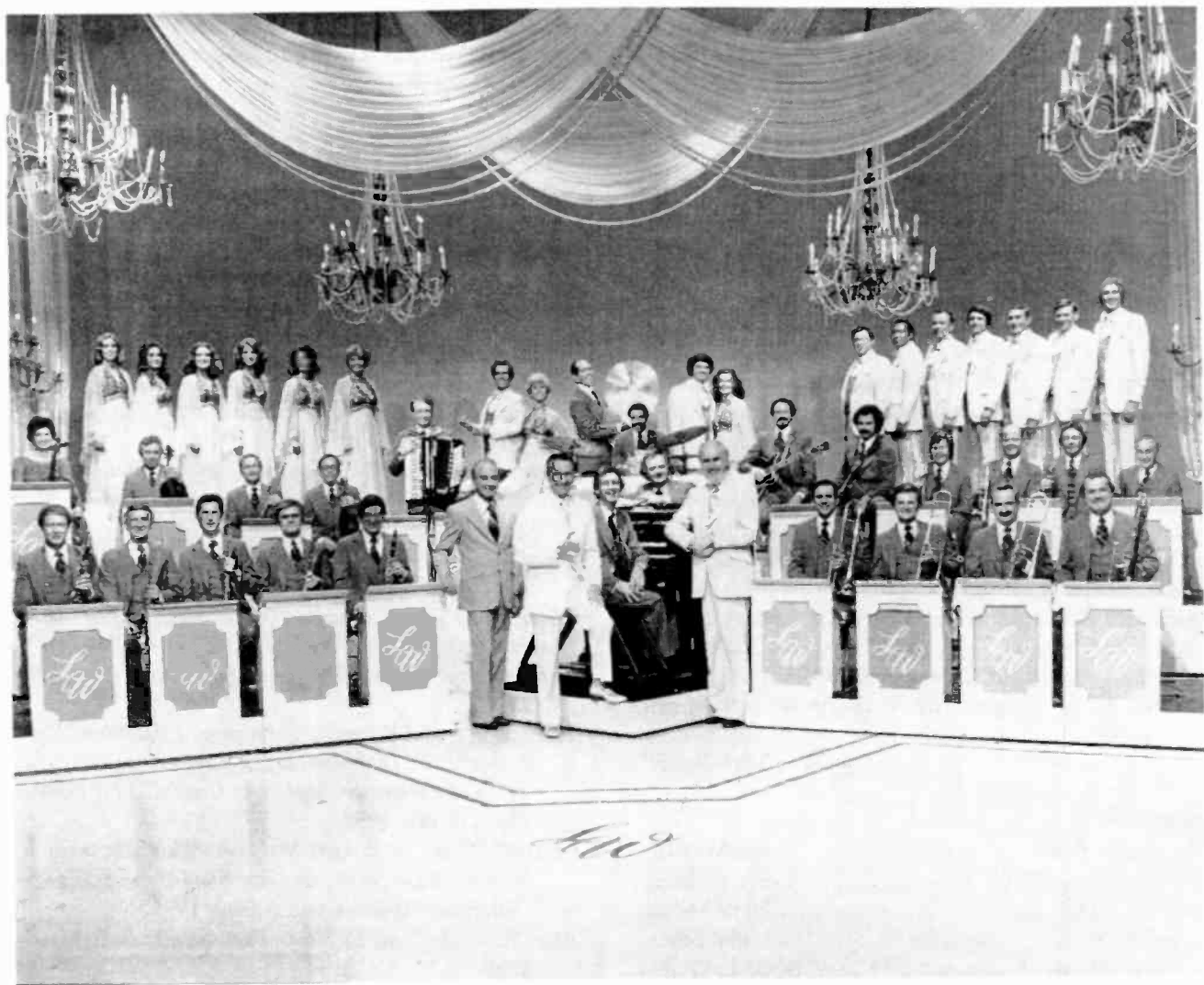
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See also *Happy Days*; Marshall, Garry

200 independent stations for a successful syndicated network of his own.

Part of Welk's success can be attributed to his relationship with viewers. He meticulously compiled a "fever chart" which tallied pro and con comments received from viewers' letters. Performers with favorable comments became more visible on the show. In this way, the viewer also played an important role in his "family" of regulars.

There were many show favorites throughout the years including the Lennon Sisters, who were brought to his attention by his son Lawrence Jr., who was dating Dianne Lennon in 1955. Other favorites included the Champagne



The Lawrence Welk Show  
 Photo courtesy of the Welk Group

Ladies (Alice Lon and Norma Zimmer); accordionist Myron Floren, who was also the assistant conductor; singer-pianist Larry Hooper; singers Joe Feeney and Guy Hovis; violinist Aladdin; dancers Bobby Burgess and Barbara Boylan; and Welk's daughter-in-law, Tanya Falan Welk.

Most of the regulars stayed with the show for years, but a few moved on—or who were told to move on by Welk. In 1959, for example, Welk fired Champagne Lady Alice Lon for “showing too much knee” on camera. After receiving thousands of protest letters for his actions, he attempted to get Lon to return, but she refused.

Welk himself was the target of endless jokes. Born on a North Dakota farm in 1903 of Alsatian immigrant parents, he dropped out of school in the fourth grade. He was 21 years old before he spoke English. His thick accent and stiff stage presence were often parodied. But viewers were delighted when he played the accordion or danced with one of the women in the audience. Fans also bought millions of his

albums, which contributed to the personal fortune he amassed, a fortune including a music recording and publishing empire and the Lawrence Welk Country Club Village.

The final episode of *The Lawrence Welk Show* was produced in February 1982. Followers of his show, however, were still able to enjoy the programs, which were repackaged with new introductions by Welk under the title of *Memories with Lawrence Welk*. Loyal fans thirsty for more champagne music were pleased. The programs continue to be programmed in syndication on many channels throughout the United States, including many Public Broadcasting channels.

—Debra A. Lemieux

#### REGULAR PERFORMERS

Lawrence Welk, Host  
 Alice Lon, Vocals  
 Norma Zimmer, Vocals

Aladdin, Violin  
 Jerry Burke, Piano-Organ  
 Dick Dale, Saxophone  
 Myron Floren, Accordion  
 Bob Lido, Violin  
 Tiny Little, Jr., Piano  
 Buddy Merrill, Guitar  
 Jim Roberts, Vocals  
 Rocky Rockwell, Trumpet, Vocals  
 The Sparklers Quartet, Vocals  
 The Lennon Sisters (Dianne, Peggy, Kathy, Janet) Vocals  
 Larry Dean, Vocals  
 Frank Scott, Piano, Arranger  
 Joe Feeney, Tenor  
 Maurice Pearson, Vocals  
 Jack Imel, Tap Dancer  
 Alvan Ashby, Hymns  
 Pete Fountain, Clarinet  
 Jo Ann Castle, Piano  
 Jimmy Getzoff, Violin  
 Bobby Burgess and Barbara Boylan, Dancers  
 Joe Livori, Violin  
 Bob Ralston, Piano-Organ  
 Art Duncan, Dancer  
 Steve Smith, Vocals  
 Natalie Nevins, Vocals  
 The Blenders Quartet  
 Lynn Anderson, Vocals  
 Andra Willis, Vocals  
 Tanya Falan Welk, Vocals  
 Sandi Jensen, Vocals  
 Salli Flynn, Vocals  
 The Hotsy Totsy Boys

Ralna English Hovis  
 Mary Lou Metzger  
 Guy Hovis  
 Peanuts Hucko  
 Anacani  
 Tom Netherton  
 Ava Barber  
 Kathy Sullivan  
 Sheila and Sherry Aldridge  
 David and Roger Orwell  
 Jim Turner

**PRODUCERS** Sam Lutz, James Hobson, Edward Sobel

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

##### • ABC

July 1955–September 1963	Saturday 9:00-10:00
September 1963–January 1971	Saturday 8:30-9:30
January 1971–September 1971	Saturday 7:30-8:30
Syndicated, 1971–1982	

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See also Music on Television

## LAYBOURNE, GERALDINE

### U.S. Media Executive

Geraldine Laybourne is currently vice president of Disney/ABC Television, charged with oversight of the organization's cable operations. She came to that position in 1996 following her hugely successful presidency of Nickelodeon, a cable programming network targeted to children's audiences. In this position, Laybourne was largely responsible for the overwhelming success Nickelodeon achieved in the 1980s and 1990s, a time when Nickelodeon, garnering a larger audience of child viewers of children's television than ABC, CBS, NBC, and FOX, combined.

Laybourne began her tenure at Nickelodeon in 1980 as the network's program manager. Her prior background featured stints in both education and children's television programming, experiences that would serve her well at Nickelodeon. She then joined her husband Kit (a professional animator) as an independent producer of children's television programming. From this position she began, in 1979, to work with the new cable network

Nickelodeon in the production of pilot programs. A year later she was named the company's program manager.

During Nickelodeon's early years Laybourne was instrumental in several key decisions that ultimately led to the network's long-term success. Nickelodeon came into being as a noncommercial program source created largely to serve as a goodwill tool through which cable system operators could win both franchise rights and subscribers. The company began to accept corporate underwriting in 1983, and became advertiser-supported a year later. Though it continues to devote fewer minutes per hour to advertising than most cable or broadcast commercial program sources, the initial decision to accept advertising was extremely controversial. The end result of the decision, however, was that Nickelodeon became an extremely profitable operation.

In 1985, Laybourne initiated the launch of the evening service Nick at Nite, which breathed new life into old



television series such as *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *Get Smart*, and *Dragnet*. Nick at Nite took series that had been syndicated for years, and presented them in an original, tongue-in-cheek environment designed to create a unique program flow and to appeal to an affluent baby boomer audience. Nick thus expanded Nickelodeon's programming hours and widened the network's appeal to new audience segments.

With these successes under her belt, Laybourne was named president of Nickelodeon in 1989, and in 1992 she became vice-chair of corporate parent MTV Networks (owned by Viacom). In these positions, Laybourne continued her efforts to build the "brand equity" of the Nickelodeon name. To this end, Nickelodeon opened its own production studio at Universal's Orlando, Florida, theme park; it licenses consumer products to companies such as toy manufacturers Mattel and Hasbro; and it produces a magazine aimed at children, which regularly includes a Q and A section with "The Boss Lady," as Laybourne has come to be known by Nickelodeon's young viewers.

Nickelodeon has also produced programs aired on outlets other than the cable network itself. For instance, its youth-oriented game show *Double Dare* was syndicated to broadcast stations, and its 1991 sitcom *Hi Honey, I'm Home* represented a cable landmark in that its episodes aired within the same week on both cable network Nickelodeon and broadcast network ABC. Such synergistic strategies are even more likely in the future because of Paramount Communication's takeover of Viacom in 1994. An early example of the role Nickelodeon may play within Paramount's media empire was demonstrated by the cross-media promotional strategies Paramount employed leading up to its successful 1995 theatrical release of *The Brady Bunch Movie*, in which Nickelodeon played a central role.

Under Laybourne's leadership, Nickelodeon grew from a fledgling, noncommercial programmer that existed largely to serve the cable industry's public image purposes, to a profitable and acclaimed program source that has become a core service in the channel lineups of virtually every U.S. cable system. In so doing, Laybourne became one of the foremost figures among cable television programmers, as well as one of the most influential women in the television industry. Her appointment to a position at Disney/ABC shortly after those two organizations merged into one of the world's largest media conglomerates reflects this status and Laybourne's new position promises to offer further opportunities for her to exercise her particular vision of television's role in contemporary society.

—David Gunzerath

**GERALDINELAYBOURNE.** Born Geraldine Bond, 19 May 1947. Art History, Vassar College, New York, U.S.A., B.A. 1969; University of Pennsylvania, M.S. in elementary education 1971. Married: Kit Laybourne, 1970; children: Emily and Sam. Started career as administrator, architectural firm of Wallace, McHarg, Roberts and Todd, Philadelphia, 1969–70; teacher, Concord Academy, Concord, Massachusetts, 1972–73; festival coordinator, American Film Festival, New York, 1974–76; co-founder, Media Center for Children, New York, 1974–77;



Geraldine Laybourne

Photo courtesy of Geraldine Laybourne

partner, Early Bird Specials Company, New York, 1978–80; program manager, Nickelodeon, 1980; various acquisition, scheduling and programming positions, Nickelodeon, 1981–86; senior vice president and general manager, Nick at Nite, 1986–87, executive vice president and general manager, 1987–89, president, from 1989; vice chair of MTV Networks, from 1992; vice president for cable operation, Disney/ABC, since 1996.

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See also Children and Television

## LEAR, NORMAN

U.S. Writer/Producer

Norman Lear had one of the most powerful and influential careers in the history of U.S. television. Lear first teamed with Ed Simmons to write comedy (he tells numerous stories relating how he persisted in seeking the attention of comedians like Danny Thomas, trying to convince them he could write their kind of material). After a time it worked and Thomas bought a routine from Lear and Simmons. David Susskind, too, noticed their work, and signed them to write for *Ford Star Revue*, a musical comedy-variety series that lasted only one season, 1950–51, on NBC. Lear and Simmons then moved to *The Colgate Comedy Hour*, a high-budget NBC challenge to Ed Sullivan on Sunday evenings. It was a success, lasting five years. The partners wrote all the Jerry Lewis and Dean Martin material for the famous comedy team's rotating regular appearances on the show.

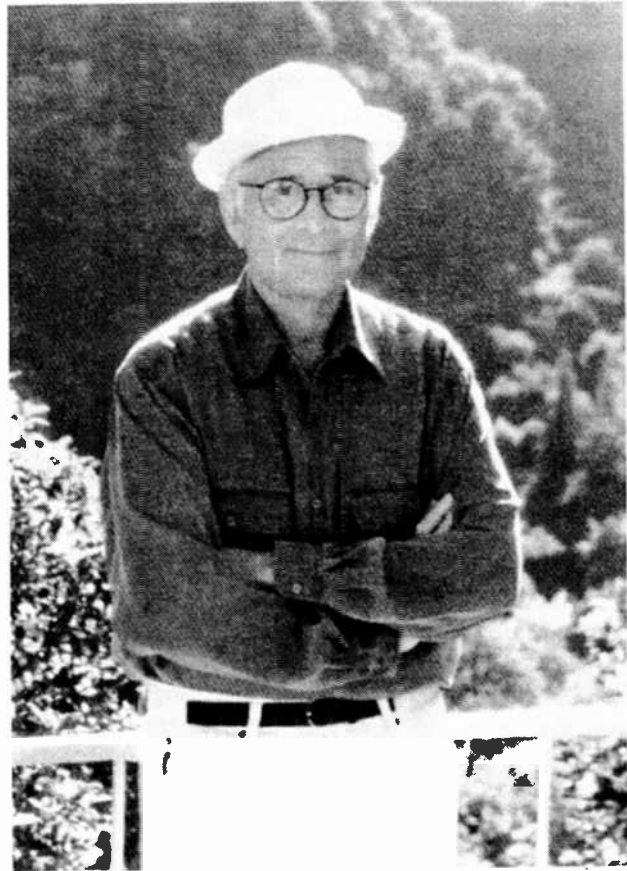
After the *Colgate* years Lear began writing on his own, and in 1959 he teamed with Bud Yorkin to create Tandem Productions. Tandem produced several feature films and Lear selectively took on the tasks of executive producer, writer and, on the film *Cold Turkey*, director.

In 1970 Lear and Yorkin moved into television. While in England Lear had seen a comedy, *Till Death Us Do Part*, which became an inspiration for *All in the Family*. ABC was interested in the idea and commissioned a pilot, but after it was produced the network rejected it, leaving Lear with a paid for, free standing pilot. He took it to CBS which had recently brought in a new president of the network, Robert Wood. The timing was fortuitous. Anxious to change the bucolic image cast by shows like *The Beverly Hillbillies*, Wood reacted positively to Lear's approach and gave Tandem a green light.

*All in the Family* first aired on 12 January 1971. Wood commented in a 1979 interview that CBS had added several extra phone operators to handle an expected flood of reactions. They never came.

The series did, however, attract its share of protests and strong reactions. Over its early life, there were a continuous flow of letters that objected to language and themes and that challenged Lear for his "liberal" views. Later in 1979 Lear remarked that he responded to such criticism by stating, "I'm not trying to say anything. I am entertaining the viewers. Is it funny? That was the question." Later, when attacks on the show asked how he dared to express his views, he altered his response: "Why wouldn't I have ideas and thoughts and why wouldn't my work reflect those ideas?" And of course they did.

Lear's pioneering television work brought an even more controversial series, *Maude*, to CBS in 1972. Lear once described the acerbic and openly liberal Maude as the flip side of Archie Bunker. Perhaps that was true in the beginning, but unlike Archie, Maude's positions on issues were not presumed to be ridiculous and her approaches to social issues were almost always presented sympathetically. The



Norman Lear

Photo courtesy of Norman Lear

most famous episodes of *Maude* dealt with her decision to have an abortion. Reflecting the Supreme Court's abortion decision of 1973, Maude and husband Walter worked out their response to her mid-life pregnancy with dignity and compassion. That show sparked a storm of protest from Roman Catholics. If some viewers accepted Archie as the bigot he was, some of the religious community took Maude equally seriously.

Lear and Yorkin also moved black families to network prime time with *Good Times* and *The Jeffersons*. And Lear's satiric bent was evident in *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*, a pioneering show he wanted to air in the daytime as part of the soap-opera scene. When that attempt failed he syndicated the series, and found it frequently relegated to late-night fringe time schedules. Still, Lear saw the show as depicting "the worst of what was going on in society." At the other end of the spectrum Lear collaborated with Alex Haley and brought a classy drama, *Palmerstown, U.S.A.* to the air in 1980.

Always present at story conferences of every series, even when he had as many as six on the air at one time, Lear's

influence could be seen in every show. During most of the 1970s, he even performed as the "warm up" entertainer for the audiences assembled to watch weekly tapings of his shows, a production schedule that ran from late summer to early spring. He was fond of describing various episodes as sensitive, requiring his constant attention for just the right touch. He and executive assistant Virginia Carter spent several hours one Sunday evening discussing a single dramatic development—how to treat Walter Findley's alcoholism and Maude's response. When Lear left active involvement in television production in 1978, he left a company without a creative rudder. Few projects reached the small screen and those that did were poorly received. Much of Lear's own attention turned to the development of various media related industries, cable television, motion picture theaters, and film production companies.

But by 1980 he was alarmed by the radical religious fanaticism of Christian fundamentalists. At first he thought he would use a television series to respond. He developed a series concept, *Good Evening, He Lied*, in which the co-star of the show would be a woman newswriter in her thirties, very professional, trying to do her job—as a writer for an egotistical, airhead, male news anchor. A moralist at heart, Lear also proposed to have the woman be a devout, mainstream Protestant Christian, openly practicing her faith. It was a fine idea and demonstrated anew Lear's genuine respect for sincere religious convictions. NBC approved the idea but Lear did not pursue the production. He became convinced that another approach would be more effective for him, and he founded People for the American Way to speak out for Bill of Rights guarantees and monitor violations of constitutional freedoms. By 1996 the organization had become one of the most influential and effective voices for freedom.

In the 1990s Lear returned to television with several efforts. Neither *Sunday Dinner*, addressing what Lear calls "spirituality" nor *704 Hauser*, involving a black family moving into Archie Bunker's old house, found an audience. Lear's voice is still heard through public appearances. He has not abandoned television, but is less frequently involved. Probably, however, no single individual has had more influence through the medium of television in its 50-year history than Norman Lear.

—Robert S. Alley

**NORMAN LEAR.** Born in New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A., 27 July 1922. Attended Emerson College, 1940–42. Married 1) Charlotte Rosen (divorced); child: Ellen; 2) Frances Loeb (divorced); children: Kate and Maggie; 3) Lyn Davis; children: Benjamin, Brianna, and Madeline. U.S. Air Force, 1942–45, Air Medal with four Oak Leaf Clusters. Career in public relations, 1945–49; comedy writer, various television programs, 1950s; writer-producer, television specials, 1960s; creator, producer, and writer, television series, 1970s, including *All in the Family*, *Sanford and Son*, *Maude*, and *Mary Hartman*; founded Act III Communications, comprised of television station and motion picture theater ownership,

motion picture and television production, 1987. President, American Civil Liberties Association of Southern California, 1973; trustee, Museum of Television and Radio; founder, People for the American Way, 1980; founder, Business Enterprise Trust, 1988; member, Writers Guild of America; Directors Guild of America; American Federation of Television and Radio Artists; Caucus of Producers, Writers, and Directors. Recipient: four Emmy Awards; George Foster Peabody Award; Broadcaster of the Year, International Radio and Television Society, 1973; Mark Twain Award, International Platform Association, 1977; Valentine Davies Award, Writers Guild of America, 1977; William O. Douglas Award, Public Counsel, 1981; Gold Medal of the International Radio and Television Society, 1981; Distinguished American Award, 1984; Mass Media Award, American Jewish Committee of Institutional Executives, 1987; among the first inductees to the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Hall of Fame, 1984.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1950–51	<i>Ford Star Revue</i> (co-writer)
1950–55	<i>The Colgate Comedy Hour</i> (writer)
1955–56	<i>The Martha Raye Show</i> (writer)
1955	<i>The George Gobel Show</i> (producer, director)
1971–83	<i>All in the Family</i> (producer, writer)
1972–77	<i>Sanford and Son</i> (producer)
1972–78	<i>Maude</i> (producer, writer)
1975	<i>Hot L Baltimore</i> (producer)
1975–84	<i>One Day at a Time</i> (producer)
1975–78	<i>Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman</i> (producer)
1976	<i>The Nancy Walker Show</i> (producer)
1976–77	<i>All's Fair</i> (producer)
1977	<i>All That Glitters</i> (producer)
1978	<i>Apple Pie</i> (producer)
1979–81	<i>The Baxters</i> (producer)
1980–81	<i>Palmerstown, U.S.A.</i> (producer, with Alex Haley)
1984	<i>a.k.a. Pablo</i> (producer)
1991	<i>Sunday Dinner</i> (producer)
1992–93	<i>The Powers That Be</i> (producer)
1994	<i>704 Hauser</i> (producer)

#### TELEVISION SPECIALS

1961	<i>The Danny Kaye Special</i>
1963	<i>Henry Fonda and the Family</i>
1965	<i>Andy Williams Special and Series</i>
1970	<i>Robert Young and the Family</i>
1982	<i>I Love Liberty</i>
1991	<i>All in the Family 20th Anniversary Special</i>

#### FILMS

*Scared Stiff*, 1953; *Come Blow Your Horn* (co-producer, with Bud Yorkin), 1963; *Never Too Late*, 1965; *Divorce American Style*, 1967; *The Night They Raided Minsky's*, 1968; *Start the Revolution Without Me*, 1970; *Cold Turkey* (also director), 1971; *Stand By Me* (executive producer), 1986; *Princess Bride* (executive producer), 1987; *Fried Green Tomatoes*, 1991.

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See also *All in the Family*; Comedy, Domestic Settings; Family Viewing Time; *Good Times*; Hemsley, Sherman; *Jeffersons*; *Maude*; O'Connor, Carroll

## LEAVE IT TO BEAVER

## U.S. Situation Comedy

**L** *Leave It to Beaver*, a series both praised for its family-bolstering innocence and panned for its homogenized sappiness, served as a bridge between the waning radio comedy and the blossoming of the television "sitcom." The show was created by Joe Connelly and Bob Mosher, two writers who first worked together at the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency in New York. Leaving the agency in 1942 to devote their talents to radio comedy writing, the duo worked on shows starring Edgar Bergen, Frank Morgan, and Phil Harris before securing jobs on the wildly popular *Amos 'n' Andy* program. Over a period of twelve years, they earned writers' credits on over 1,500 radio and television scripts for that series; continuing to create material for the show's radio version right up to *Beaver's* third year. Although *Amos 'n' Andy* now is viewed as a distorted repository of racial stereotyping and segregated casting, Connelly's and Mosher's experience on that program helped them refine a flair for extracting humor from uncomplicated, yet likable characters immersed in unremarkable situations with which the audience could easily identify.

Connelly's and Mosher's first solo television effort was a short-lived anthology series for actor Ray Milland. This uncharacteristic failure, they revealed in a *New York Times* interview with Oscar Golboub, taught them to restrict themselves to writing "things we know about." They followed up on this resolution by taking a situation Connelly had observed while driving his son to parochial school and crafting it into *The Private War of Major Benson*, a theatrical feature starring Charlton Heston that won the pair an Academy Award nomination in 1956. It was from such real-life simplicity that *Leave It to Beaver* was born. In 1957, Connelly and Mosher developed a concept for an adult-appealing show about children. Unlike such predecessors (and competitors) as *The Life of Riley*, *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, and *Father Knows Best*, it would not be the parents who served as *Beaver's* focal point but rather, their offspring. The stories would be told from the kids' point-of-view as Connelly and Mosher recalled it and observed it in their own children. Mosher was the father of two children and Connelly the parent of six. While all of these offspring served as sources for the show's dialogue and plot lines, Connelly's

eight-year-old son Ricky was the inspiration for Beaver, his fourteen-year-old son Jay the model for Beaver's older brother Wally.

Remington Rand picked up the project that became a co-owned vehicle in which Connelly and Mosher had 50 percent and comedian George Goebel's Gomalco Production controlled the other half. The creative and casting aspects of the show were put together by dominant talent agency MCA (then known as the Music Corporation of America). From its inception, *Beaver* was fashioned as a traditional family unit with two sons. Beaver Cleaver was near eight when the show began and his brother Wally was twelve. Although Beaver's real name was Theodore, the nickname was emphasized to suggest a toothy, perky youngster who was "all boy." Early in the series, Beaver explains that he acquired the moniker as a baby when toddler Wally could only pronounce Theodore as "Tweeter". Parents Ward and June modified the sound to the slightly more dignified "Beaver" which would be the show's namesake. The pilot script was, in fact, titled *Wally and Beaver* to emphasize the project's child's-eye viewpoint. Sponsor Remington Rand felt this might suggest a nature program, however, so the series became *Leave It to Beaver*.

*Beaver* ran on network television from October 1957 to September 1963, the first two seasons on CBS and the last four on ABC. Paralleling the network shift, the show's production relocated from Republic Studio to Universal Studios after the second year—and the on-screen Cleavers moved from a modest, picket-fenced house at 485 Maple Drive to a larger abode at 211 Pine Street—both in the small and vaguely midwestern town of Mayfield. A library of 234 episodes was produced in which the characters were allowed to naturally age with their actors. Beaver went from a dirt-loving little boy to a gawky teen about to enter high school. Wally matured from a pre-teen just beginning to take an interest in girls to a poised young man ready to leave for college. In the show's first seasons, when actor Jerry Mathers was at his cutest, his Beaver character was the program's centerpiece. As he became a more gangling pre-adolescent, more plot attention was directed toward Wally, whose portrayer Tony Dow was developing into a handsome teenager. Through it all, father Ward (played by Hugh



Leave It to Beaver

Beaumont, a Methodist lay preacher and religious film actor) and mother June (grade-B film and TV drama veteran Barbara Billingsley) observed and nurtured their children with quiet selflessness and obvious love.

Despite its six-year-run as a prime-time network offering, *Beaver* never made the coveted top-twenty-five list. Nevertheless, its down-to-earth writing, low-key acting and uncontrived storylines served as a memorable and well-crafted icon for the

positive if unremarkable joys of middle class family life in general and suburban kid-dom in particular. If *Beaver's* ignoring of significant social issues was a common flaw of the programs of its time, its unpretentious advocacy of personal responsibility and self-respect was an uncommon virtue. Admittedly, as critic Robert Lewis Shayon observed, Ward and June Cleaver were "Mr. and Mrs. Average-American living in their typical *Good Housekeeping* home." But what happened in and around that home was a consistent and continuous celebration of all those minor but precious family victories that could be won even when the children themselves were required to be the decision-makers.

Less than three months after *Beaver* left the air, the assassination of President John F. Kennedy changed the nation's view of itself and its times. Connelly and Mosher went off to write *The Munsters* and a country preoccupied with civil rights strife, Vietnam, Woodstock and Watergate would find little relevance in *Beaver's* radio-derived simplicity. But by the late 1970s, the show's uncomplicated and unabashed observations reacquired appeal. On superstation WTBS and scores of other outlets, *Beaver* reruns enjoyed significant ratings success. Beaver and Wally appeared on packages of Kellogg's Corn Flakes in 1983 and the show's cast members have since been featured in a variety of retrospective projects. A striking example of the wistful admiration for all the series still represents was uncovered in a 1994 *Parenting* magazine poll. Predictably, 40% of respondents said the contemporary superhit *Roseanne* reflected their family life—but a full 28% picked *Beaver* instead. What Wally once observed about his brother may be true of the program as a whole: "He's got that little kid expression on his face all the time, but he's not really as goofy as he looks."

—Peter B. Orlick

#### CAST

*June Cleaver* . . . . . Barbara Billingsley  
*Ward Cleaver* . . . . . Hugh Beaumont  
*Beaver (Theodore) Cleaver* . . . . . Jerry Mathers  
*Wally Cleaver* . . . . . Tony Dow  
*Eddie Haskell* . . . . . Ken Osmond  
*Miss Canfield (1957–58)* . . . . . Diane Brewster

*Miss Landers (1958–62)* . . . . . Sue Randall  
*Larry Mondelo (1958–60)* . . . . . Rusty Stevens  
*Whitey Whitney* . . . . . Stanley Fafara  
*Clarence "Lumpy" Rutherford (1958–63)* . . . . . Frank Bank  
*Mr. Fred Rutherford* . . . . . Richard Deacon  
*Gilbert Bates (1959–63)* . . . . . Stephen Talbot  
*Richard (1960–63)* . . . . . Richard Correll

**PRODUCERS** Harry Ackerman, Joe Connelly, Bob Mosher

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 234 Episodes

#### • CBS

October 1957–March 1958	Friday 7:30-8:00
March 1958–September 1958	Wednesday 8:00-8:30

#### • ABC

October 1958–June 1959	Thursday 7:30-8:00
July 1959–September 1959	Thursday 9:00-9:30
October 1959–September 1962	Saturday 8:30-9:00
September 1962–September 1963	Thursday 8:30-9:00

#### FURTHER READING

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 Shepard, Richard. "Busy 'Beaver' and His Brother." *New York Times*, 30 October 1960.  
 Spigel, Lynn. *Make Room for TV: Television and the Family Ideal in Postwar America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.  
 "TV's Eager Beaver." *Look* (New York), 27 May 1958.

See also Comedy, Domestic Setting; Family on Television; Gender and Television

## LEE, SOPHIE

Australian Actor

Australian actor Sophie Lee shot to national fame as the teenage presenter of the *Bugs Bunny Show* in 1990 (Channel Nine). With a combination of daring fashion sense, verve and beauty she secured high ratings among adults as well as children. Lee went on to host the first series of *Sex* (a.k.a., *Sex with Sophie Lee*) for Channel Nine in 1991. The show scored a high rating (32) and propelled her further into popular notoriety, especially in tabloid and consumer journalism, where she was the undisputed cover girl of the year, appearing, often

repeatedly, in Australia's biggest-circulation magazines: *Woman's Day*, *New Idea*, *TV Soap*, *TV Week*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Cleo*, *Dolly*, *Who Weekly*, *Truth*, *Playboy* (in a cover/interview as sax-player with Melbourne rock band The Freaked Out Flower Children), and *The Australian Woman's Weekly*.

Her celebrity was organized around her youthful good looks, but Lee exceeded the image from the start, being associated with forthright views on sexism, feminism, and on the need for young people to get accurate sex information in the HIV era.



The combination of her popular reach, sexy image, and widely reported comments on sexism, made her a contributor to and an icon of the modernization, democratization and feminization of sexual attitudes in Australian popular/public culture. Her television career coincided with the rise of supermarket journalism and the supermodel phenomenon (she was also used as a fashion model), both of which blurred traditional distinctions between public and private, politics and entertainment, male and female "domains," urban and suburban culture. Lee herself was constantly critical of the tendency of TV executives and tabloid journalists to confuse sexuality with sleaze; and, as a result, she was seen as an unofficial spokesperson for a postmodern, post-political generation and its concerns.

Lee was reluctant to continue as the role model of sexuality for Channel Nine, since her commitment to democratized sexual lifestyles was exploited to run segments on voyeuristic topics (such as topless barmaids) over which she had no control, instead of stories she did herself on topics such as abortion and the campaign to put condom vending machines in schools. As a result of these concerns she dropped out of the *Sex* show after its first season. She continued to appear as an actor in the internationally syndicated prime-time soap opera *The Flying Doctors* and its short-lived successor *RFDS*, playing the character of Penny Wellings. She also appeared in the pilot episode of the successful "forensic psychologist" series *Hallifax fp* (starring Rebecca Gibney) in 1994. But effectively Lee withdrew from television celebrity roles altogether to concentrate on acting, spending 1995 on tour with the classic Australian stage play *Summer of the Seventeenth Doll*.

Lee is known to an international audience through her role as Tania in the 1994 suburban tragi-comedy film *Muriel's Wedding*. Tania is notable for her sobbing, mascara-spattered, uncomprehending line "But I'm beautiful!" uttered when she loses the plot to the despised, ugly, fat, uncool Muriel. This line sums up an ironic, Australian displacement of the standard Hollywood teen film where the good-looking girl wins out in the end precisely for that reason.

Within the constraints of possibility offered by her public persona, Lee works against the grain of "suburban terrorism," not uncritically endorsing or exploiting it, but offering glimpses of powers other than being "beautiful" but "dangerously short of brains." She has consistently used her own beauty and brains in opposition to the "power thing," to talk through the expected stereotypes to the suburban audiences who were hooked on her *Bugs Bunny* persona. Sophie Lee was among the first of a new generation of politically astute popular performers in Australia who allowed a virtualized, postmodern public to think even as they admired.

—John Hartley

**SOPHIE LEE.** Born in Melbourne, Australia, 1969. Worked in local theatre groups and as an international model; first film role in the Australian telemovie *Raw Silk*, 1988; host, GTV Channel 9 *Bugs Bunny Show*; major roles in *The Flying Doctors*, 1985, and its spin-off *RFDS*.; talk show host, 1991; pursued a singing career with a small Melbourne band.



Sophie Lee

Photo courtesy of Sophie Lee

#### TELEVISION SERIES

- 1985–      *The Flying Doctors*
- 1990      *The Bugs Bunny Show* (host)
- 1992–93    *Sex with Sophie Lee* (host)
- 1993      *RFDS*
- 1994      *Hallifax fp*

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIE

- 1988      *Raw Silk*

#### FILM

- Muriel's Wedding*, 1994.

#### STAGE

- Summer of the Seventeenth Doll*, 1995; *Gary's House*, 1996.

#### FURTHER READING

- Hartley, John. *Popular Reality: Journalism, Modernity, Popular Culture*. London: Edward Arnold, 1996.
- O'Regan, Tom. *Australian National Cinema*. London: Routledge, 1996.

See also *Sex*



## LENO, JAY

U.S. Comedian

With his sanitized comedy appealing to middle class sensibility and ordinary, nice-guy demeanor, Jay Leno rose from comedy hall fame to win the coveted host seat of NBC's *Tonight Show* in 1992. In so doing, Leno followed in the footsteps of the great past hosts, Johnny Carson, Jack Paar and Steve Allen.

Leno began his stand-up career in Boston and New York comedy clubs and strip bars. During the 1970s, he became a popular warm-up act for such divergent performers as crooner Johnny Mathis and country singer John Denver, and wrote scripts for the sitcom *Good Times*, starring Jimmy Walker. He obtained similar work for David Letterman, who, after he began hosting *Late Night with David Letterman*, granted Leno over forty appearances on the program. Leno became a popular guest on the Merv Griffin, and Mike Douglas shows and *Tonight Shows*, and by 1986 was named one of several guest hosts for *The Tonight Show*. An untiring success-seeker, Leno still spent 300 days a year on the road.

As a popular stage and television stand-up comic, Leno strives not to offend, offering non-racist, non-sexist, anti-drug humor. Like forerunners George Carlin and Robert Klein and contemporary Jerry Seinfeld, Leno is uncapricious. His focus is on ridiculing the mundane, the idiocies of social life. His feel-good approach avoids cynicism, and promotes patriotism; in 1991, for example, he performed for American Service Personnel stationed in the Middle East. Despite his penchant for politically liberal jokes, Leno insists that his humor is non-ideological and thus apolitical. Hence, he appeals to a conventional and politically diverse, that is, broad American public.

Although he was the exclusive guest host for *The Tonight Show* since 1987, Leno's selection as Johnny Carson's successor caused surprise and controversy in the industry. David Letterman—whose popular late, late show had followed *Tonight* for years, and created expensive advertising slots—had been slated for the job. However, NBC was attracted to the more cooperative Leno, matching his wit to the older *Tonight Show* audience. Moreover, an aggressive Leno promoted himself, working the affiliate station personnel, who in turn boosted his popularity ratings. Ultimately, Leno was simply more affordable than Letterman, allowing *The Tonight Show* to maintain its \$75-\$100 million profit base.

Seeking Letterman's fans, Leno's *Tonight Show* featured a renovated stage, young, popular guests, and the music of popular jazz musician Branford Marsalis. Controversy came to the set early on when NBC fired Leno's long-time, tumultuous manager Helen Kushnick, and later when Marsalis, in a wrangle over artistic control, quit and was replaced by Kevin Eubanks. Thereafter, Leno fared decently in the ratings, but failed to impress reviewers as had Carson and Paar. Accustomed to practicing his routines many times before a show, Leno suffered agitation with his new, full-



Jay Leno  
Photo courtesy of NBC

week schedule. Moreover, a year into the show, Leno was faced with a rating war against CBS' new *Late Show*, hosted by highly paid competitor Letterman.

During the *Late Show's* first three years, it regularly bested the *Tonight Show* in the ratings, particularly with the younger audiences. This was particularly damaging as *Tonight* had the advantage of airing a full hour earlier than *Late Show* across 30% of the nation. Leno, in comparison to Letterman, was an unseasoned monologist, and a sometimes distracted interviewer, lacking ad-libbing skills. To boost ratings, Leno agreed to hire new *Tonight* writers and to hawk advertiser's goods—Hondas and Doritos—on air. In early 1995, *Tonight* revamped the show from a talk to a variety format, creating a comfortable, comedy club-type studio for Leno. A more responsive and fluid Leno raised *Tonight's* ratings to competitive levels, and by 1996 had intermittently regained its status, held since 1954, as the most popular late night show in the United States.

Leno was frustrated, though not broken by his make-or-break *Tonight Show* role; rather, he responded predictably

to this mid-career trauma with more strenuous effort on the set and increased appearances at Las Vegas clubs and college campuses. A popular comic, Leno has been named Best Political Humorist by *Washingtonian Magazine*, and one of the Best Loved Stars in Hollywood, by *TV Guide*.

—Paula Gardner

**JAY LENO** (James Douglas Muir Leno). Born in New Rochelle, New York, U.S.A., 28 April 1950. Educated at Emerson College, B.A. in speech therapy 1973. Married: Mavis Nicholson. Performed as stand-up comedian at such venues as Carnegie Hall and Caesar's Palace; in television, from 1977; in movies, from 1978; numerous appearances on *Late Night with David Letterman*, 1970s and 1980s; exclusive guest host on *The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson*, 1987-92; host, *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, from 1992. Address: P.O. Box 7885, Burbank, California 91510-7885, U.S.A.

#### TELEVISION

- |         |  |
|---------|--|
| 1977    | <i>The Marilyn McCoo and Billy Davis Jr. Show</i>                        |
| 1986    | <i>Saturday Night Live</i> (one-time host)                               |
| 1987-92 | <i>The Tonight Show starring Johnny Carson</i><br>(exclusive guest host) |
| 1992-   | <i>The Tonight Show with Jay Leno</i> (host)                             |

## LEONARD, SHELDON

U.S. Actor/Director/Producer

For nearly two decades, from the early 1950s through the late 1960s, Sheldon Leonard was one of Hollywood's most successful hyphenates, producing—and often directing and writing—a distinctive array of situation comedies, of which three justly can be considered classics (*The Danny Thomas Show*, *The Andy Griffith Show*, and *The Dick Van Dyke Show*). Although he assayed the hour-long espionage form with conspicuous success as well, the sitcoms remain the Leonard hallmark. Long before *Taxi*, *Cheers*, and MTM Productions, Leonard was overseeing the creation of literate, character-driven ensemble comedies that blended the domestic arena with the extended families of the modern workplace.

Like many independent producers in television's formative years (Bing Crosby, Desi Arnaz, Jack Webb, Dick Powell), Leonard began his show business career in front of the cameras. After six years acting on Broadway—during which time he also took his first stab at directing, for road companies and summer theater—in 1939 Leonard made the move to Hollywood, where he would go on to appear in fifty-seven features over the next fourteen years. It was not long before the actor was equally busy in radio, with regular roles on several programs (*The Jack Benny Show*, *The Lineup* and *Duffy's Tavern*, to name only a few), and guest parts on dozens of others. Although Leonard

#### TELEVISION SPECIALS (selection)

- |      |                                      |
|------|--------------------------------------|
| 1986 | <i>Showtime Special</i> (host)       |
| 1987 | <i>Jay Leno's Family Comedy Hour</i> |

#### FILMS

*The Silver Bears*, 1978; *American Hot Wax*, 1978; *Collision Course*, 1988.

#### FURTHER READING

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- Kaufman, Joan. "Profile (Whew!) of a Funny Man." *People* (New York), 30 November 1987.
- Stengel, Richard. 1992. "Midnight's Mayor." *Time* (New York), 16 March 1992.
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See also Carson, Johnny; *Late Night with David Letterman/The Late Show with David Letterman*; Letterman, David; Talk Shows; *Tonight Show*

played a variety of characters in both media, the Brooklyn-toned actor—described as "Runyonesque" in most biographical sketches—is best remembered for his incarnations of quietly-menacing gangsters.

As the 1940s wore on, Leonard decided to take up writing for radio, selling scripts to such anthology shows as *Broadway Is My Beat*. Already demonstrating the business savvy befitting a future producer, Leonard retained the ownership of his radio scripts after production, thus building a library of salable properties. It was not long before Leonard turned his writing talents to the new medium of television, writing teleplays (some adapted from his radio scripts) for the filmed anthologies. Next Leonard tried his hand at directing some installments, an experience that signaled a new chapter in his show business career.

His apprenticeship behind him, Leonard signed on as director of the Danny Thomas series *Make Room for Daddy* in 1953. He was promoted to producer in the show's third year, remaining its resident producer-director for six more seasons. Between 1954 and 1957 the energetic director also found time to produce and direct the pilot and early episodes of *Lassie* and *The Real McCoys* (which was produced by Thomas' company), write and direct installments of (fittingly enough) *Damon Runyon Theatre*—as well as act in a 1954 summer replacement series, *The Duke*. In

1961 Leonard became executive producer of the Thomas series (titled *The Danny Thomas Show*), at which time he and the comedian teamed up to form their own production firm.

T and L Productions would go on to make a lasting mark on television comedy. At its peak in 1963, T and L had four situation comedies in prime time, with Leonard serving as executive producer on all four: *The Danny Thomas Show*, *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, *The Andy Griffith Show*, and *The Bill Dana Show*. Through their own separate companies, Leonard and Thomas also owned an interest in a fifth sitcom, *The Joey Bishop Show*, although Leonard had no creative role in the series after directing the pilot. To complete the T and L comedy empire, the partners each owned an interest in *My Favorite Martian* by virtue of Thomas' financing and Leonard's direction of the pilot, and also owned *The Real McCoys* syndication package. Although the *Bishop* and *Dana* programs were short-lived, *Danny Thomas*, *Dick Van Dyke*, and *Andy Griffith* were all certifiable Top Ten Nielsen hits.

As the titles suggest, the foundation of the T and L formula was the comic performer, around whom a premise was formed and an extended "family" of kin and co-workers built. There were certain clear resemblances among the series, notably the reflexive *Van Dyke* and *Joey Bishop* shows, which followed the *Danny Thomas* model by focusing on the professional and private lives of people in show business (a TV writer in the first case, nightclub performers in the others). *The Andy Griffith Show* is in some ways antithetical to the noisy, urban sensibility of show-biz shows, though the slow-paced rural realism of *The Real McCoys* could not have been far from Leonard's mind when he created the premise. Yet all the programs had something more in common, something *Television* magazine called the "T and L trademark": "It's good clean comedy with a small moral," in the words of one 1963 observer—or, as a *Television* reporter put it, "a combination of comedy and sentiment." While this mix was certainly not unique to the T and L sitcoms during the 1960s, it underlines their emphasis on characters, relationships, and emotion over situation and slapstick. One need look no further for proof of this than Mayberry Deputy Barney Fife, who, in even his most outrageously broad moments, is underlined with a humanity that keeps him believable.

Leonard's influence on television comedy is bound up in the T and L hits, but it also transcends them. He can be credited with spotting the potential of bucolic raconteur Andy Griffith and (with writer Artie Stander) transforming him into wise and gentle Andy Taylor, sheriff of a fictional town called Mayberry. It was Leonard who recognized the story and character quality in a failed pilot written by and starring Carl Reiner, and resurrected it by casting Dick Van Dyke in the lead role—retaining Reiner's writing talents. The excellence of the T and L programs is surely due in no small part to Leonard's commitment to the quality of the scripts, exemplified by his cultivation of writing talent, his



Sheldon Leonard

Photo courtesy of Sheldon Leonard

promotion of writers to producers, and the extremely collaborative nature of the writing process on all the shows. Indeed, Leonard had an equally profound impact on the medium through the writers he mentored, notably Danny Arnold (*Barney Miller*), and the teams of Garry Marshall and Jerry Belson (*The Odd Couple*, *Happy Days*, etc.), and Bill Persky and Sam Denoff (*That Girl*, *Kate and Allie*).

Leonard's impact on television is attested by the long-standing popularity of the *Griffith* and *Van Dyke* programs in syndication. Just as significant in terms of industry practice, Leonard pioneered the strategy of launching new series via spin-offs, thereby avoiding the expense of pilots. Both the *Andy Griffith* and *Joey Bishop* shows began with "back-door pilots" (directed by Leonard) aired as episodes of *Danny Thomas*; similarly, Bill Dana's "José Jimenez" character began as a recurring character on the *Thomas* show before setting out on his own series. While the Dana and Bishop vehicles were flops, Leonard scored a long-running success with another spin-off in 1964 when he and *Griffith* producer Aaron Ruben sent a popular resident of Mayberry off into six years of military misadventures on *Gomer Pyle, U.S.M.C.*

Leonard and Thomas parted company in 1965, and Leonard shifted generic gears, mounting the globe-trotting espionage series *I Spy*. Among a spate of spy shows popular in the mid-sixties, *I Spy* distinguished itself for its mix of

humor and suspense, and its exotic locales (Leonard and company spent several months each season shooting exteriors around the world in such faraway places as Hong Kong, England, France, Morocco, and Greece). But the most significant aspect of the series was Leonard's decision to cast African-American comedian Bill Cosby opposite Robert Culp as the series' two leads. If the move seems less than startling in retrospect, one need only look back at the *Variety* headline announcing the Cosby hire, dubbing the actor "Television's Jackie Robinson." Thanks to sharp writing and the chemistry of its leads, *I Spy* was hip without being campy, as witty as it was exciting. The series was nominated for Outstanding Dramatic Series Emmy every year of its three-year run, and earned Leonard an Emmy nomination for directing in 1965.

Leonard returned to the sitcom form in 1967 with the short-lived *Good Morning, World* (written and produced by Persky and Denoff), another reflexive, quasi-show-biz format in the *Van Dyke* vein, concerning a team of radio deejays, which also anticipated the ensemble comedy style of the MTM shows of the 1970s. The producer shifted genres again in the spring of 1969 with the lighthearted mystery *My Friend Tony*, but it was not renewed after its trial run. Leonard's most innovative comedy project came along in the fall of that year, *My World and Welcome to It*, a whimsical comedy based on the stories of James Thurber, and interspersed with animated versions of Thurber's cartoons. Despite critical acclaim and an Emmy for Outstanding Comedy Series for 1969, the series was not a ratings success, and was canceled after one season. Leonard's final forays into situation comedy were less prestigious: *Shirley's World*, a Shirley MacLaine vehicle in the *Mary Tyler Moore* mold, and *The Don Rickles Show*, an ill-fated attempt to package the master of insult comedy in a domestic sitcom.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s Leonard had continued to take on the occasional acting job, recreating his radio role as the racetrack tout on *Jack Benny*, appearing as Danny Williams' agent on *Danny Thomas*, and doing a gangster turn in a *Dick Van Dyke* episode. Still typecast after almost forty years, Leonard acted the tough guy yet again in 1975 as the star of the short-lived series *Big Eddie* (as a gambler-turned-sports promoter), and once more in 1978 in the made-for-TV movie *The Islander* (as a mobster). That same year Leonard discharged executive producer duties and acted in the TV movie *Top Secret*, a tale of international espionage starring and co-produced by Bill Cosby. More recently, Cosby recruited Leonard to fill the executive producer slot on *I Spy Returns*, a 1993 TV-movie sequel that reunited Culp and Cosby as the swinging (and now seasoned) secret agents.

Few individuals have had the longevity in the television business that Sheldon Leonard has, and with a string of hits spanning nearly two decades, even fewer have had such long-run success. Fewer still have had the remarkable impact on the medium, both creatively and institutionally. It might be an

exaggeration to say that without Sheldon Leonard there would have been no spin-offs, and no *Cosby*, but it is certain that both phenomena hit the screens of America when they did through Leonard's efforts. Certainly without him neither Rob and Laura Petrie nor Mayberry would exist as we know them. At the end of his 1995 autobiography Leonard vows a return to do battle with the networks on the field of television creativity. In the meantime, his contribution to the literature that is American television comedy continues to play out in syndication, and may well do so forever.

—Mark Alvey

**SHELDON LEONARD.** Born Sheldon Leonard Bershad in New York City, New York, U.S.A., 22 February 1907. Syracuse University, B.A. 1929. Married: Frances Bober, 1931; one child: Andrea. Began career as actor in Broadway plays, 1930–39; numerous radio roles, 1930s–40s; acted in films, 1939–61; radio scriptwriter, 1940s; screenwriter, 1948–57; director of television, from 1953; producer of television, from 1955; guest appearances as actor on television, 1960s–70s; president of T and L Productions; partner and officer, Mayberry Productions, Calvada Productions, Sheldon Leonard Enterprises. Member: vice president and trustee, Academy of TV Arts and Sciences; national trustee, board of governors, vice president, Directors Guild of America; Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. Recipient: Christopher Award, 1955; Emmy Awards, 1957, 1961, 1969; Best Comedy Producer Awards, 1970 and 1974; Golden Globe Award, 1972; Sylvania Award, 1973; Cinematographers Governors Award; Directors Guild of America Aldrich Award; Man of the Year Awards from National Association of Radio Announcers, Professional Managers Guild, B'nai B'rith; Arents Medal, Syracuse University; Special Achievement Award, NAACP; Special Tribute Award, NCAA; TV Hall of Fame, 1992. Address: Sheldon Leonard Productions, 2121 Avenue of the Stars, Los Angeles, California 90067-5010, U.S.A.

#### TELEVISION SERIES (director)

1953–56	<i>Make Room for Daddy</i> (also producer from 1955)
1953–62	<i>General Electric Theater</i>
1953–64	<i>The Danny Thomas Show</i> (also executive producer)
1954–71	<i>Lassie</i>
1954–57	<i>The Jimmy Durante Show</i>
1954	<i>The Duke</i> (summer replacement series)
1955–56	<i>Damon Runyon Theatre</i>
1957–63	<i>The Real McCoys</i>
1960–68	<i>The Andy Griffith Show</i> (executive producer)
1961–66	<i>The Dick Van Dyke Show</i> (executive producer)
1963–65	<i>The Bill Dana Show</i> (also executive producer)
1963	<i>My Favorite Martian</i> (director of pilot only)
1964–70	<i>Gomer Pyle, U.S.M.C.</i> (executive producer)
1965–68	<i>I Spy</i> (executive producer)
1967	<i>Good Morning, World</i>

- 1969 *My Friend Tony*  
 1969–70 *My World and Welcome to It*  
 1971–72 *Shirley's World*  
 1972 *The Don Rickles Show*  
 1975 *Big Eddie* (star)

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

- 1978 *The Islander* (actor)  
 1993 *I Spy Returns* (executive producer)

#### FILMS (actor)

*Another Thin Man*, 1939; *Buy Me That Town*, 1941; *Tall, Dark and Handsome*, 1941; *Rise and Shine*, 1941; *Tortilla Flat*, 1942; *Street of Chance*, 1942; *Lucky Jordan*, 1942; *To Have and Have Not*, 1944; *Her Kind of Man*, 1946; *It's a Wonderful Life*, 1946; *Zombies on Broadway*, 1945; *Somewhere in the Night*, 1946; *The Gangster*, 1947; *Violence*, 1947; *Sinbad the Sailor*, 1947; *If You Knew Susie*, 1948; *My Dream is Yours*, 1949; *Take One False Step*, 1949; *Iroquois Trail*, 1950; *Behave Yourself*, 1951; *Here Come the Nelsons*, 1952; *Young Man with Ideas*, 1952; *Stop You're Killing Me*, 1952; *Diamond Queen*, 1953; *Money from Home*, 1954; *Guys and Dolls*, 1955; *Pocketful of Miracles*, 1961. *Top Secret* (executive producer and co-star), 1977.

## THE LESLIE UGGAMS SHOW

### U.S. Music/Variety Show

**T**he *Leslie Uggams Show*, which premiered in September 1969, was the first network variety show to feature an African-American host since the mid-1950s *Nat "King" Cole Show*. The Uggams show took over the CBS Sunday night slot vacated by *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour*, the controversial variety show CBS had censored and then forcibly removed from the airways the previous April. Produced by Ilson and Chambers, the same team who put together the beleaguered Smothers' programme, Uggams' show was given very little opportunity to prove itself and find an audience against the popular *Bonanza* on NBC. CBS pulled the plug in mid-season, replacing the show with Glen Campbell's *Goodtime Hour* in December 1969.

Leslie Uggams had achieved a modest amount of success both on Broadway and in television. As a teenager, she was a regular player on the *Sing along with Mitch* musical variety show broadcast on NBC in the early 1960s. However, many critics argued that she was too much of a novice to deal successfully with the performance rigors of a variety show. Questions were raised about why Uggams was chosen to replace the politically contentious Smothers' programme. Industry observers noted that CBS, suffering from a public relations problem due to its censorious activity, needed to rehabilitate its reactionary image. A black-hosted variety show which included a certain amount of social commentary on race issues might repair some of the damage.

#### RADIO (selection)

*The Jack Benny Show*; *The Lineup*; *Duffy's Tavern*.

#### PUBLICATIONS

"The World Is His Back-Lot," as told to Morris J. Gelman. *Television* (New York), April 1966.  
*And the Show Goes On: Broadway and Hollywood Adventures*. New York: Limelight, 1995.

#### FURTHER READING

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 Kelly, Richard. *The Andy Griffith Show*. Winston-Salem, North Carolina: John F. Blair, 1981.  
 Smith, Ronald L. *Cosby*. New York: St. Martin's, 1986.  
 "Television's Jackie Robinson." *Variety* (Los Angeles), 23 December 1964.  
 Waldron, Vince. *The Official Dick Van Dyke Show Book*. New York: Hyperion, 1994.  
 Weismann, Ginny, and Coyne Steven Sanders. *The Dick Van Dyke Show: Anatomy of a Classic*. New York: St. Martin's, 1983.

See also *Andy Griffith Show*; *Danny Thomas Show*; *I Spy*

The Uggams show was noteworthy for the number of African-Americans who participated in the show's production, including technical personnel. Regular cast members included actors Johnny Brown and Lillian Hayman. Resident dancers, singers and orchestra were racially integrated, and the show boasted a black choreographer, conductor, and writer.

A major feature of the show was a continuing segment called "Sugar Hill" about a working-class black family. Uggams played the wife of a construction worker in the sketch. They lived together with Uggams' mother (Lillian Hayman), unemployed brother (Johnny Brown), and a "hippie" sister, in an unintegrated apartment which resembled *The Honeymooners* home far more than the lavish and much commented upon integrated apartment building of television's other African-American family, the Bakers of *Julia*.

The show's quick demise generated protest and concern among black organizations from the Harlem Cultural Council, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Urban League. Whitney Young, Jr., head of the Urban League, publicly expressed his concern over what he considered an overhasty cancellation. He argued the show was not given any time to prove itself or institute necessary changes. He also pointed out that CBS' action diminished opportunities for black performers and technicians. Twenty-

eight African-Americans were put out of work by the cancellation, according to Young. CBS countered that the show's demise had not generated much protest from viewers. While the canning of the Smothers Brothers had resulted in thousands of letters of complaint, the Uggams decision led to about 600 letters of disapproval.

While Leslie Uggams did not prove successful in a variety format, she did manage more notable achievements in dramatic acting. She went on to play major roles in the 1970s black-oriented miniseries, *Roots* and *Backstairs at the White House*. The first African-American to really succeed in a variety show would be Flip Wilson in the season following the demise of the Uggams show.

—Aniko Bodroghkozy

#### REGULAR PERFORMERS

Leslie Uggams  
Dennis Allen  
Lillian Hayman

## LETTERMAN, DAVID

U.S. Talk-Show Host/Comedian

David Letterman made his mark and cultivated a national following of ardent fans with his off-beat humor and sophisticated smart-aleck television comic style. That style was honed on his night-time talk show on NBC, *Late Night with David Letterman*, which debuted in 1982. Almost a decade later he and his growing audience changed time periods and networks when, in 1993, *The Late Show with David Letterman* began broadcasts on CBS at 11:30 P.M., a more accessible and lucrative time slot.

Letterman rose to fame as talk-show host and celebrity during a period in television history when late-night talk, a unique TV genre, began to stretch beyond the confines of the solid, long-standing appeal of NBC's *Tonight Show*, starring the king of late night since 1962, Johnny Carson. Indeed, it can be argued that Letterman himself precipitated the expansion of late-night talk. His influence and appeal increased steadily until, by 1995, he was the most-watched and highest-paid late-night television talk-show host in the United States. His success was the result of a combination of factors: hard work and determination in the businesses of broadcasting and comedy, a kind of popularity which spawned sometimes too-adoring fans and occasional contempt, and a programming milieu that included the rise and fall of a number of shows on other networks with similar host/comic formats. On the cultural level, Letterman's success coincided with a particular climate in the television and entertainment industries and among audiences. The cult of personality was on the rise. So, too, was the appeal of humor based on making light comedy of any topic, from the mundane to the most politically-charged.

Lincoln Kilpatrick  
Allison Mills  
Johnny Brown

#### MUSIC

Nelson Riddle and His Orchestra  
The Howard Roberts Singers

#### DANCERS

The Donald McKayle Dancers

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

##### • CBS

September 1969–December 1969      Sunday 9:00-10:00

#### FURTHER READING

MacDonald, J. Fred. *Blacks on White TV: Afro-Americans in Television since 1948*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Letterman began his career in broadcasting in his native Indianapolis, Indiana, where he worked in both television



David Letterman

(as an announcer and weekend weatherman) and radio (as a talk-show host). In 1975 he moved to Los Angeles, where he wrote comedy, submitted scripts for television sitcoms, and even appeared on various sitcoms and game shows. He performed stand-up routines at the Comedy Store where he met Jay Leno, by then a seasoned comedian, and Merrill Markoe, with whom he would later have a long-time professional and personal relationship. In 1978 he made his first appearance as a stand-up comic on *The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson*. Shortly thereafter he was hired by NBC to host a morning television talk show which was broadcast from New York. Though the program lasted only a short time, it was the comic forerunner to his other NBC hit.

*Late Night with David Letterman*, programmed to follow the familiar Carson performance, was a different kind of talk show, a format in which the comedy usually outshone the interviews. Letterman's comedy was reminiscent of, yet more off-beat than, that of all the former celebrated *Tonight Show* hosts, Steve Allen, Jack Paar, and Carson. His fascination with humor of the mundane, his quirky antics (Stupid Pet Tricks, Elevator Races, the Top Ten List), and his overall irreverence came on the heels of a new, hip style of comedy exemplified by NBC's late-night comedy sketch program, *Saturday Night Live (SNL)*. This style was most appropriate for a younger television audience that had been loyal supporters of *SNL* since the mid-1970s. However, Letterman retained the *Tonight Show* comedy/interview format. Letterman was neither as emotionally or politically involved in his interviews as Jack Paar. More like Carson, he exhibited a cool detachment from, and more middle-American stance towards the political and social events of the day.

During his tenure at NBC Letterman occasionally served as guest host on the *Tonight Show* in Carson's absence. He shared that job with several others, most notably Joan Rivers and Jay Leno. His guest interview style was sometimes easygoing, sometimes mocking. Indeed, a number of guests found him to be a mean-spirited interviewer and some celebrities claimed he was adolescent at best, highly offensive at worst. Nevertheless he had a loyal following of late-night watchers, and some took their adoration to an extreme. One woman who claimed to be his wife was arrested several times for stealing his car and breaking and entering into his home. Letterman's popularity was best exemplified, though, in the large number of discussions, references and imitations he inspired among fans, in the media and throughout popular culture.

Thanks in part to Letterman's influence, late-night talk heated up during the late 1980s and the early 1990s. Though the genre is dominated by male host-performers, Joan Rivers eventually (briefly) hosted her own late-night show. Arsenio Hall and Chevy Chase were also in the competition for viewers, and like Rivers, hosted programs on the new FOX network, competing with Carson and Letterman on NBC. Game-show host Pat Sajak briefly hosted a CBS talk show in the late-night time slot. Rivers, Sajak, and Chase quickly dropped out because of poor ratings. Hall's show, far more

successful, lasted for several years. Through it all, *The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson* remained the steady touchstone of late-night talk TV.

By the early 1990s speculation centered on which of the two most successful young comedians—Leno or Letterman—would be Carson's successor upon his retirement. After intense network negotiations with both—and considerable public attention—Leno succeeded Carson. Letterman accepted a generous offer from CBS and the two became direct competitors at 11:30 P.M. weeknights. Though each has a unique style, both were slick comics whose monologues, comic material and choice of guests reflected and fed the contemporary TV audience appetite for celebrity, sarcasm, and irony. Both shows were also emblematic of television's tendency to increasingly blur the line between news and entertainment.

On CBS, Letterman's popularity grew. He kept much of his off-beat comic style, yet softened some of his angry edge and irreverence. Some commentators have attributed the changes to a desire—on his part and the network's—to broaden his audience in the earlier time slot. By the mid-1990s David Letterman was a mainstream favorite among a mostly young audience. Prior to week-day taping sessions, sidewalks outside the Ed Sullivan Theater in New York City, venue for the new show, were the site of long stand-by lines of those hoping for seats inside the already packed house. Letterman's persona was clearly a fitting celebrity for a culture impressed with one individual's ability to capture so much popular attention.

—Katherine Fry

DAVID LETTERMAN. Born in Indianapolis, Indiana, U.S.A., 12 April 1947. Graduated from Ball State University, 1969. Married: Michelle Cook (divorced). Began career as radio announcer, TV weatherman and talk-show host, Indianapolis; performer, Comedy Store, Los Angeles, from 1975; writer for television, Hollywood, from 1970s; frequent guest host on *The Tonight Show*, 1978–82; performed and wrote songs for the Starland Vocal Band; host, *Late Night with David Letterman*, NBC-TV, 1982–93; host, *The Late Show with David Letterman*, CBS-TV 1993–. Recipient: six Emmy Awards. Address: c/o Late Show with David Letterman, CBS, 530 West 57th Street, New York City, New York 10019, U.S.A.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

- |         |  |
|---------|--|
| 1974    | <i>Good Times</i> (writer)                                     |
| 1977    | <i>The Starland Vocal Band Show</i>                            |
| 1978–82 | <i>The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson</i><br>(guest host) |
| 1978    | <i>Mary</i> (also writer)                                      |
| 1980    | <i>The David Letterman Show</i> (also writer)                  |
| 1982–93 | <i>Late Night with David Letterman</i> (also writer)           |
| 1993–   | <i>The Late Show with David Letterman</i>                      |

#### TELEVISION SPECIALS

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| 1977 | <i>Paul Lynde Comedy Hour</i> (writer) |
|------|--|



- 1978 *Peeping Times* (actor)  
 1995 *The Academy Awards* (host)

#### FURTHER READING

Adler, Bill. *The Letterman Wit: His Life and Humor*. New York: Carroll and Graf, 1994.

Carter, Bill. *The Late Shift: Letterman, Leno, and the Network Battle for the Night*. New York: Hyperion, 1994.

See also Carson, Johnny; *Late Night with David Letterman/The Late Show with David Letterman*; Leno, Jay; Talk Shows; *Tonight Show*

## LEVIN, GERALD

### U.S. Media Executive

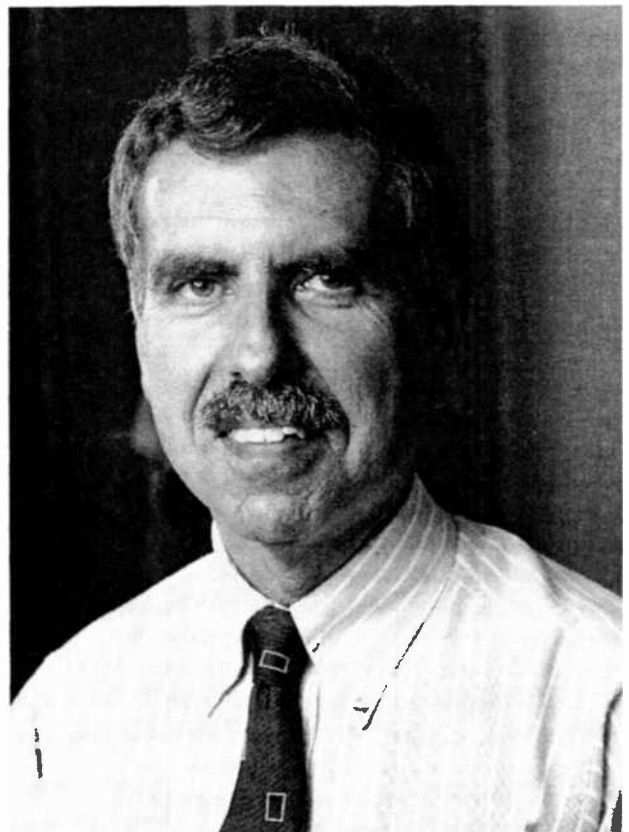
Gerald M. Levin is chairman and chief executive officer of Time-Warner Inc., a position to which he was elected in 1993. He joined Time Inc. in 1972 after a brief career as an attorney and international investment banker. At Time Inc. he worked in the fledgling Home Box Office (HBO) pay-cable television subsidiary, starting out as a programming executive and eventually becoming chairman of the division. In 1975, during his tenure at HBO, Levin pioneered the use of telecommunications satellites for pay-cable television program distribution. At the time, HBO was using microwave technology to distribute programming to cable systems in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Levin proposed that all national program distribution be accomplished by satellite transmission, a concept that transformed the U.S. premium-cable industry and led to a dramatic increase in the number of satellite-delivered cable networks. HBO experienced rapid growth after it became available via satellite and became a standard pay-cable offering during the late 1970s and 1980s. By 1979, Levin was a group vice president supervising all cable television operations, and eventually moved into the vice chairman's position in 1988. His ascension within the Time corporate hierarchy marked a transition from print-oriented managers to others, such as Levin, who were involved with electronic media.

Time Inc. merged with Warner Communications in 1990, forming one of the world's largest media providers. As Time's chief strategist, Levin had an influential role in negotiating the complicated merger between two dissimilar corporate cultures. Time-Warner publishes books and magazines, distributes recorded music, makes motion pictures, and operates cable television production and distribution companies. From 1992 to 1995, Levin and Time-Warner were the focus of a public furor over recorded music lyrics that some critics claim were antisocial. Levin defended the constitutional First Amendment rights of the recording artists and film directors who created works for the company, but Time-Warner finally dodged the controversy by divesting the music division that produced the most controversial recordings.

Levin has also been an ardent champion of the Time-Warner's Full Service Network (FSN), a 100+ channel cable television system that was first introduced in Orlando, Florida. The Full Service Network uses large computer servers to provide digitized programming, such as feature films, on

viewer demand. Time-Warner, under Levin's direction, is making a significant investment in digital interactive services—technology that combines the formerly separate delivery modes of cable television and computer-mediated information.

Levin's ascension within Time Inc.—and later in Time-Warner—reflects the increasing centrality of electronic communication in mass media companies. Gerald Levin is a champion of electronic media services, and he has risen through the corporate ranks to an influential position as the chief executive of one of the world's largest media organizations. By 1995 Levin was a central figure in the complex negotiations leading to yet another mega-merger, this time



Gerald Levin  
 Photo courtesy of Gerald Levin

with Ted Turner's media empire, Turner Broadcasting. As the union neared approval by all regulatory bodies in 1996, and as various protest-oriented law suits from competitors waned, considerable discussion focused on whether or not Levin would be able to hold his position at the top of the giant media conglomerate. If he does remain as the head of the new organization he will lead it into a century defined as much by computer driven mediation as by older forms of print, film, and television. If for some reason he moves out of that position, there is little doubt that he will remain at the contested center of the media world.

—Peter B. Seel

GERALD LEVIN. Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., 6 May 1939. Educated at Haverford College, B.A. 1960; University of Pennsylvania, LL.B. 1963. Married: Carol Needleman, 1959 (divorced, 1970); children: Laura, Leon, and Jonathan. Associate, Simpson, Thacher, and Bartlett, 1963–67; general manager and chief operating officer, Development and Resources Corporation, 1967–71; representative, International Basic Economy Corporation, Tehran, Iran, 1971–72; vice president of programming, HBO, 1972; president and chief executive officer, HBO, 1972–76; chair and chief executive officer, HBO, 1976–79; group vice president of video, Time, Inc., 1979–84, executive vice president, 1984–88, vice chair and director, 1988–90, vice president and director, Time-Warner, Inc., since 1990; chief operating officer, 1991–92; president and co-chief executive officer to chair and chief executive officer, since 1993; board of directors, Turner Broadcasting Systems, Inc., since 1995; trustee of Haverford College, since 1983; chair, board of directors of Haverford, since 1990. LL.D.: Texas College, 1985, Middlebury College, 1994. Member: Aspen Institute; New York City Partnership; International Radio and Tele-

vision Society. Recipient: National Distinguished Achievement Award, American Jewish Committee, 1984. Address: Time-Warner, Inc., 75 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, New York 10019, U.S.A.

#### PUBLICATION

"The Business of Entertainment: Interactivity, the Consumer, and Federal Regulations." *Vital Speeches* (New York), 1 June 1994.

#### FURTHER READING

Bruck, Connie. *Master of the Game: Steve Ross and the Creation of Time-Warner*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994.

———. "Jerry's Deal." *The New Yorker*, 19 February 1996.

Clurman, R.M. *To the End of Time*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992.

Fabrikant, G. "Heir Apparent at Time-Warner is Out Amid Signs of Dissension." *The New York Times*, 21 February, 1992.

Garneau, George. "A Calling in Cyberspace: Time-Warner Chairman Calls Print Journalism Integral to Digital Media." *Editor and Publisher* (New York), 13 May 1995.

Hammer, Joshua. "Man of the Year." *Newsweek* (New York), 17 August 1992.

Reilly, P.M. "Time-Warner is Trying to Ease Anger Over Rap Song, Defend Artist's Rights." *The Wall Street Journal* (New York), 23 June 1992.

Schiffrin, Matthew. "The Mess at Time-Warner." *Forbes* (New York), 20 May 1996.

See also Home Box Office; Time Warner; Turner Broadcasting Systems

## LEVINSON, RICHARD

U.S. Writer

Richard Levinson teamed with William Link to write and produce some of the most memorable hours of U.S. network television in the history of the medium. Moving easily from series to Made-for-Television Movies, they created, wrote, and produced at a level which led many of their peers to describe them as the Rolls and Royce of the industry. They received two Emmys, two Golden Globe Awards, three Edgar Allan Poe Awards from the Mystery Writers of America, the Writers Guild of America Award, and the Peabody Award.

As high-school classmates, Levinson and Link made early use of wire recordings as an aid to developing their dramatic writing skills, then continued their collaboration through university studies at the University of Pennsylvania. Following graduation and military service, the two moved to New York to pursue a career in television, only to discover

that the production end of the business had largely moved west. In 1959 their drama of army life, *Chain of Command*, was produced as an installment of *Desilu Playhouse*, then chosen by *TV Guide* as one of the best programs of the season. With that success, the team, known fondly by many of their associates as "the boys," moved to Los Angeles where, in 1960, they were the first writers placed under contract by Four Star Productions.

For the first ten years of their work in Hollywood, they wrote episodes for various television series. In 1967, they created one of their own—*Mannix*. However, that series was taken in a direction opposite to their original intention by head writer, Bruce Geller. In 1969 the partners first grappled with contemporary problems in a pilot for the lawyers segment of *The Bold Ones*. Their work on this series presaged their use of television to explore serious social and cultural themes in the

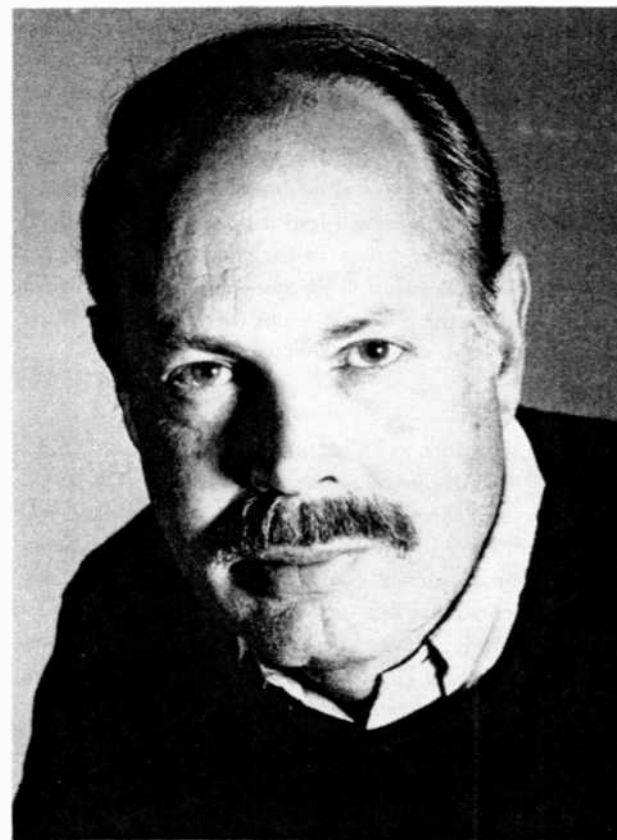
Made-for-Television-Movie format. They wrote and produced nine "social issue" films as well as launching one of the most popular of all Made-for-Television movies.

Frustrated by Hollywood production routines, Levinson and Link had returned briefly to New York earlier in the decade to write a stage play, *Prescription: Murder*. That play, introducing their character Lt. Columbo, became the foundation for the *Columbo* series, starring Peter Falk, which began on television in 1971 as part of *The NBC Mystery Movie*. As Levinson noted in an interview, "Columbo was a conscious reaction against the impetuous force of Joe Mannix." Columbo was, at one point, the most popular television show in the world. Translated into numerous languages, the show still retains enormous popularity.

In November 1983, the team went to Toronto to film a movie for HBO that examines urban violence, fear, and responses to those realities. After a long and frustrating effort to cast the film on a very tight budget, Link and Levinson chose Louis Gossett, Jr. to play the title character in *The Guardian*—John Mack, and Martin Sheen to play the protagonist, Mr. Hyatt. In New York, Hyatt and his fellow tenants feel so threatened by the growing violence in the neighborhood that they hire a professional "guardian," only to discover that this man quickly establishes his own authority over them, one by one. In the course of the story, Mack successfully intimidates all the tenants even as he physically subdues and ultimately kills one intruder. One after another, the tenants trade freedom for security. Hyatt resists until, threatened by a street gang, Mack saves his life.

As always, Levinson worried about the climax of the piece, left intentionally ambiguous. The final scene in *The Guardian* is an exchange of glances between Mack and Hyatt as the latter leaves the building for work the morning following his rescue. Sheen noted in an interview on the set that he played the expression to convey a sense of "What have I done?" Levinson, however, saw in the final frame on Hyatt a "spark of hope." In either interpretation, the underlying question of the drama is made clear: does security demand denial of freedom? Sheen saw it as a parable and related the story to his own concerns regarding U.S. military-political issues and the belief that the only way to get security is to give up more and more freedom. For the writers, the television movie was "only" posing questions. But they saw the implications of what they were doing. In the end the decent character was not a hero. And the frozen stare could signal either hope or despair.

Long and intense conversations between the writers on such issues regularly led to that same conclusion: "We don't have to have the answers, we just raise the questions." For Levinson those posed questions, though, set his personal direction as a dramatist. One sees this in the *Crisis at Central High* (1981), where Joanne Woodward portrayed assistant principal Elizabeth Huckaby in a drama set in 1958 Little Rock. Though even-handed, the moral high-ground belonged to Huckaby and integration. It is equally evident in the sympathetic treatment of Private Eddie Slovik in the



Richard Levinson

story of the only U.S. soldier executed for desertion in World War II, *The Execution of Private Slovik* (1979). And it informs the search for responsibility and judgment in *The Storyteller* (1977), an exploration of the role of television in instigating social violence.

In the summer of 1986, just a few months prior to his premature death, he explored the problems inherent in the dramatic treatment of another high-profile social issue—terrorism—in his last script, *United States vs. Salaam Ajami*. The television movie was finally aired in early 1988 as *Hostile Witness*. In the film, he sought to provide a valid defense for a Lebanese terrorist charged in an American court for a crime committed in Spain against an American tour group. In the story, the terrorist is kidnapped and brought to justice in a Virginia federal court.

Striving to achieve an objective portrayal of the motives for the terrorist and introduce to the audience some comprehension of his rationale, Levinson was determined to raise philosophical questions, but he wanted no weaknesses in the case against the terrorist.

Richard Levinson died at the age of 52, in 1987. When William Link accepted their joint election into the Television Hall of Fame in November 1995, his words were almost all devoted to Levinson, who would, he said, be pleased with the recognition.

—Robert S. Alley

RICHARD LEVINSON. Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., 7 August 1934. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, B.S. in economics, 1956. Served in U.S. Army, 1957–58. Married: Rosanna Huffman, 1969; one child: Christine. With his partner William Link wrote scripts for many television series, created a number of television series, and wrote and produced Made-for-Television Movies dealing with social problems; associated with Universal Studios. 1966–77; co-president, with Link, Richard Levinson/William Link Productions, 1977–87. Recipient (all with William Link): Emmy awards, 1970 and 1972; Image Award, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1970; two Golden Globe Awards: Silver Nymph Award, Monte Carlo Film Festival, 1973; Peabody Award, 1974; Edgar Awards, Mystery Writers of America, 1979, 1980, 1983; Christopher Award, 1981; Paddy Chayefsky Laurel Award, Writers Guild of America, 1986; Ellery Queen Award, Mystery Writers of America, 1989, for lifetime contribution to the art of the mystery; Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Hall of Fame (posthumously, 1995. Died in Los Angeles, California, 12 March 1987.

**TELEVISION SERIES** (episodes written with William Link; selection)

1955–65 *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*  
 1958–60 *Desilu Playhouse*  
 1961–77 *Dr. Kildare*  
 1963–67 *The Fugitive*

**TELEVISION SERIES** (created with William Link)

1967–75 *Mannix*  
 1969–73 *The Bold Ones*  
 1970–77 *McCloud*  
 1971–77, 1989–90 *Columbo*  
 1971 *The Psychiatrist*  
 1973–74 *Tenafly*  
 1975–76 *Ellery Queen*  
 1980 *Stone*  
 1984–96 *Murder, She Wrote*  
 1985 *Scene of the Crime*  
 1986–88 *Blacke's Magic*  
 1987 *Hard Copy*

**MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES** (with William Link)

1968 *Istanbul Express*  
 1969 *The Whole World Is Watching*  
 1970 *My Sweet Charlie*  
 1971 *Two on a Bench*  
 1972 *That Certain Summer*  
 1972 *The Judge and Jake Wyler* (also with David Shaw)  
 1973 *Tenafly*

1973 *Partners in Crime*  
 1973 *Savage*  
 1974 *The Execution of Private Slovik*  
 1974 *The Gun*  
 1975 *Ellery Queen*  
 1975 *A Cry for Help*  
 1977 *Charlie Cobb: Nice Night for a Hanging*  
 1977 *The Storyteller*  
 1979 *Murder by Natural Causes*  
 1981 *Crisis at Central High*  
 1982 *Rehearsal for Murder*  
 1982 *Take Your Best Shot*  
 1983 *Prototype*  
 1984 *The Guardian*  
 1985 *Guilty Conscience*  
 1985 *Murder in Space*  
 1986 *Vanishing Act*  
 1986 *Blacke's Magic*  
 1988 *Hostile Witness*

**FILMS** (with William Link)

*The Hindenberg*, 1975; *Rollercoaster*, 1977.

**STAGE** (with William Link; selection)

*Merlin*, 1982; *Killing Jessica*, 1986; *Guilty Conscience*, 1986.

**PUBLICATIONS** (with William Link)

*Prescription: Murder* (three-act play). New York: Samuel French, 1963.  
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*Stay Tuned: An Inside Look at the Making of Prime-Time Television*. New York: St. Martin's, 1981.  
*The Playhouse* (novel). New York: Berkeley, 1984.  
*Guilty Conscience: A Play of Suspense in Two Acts*. New York: Samuel French, 1985.  
*Off Camera: Conversations with the Makers of Prime-Time Television*. New York: New American Library, 1986.

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See also *Columbo*; Detective Programs; Johnson, Lamont; Link, William

## THE LIBERACE SHOW

### U.S. Musical Program

Certainly among the most popular early television celebrities and performances, both Liberace the individual and his television program were among the most persistently derided. Oddly folksy and campy at the same time, Liberace and his show defined a certain strata of showmanship in the post-World War II era.

Born Wladziu (Walter) Valentino Liberace in suburban Milwaukee, he was interested in music from the age of four, and won a scholarship to the Wisconsin College of Music at the age of seven, studying there for seventeen years. Reputedly at the advice of family friend and renowned pianist Paderewski, the youngster decided to someday likewise be known by one name. Receiving classical training, he began to perform pop hits in local clubs as a teen. By the early 1940s he was establishing himself in New York night spots: ads offered a phonetic guide for his fans ("Libber-ah-chee"). Playing cocktail lounges and intermissions for big bands, he received a rave *Variety* notice in 1945 while appearing at the Persian Room, which led to strings of dates across the United States. He won a small role in the film *South Seas Sinner* (1950).

In 1950, Don Fedderson, the general manager of Los Angeles station KLAC-TV, saw Liberace perform before a small audience at the Hotel del Coronado in San Diego, and immediately offered him a chance to appear on the new medium. The resultant series was so popular as to draw network attention, and when Liberace appeared on NBC as a summer replacement for Dinah Shore in 1952 (fifteen-minute shows twice a week in prime time) he began to create a sensation. For a subsequent series, he wisely accepted what was at the time an unorthodox format of filming programs for syndication. As a result, when Liberace became a television fixture through the country by the mid-1950s, he also became very rich. The program was one of several shows featuring KLAC talent produced by Fedderson and syndicated by Guild Films. (Betty White was another, starring in *Life with Elizabeth* from 1953 to 1955.) Fedderson would go on to produce many successful television series, often for CBS, including *My Three Sons* and *Family Affair*.

Liberace's TV shows were famous for offering a range of popular and classical standards, and featured tributes to composers, musicians, and genres of music—everything from "The Beer Barrel Polka" to "September Song" to "Clair de Lune." Visually, they showcased Liberace in direct address to the audience and in flamboyant performance, always smiling and often winking. No one in early television worked harder to create a star persona. Ever-present candelabras, piano-shaped objects large and small, and especially his outrageous and glamorous costumes defined Liberace's celebrity. Sentimental but ostentatious, the program also featured elder brother George as violin accompanist and orchestral arranger, plus regular and affectionate mentions of their mother, Frances. The show was immediately suc-



Liberace

cessful, appearing on 100 stations by October 1953—more than any network program—and nearly 200 stations a year later. He quickly sold out the Hollywood Bowl, Carnegie Hall, and other venues for live performances. A series of hit albums and a brief resumption of his movie career followed.

Liberace soon experienced the effects of over-exposure: some local stations, desperate for programming, played his shows twice a day, five days a week. His career suffered a considerable slump after only a few years. In response, a short-lived daytime series in the late 1950s tried and failed to feature a scaled-down, tempered Liberace. A change of management and a return to extravagance in a series of Las Vegas venues restored his notoriety, and he made many guest appearances on TV variety and talk shows through the 1960s and 1970s. In a memorable film cameo, he played a quite earnest casket salesman in the black comedy *The Loved One* (1965). In the late 1960s, one last TV series was briefly produced in London.

Liberace's popularity was typically met in the press with equal parts disbelief and disdain. The arrangements of his classical pieces were noted as simplifications, and his mix of classical and popular styles raised hackles about an encroaching middlebrow aesthetic. His personal eccentricities were detailed at length. More tellingly, the size and devotion of his following was seen to be problematic. That his audience

was largely female, and often middle-aged, wrought clichéd anxieties about insubstantial and wayward popular culture; it even was suggested that he wasn't providing quality performances but rather an object to be mothered. In response to his critics, he uttered a still-famous retort: "I cried all the way to the bank." But in two instances, he responded with successful lawsuits—one against London *Daily Mirror* columnist "Cassandra" (William Neil Connor), and another against the infamous scandal magazine *Confidential*. Each had discussed his behavior or his appeal in terms that inferred homosexuality.

In retrospect, Liberace's career seems due for reconsideration as a kind of "queer" open secret. The concern that his audience was mostly female, the regular speculation about his love life (When would he marry?), and the criticism of his attention to his mother all can be seen as touchstones to social anxieties of the time about appropriate gender roles and definitions. Indeed, if Liberace's appeal was grounded in a decidedly unthreatening masculinity, marked by good manners and simplistic pieties, it also inspired a range of critical attention that often revealed a tendency to sexualize him. The libelous incidents were the culmination of this, and perhaps revealed more than they intended about "normative" attitudes of post-war male behavior. To be sure, there was nothing about Liberace which corresponded to "queer" underground culture or the avant-garde of the 1950s—no one appeared to be more mainstream. But the contradictions within his very successful career and persona raise further questions about post-war society and culture. Liberace died of AIDS-related complications on 4 February 1987.

—Mark Williams

#### REGULAR PERFORMERS

Liberace  
George Liberace and Orchestra (1952)  
Marilyn Lovell (1958–59)  
Erin O'Brien (1958–59)  
Dick Roman (1958–59)  
Darias (1958–59)

Richard Wattis (1969)  
Georgina Moon (1969)  
Jack Parnell Orchestra (1969)  
The Irving Davies Dancers (1969)

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

• NBC  
July 1952–August 1952 Tuesday/Thursday 7:30–7:45

PRODUCER Joe Landis

• Syndicated  
1953–1955 Various Times

PRODUCERS Louis D. Sander, Robert Sandler

• ABC  
October 1958–April 1959 30 Minute Daytime

• CBS  
July 1969–September 1969 Tuesday 8:30–9:30

PRODUCERS Robert Tamplin, Bernard Rothman, Colin Cleaves

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See also Music on Television

## LICENSE

### U.S. Broadcasting Policy

Under the Communications Act of 1934, the United States Federal Communications Commission (FCC) is responsible for the "fair, efficient, and equitable distribution" of television broadcast airwaves for use by the American public. As a result, all persons or other entities (other than the federal government) wishing to operate a television broadcast facility must apply for and receive a government-issued license in order to reserve a transmission frequency for its television signal. These broadcast licenses are subject to review and renewal by the FCC every five years unless the FCC determines a shorter period to be in the public interest.

In the United States, private individuals and companies are permitted to own and operate television stations for commercial and non-commercial use. The airwaves themselves, however, because of their limited availability on the broadcast spectrum, are considered a finite public resource that is "owned" and regulated by the federal government on behalf of the American people. During the first half of the 1920s, when commercial broadcasting was in its infancy, pioneers in the industry had unfettered and virtually unlimited access to what was then an abundance of electromagnetic frequencies. By 1926, when the number of broadcast stations increased from

536 to 732, Congress became concerned that the rapid proliferation of broadcasters would quickly deplete available airwaves. In addition, advances in transmission technology enabled powerful, city-based operators to boost their signal range, effectively drowning out smaller, rural facilities. The chaos and cacophony of mid-1920s' broadcasting ultimately led Congress to pass regulatory legislation in 1927, and again in 1934, that requires all station owners to apply for a broadcast license, and meet specific criteria for eligibility before a license is issued or renewed.

Over the last sixty years, the essential aspects of broadcast license grants have largely stayed the same. In the increasingly rare instance in which a potential broadcaster seeks to establish a new station on an available frequency, the first step is to obtain a permit for the construction of a transmission facility. In transfer cases, or those in which a transmission facility already exists, the process begins with a filing of papers at the FCC, public notice of the filing, and the initiation of a reasonable period during which other "parties in interest" may petition the FCC to deny the application. In recent years, the FCC has become much more far-reaching in considering and deciding license applications, the result of increasing competition among would-be broadcasters for fewer available channels and changing standards in what is understood by Americans to be in the "public interest."

In determining who will or will not get a broadcast license, the FCC considers a wide range of factors which can vary or be waived under different circumstances. A successful applicant must be an American citizen or an entity controlled by American citizens, must be in good financial health, and cannot own more than twelve television stations or broadcast to more than 25% of the total national audience. Cross-ownership regulations prevent owners of daily newspapers or multiple broadcast facilities within a single local market from acquiring a license to operate a television station in the same market. In an effort to promote broadcast diversity, the FCC also considers race and gender to be preferential factors in deciding who will or will not be granted the privilege of owning a television station. The FCC's diversity preferences and ownership rules, however,

have become the subject of increasing controversy in the United States Congress, which, by the mid-1990s, had made broadcast deregulation a top priority on its legislative agenda.

—Michael Epstein

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See also Allocation; Deregulation; Federal Communications Commission; "Freeze" of 1948

## LICENSE FEE

The term "license fee" has two meanings when applied to television. The first indicates a means of supporting an entire television industry. The second indicates support for the production of specific programs.

When applied in the first sense a license fee is a form of tax used by many countries to support indigenous broadcasting industries. The fee is levied on the television receiver set and paid at regular intervals.

A receiving set license fee for the support of broadcasting was considered and rejected very early in American

radio's infancy. At this time the new medium was considered a public resource and the idea of support from advertisers was thought inappropriate. The license fee was one of several funding proposals, including municipal or state funding and listener contributions, offered by various sources in the 1920s. The license fee idea took two distinct forms. The first was modeled on the British scheme of taxing receivers in viewers' homes. At that time, the British levy was ten shillings per receiving set. The second approach, proposed by RCA's David Sarnoff, called for a tax (2%) on the sale price



of receivers. The success of toll broadcasting (broadcasting paid for by advertisers) near the mid-point of that decade squelched further discussion on the issue.

In the early days of American television, the idea of a receiving set license fee was briefly raised again by those who pointed to the failures and inadequacies of radio's commercial nature. But because most early television stations were owned by broadcasters with long experience in AM radio, it was almost inevitable that advertising would provide the primary economic support for the new medium.

This was not the case in Great Britain. The license fee was in place from the earliest days of its broadcasting service, having been mandated by the 1904 Wireless Telegraphy Act (and reaffirmed for radio and television in the Wireless Telegraphy Act of 1949). The level of the fee is set by Parliament through its Treasury Department. The BBC is allowed to make its recommendation and, once set, the fee is collected by the Post Office which is also responsible for identifying and tracking down those who attempt to avoid paying the fee (approximately 6% of the audience). The resulting income supports the broadcasting authority (the BBC) and its programming. As a public corporation supported by these fees (none of the income can be distributed elsewhere), the BBC is theoretically insulated from day-to-day influence by Parliament.

The 10 shillings fee remained in force until the end of World War II. 1946 saw a doubling of the radio fee, and when black-and-white television was first introduced, its fee was 2 pounds (double that of radio). The license fee for radio was dropped in 1971 and today, only the color television fee remains, rising periodically, for example from 46 pounds in 1981 to 85 pounds in 1995.

Although the BBC has occasionally toyed with the idea of running commercials to increase revenues in difficult economic periods, the license fee is well entrenched there. Said a BBC spokesperson when testifying on the future of British broadcasting in 1977, "The license fee system involves each member of the viewing public . . . in the feeling that he is entitled to a direct say in what he gets for his money. At the same time, the license fee system puts the broadcasters in a more direct relationship with the public than any other system of financing would. It reinforces a frame of mind in the BBC which impels us constantly to ask ourselves the question: 'What ought we to be doing to serve the public better?'"

The value of such a system for supporting a nation's broadcasting has three aspects. First, it assigns the costs for broadcasting directly to its consumers. Second, this tends to create a mutual and reciprocal sense of responsibility between the broadcasters and the audience members which,

third, frees the broadcasters from control and influence by governments (as might be the case where direct government support exists) or advertisers (as might be the case in commercial systems). Against these benefits is the problem of complacency. An increasing number of nations with license fees also allow limited commercial broadcasting, in part to overcome this tendency.

Many countries other than Great Britain, including Israel, Malta, France, the Netherlands and Jordan, have some form of license fees. Some base their fee on color television only (like Great Britain) and some on color television and radio (for example, Denmark). Two-thirds of the countries in Europe, one half in Africa and Asia and 10% of those in the Americas and Caribbean rely, at least in part, on a license fee to support their television systems. Common among them is a philosophy of broadcasting that sees it as a "public good."

The second definition of license fee is applied most often in American television, though its use is growing throughout television production communities elsewhere. It refers to funding that supports independent television production for broadcast networks or other television distributors such as cable companies. In this instance the license fee is the amount paid by the distributor to support production of commissioned programs and series. In exchange for the license fee, the distributor receives rights to a set number of broadcasts of commissioned programs. Following those broadcasts, the rights to the program revert to the producer. This form of production financing is central to the economic system of commercial television because the distributor's license fee rarely funds the full cost of program production. Producers or studios still must often finance part of their production costs and hope to recoup that amount when a program returns to their control and can be sold into syndication to other distribution venues. Nevertheless, the initial funds, in the form of a license fee, generally enable production to begin.

—Kimberly B. Massey

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See also British Television; Public Service Television

## THE LIFE OF RILEY

### U.S. Situation Comedy

**T**he *Life of Riley*, an early U.S. television sitcom filmed in Hollywood, was broadcast on NBC from 1949 to 1950 and from 1953 to 1958. Although the program had a loyal audience from its years on network radio (1943–1951), its first season on television, in which Jackie Gleason was cast in the title role, failed to generate high ratings. William Bendix portrayed Riley in the second version and the series was much more successful, among the top twenty-five most watched programs from 1953 to 1955. Syndicated in 1977, the series was telecast on many cable systems.

*The Life of Riley* was one of several blue-collar, ethnic sitcoms popular in the 1950s. Chester A. Riley was the breadwinner of an Irish-American nuclear family living in suburban Los Angeles. Although most of the program took place within the Riley household, his job as an airplane riveter sometimes figured prominently in weekly episodes. Riley's fixed place in the socio-economic structure also allowed for occasional barbs directed at the frustrations of factory employment and at the pretensions of the upper classes. After *The Life of Riley* was canceled, blue-collar protagonists like Riley would not reappear until *All in the Family* premiered in the 1970s.

A pilot for *The Life of Riley* starred Herb Vigran and was broadcast on NBC in 1948. Six months later, the series appeared on NBC with Riley played by Gleason; however, Riley's malapropisms and oafish behavior were poorly suited to Gleason's wisecracking nightclub style. Bendix, who had played Riley on radio and in a movie version, was originally unable to play the part on television due to film obligations. When he did assume the role, however, he became synonymous with the character.

Bendix played Riley in a manner that resembled many of his supporting roles in Hollywood films of the 1940s—as a heavy-handed, obstinate, yet ultimately sensitive lum-mox. Each week, Riley first became flustered, then overwhelmed by seemingly minor problems concerning his job, his family, or his neighbors. These small matters—once Riley became involved—escalated to the verge of disaster. Riley's catch phrase—"What a revoltin' development this is!"—expressed his frustration and became part of the national idiom. His patient wife, Peg (originally played by Rosemary DeCamp, then by Marjorie Reynolds), managed to keep the family in order despite her husband's calamitous blunders.

Other central characters included Riley's studious and attractive daughter, "Babs" (Gloria Winters, Eugene Sanders), and his younger, respectful son, "Junior" (Lanny Rees, Wesley Morgan). Riley also had several neighbors, friends, and co-workers. The most significant of these was Jim Gillis (Sid Tomack, Tom D'Andrea), Riley's smart-aleck neighbor whose schemes often instigated trouble.

The narrative structure of the series was much like that of any half-hour sitcom: Each week, stasis within the Riley

household would be disrupted by a misunderstanding on Riley's part or by Riley's bungled efforts to improve his or his family's status. Catastrophe was ultimately averted by a simple solution, usually the clarification of a fact by Peg or another character besides Riley. Order was thus restored by the end of the episode.

The postwar suburban lifestyle conditioned much of the program's content. Mirroring trends established during the postwar economic boom, the Riley family lived comfortably, though not lavishly, aided—and sometimes baffled—by many of the latest household consumer gadgets. Gender roles typical of the era were also represented with Chester earning the family's single paycheck while Peg maintained the household. Similarly, Babs' problems typically concerned dating, while Junior's were related to school. Most of the problems in the Riley household occurred when the private and public realms merged, usually when Riley interfered with Peg's responsibilities.

Like many sitcoms of the 1950s, *The Life of Riley* reinforced the promise of suburban gratifications open to hard working, white Americans. Even so, Riley's incompetence set him apart from his television counterparts. More so than Ozzie of *Ozzie and Harriet*, Riley's ineptitude called into question the role of the American father and therefore of the entire family structure, thus preceding some 1960s sitcoms such as *Green Acres* and *Bewitched* which carried that theme even further.

—Warren Bareiss

#### CAST (1949–1950)

<i>Chester A. Riley</i> . . . . .	Jackie Gleason
<i>Peg Riley</i> . . . . .	Rosemary DeCamp
<i>Junior</i> . . . . .	Lanny Rees
<i>Babs</i> . . . . .	Gloria Winters
<i>Jim Gillis</i> . . . . .	Sid Tomack
<i>Digby "Digger" O'Dell</i> . . . . .	John Brown

**PRODUCER** Irving Brecher

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY 26 Episodes

• DuMont

October 1949–March 1950

Tuesday 9:30–10:00

#### CAST (1953–1958)

<i>Chester A. Riley</i> . . . . .	William Bendix
<i>Peg Riley</i> . . . . .	Marjorie Reynolds
<i>Junior</i> . . . . .	Wesley Morgan
<i>Babs Riley Marshall</i> . . . . .	Eugene Sanders
<i>Jim Gillis</i> (1953–55, 1956–58) . . . . .	Tom D'Andrea
<i>Honeybee Gillis</i> (1953–55, 1956–58) . . . . .	Gloria Blondell
<i>Egbert Gillis</i> (1953–55) . . . . .	Gregory Marshall



The Life of Riley

<i>Cunningham</i> . . . . .	Douglas Dumbrille
<i>Dangle</i> . . . . .	Robert Sweeney
<i>Riley's Boss</i> . . . . .	Emory Parnell
<i>Waldo Binney</i> . . . . .	Sterling Holloway
<i>Otto Schmidlap</i> . . . . .	Henry Kulky
<i>Calvin Dudley</i> (1955-56) . . . . .	George O'Hanlon
<i>Belle Dudley</i> (1955-56) . . . . .	Florence Sundstrom
<i>Dan Marshall</i> (1957-58) . . . . .	Martin Milne

**PRODUCER** Tom McKnight

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 212 Episodes

• NBC

January 1953–September 1956  
 October 1956–December 1956  
 January 1957–August 1958

Friday 8:30-9:00  
 Friday 8:00-8:30  
 Friday 8:30-9:00

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See also Comedy, Domestic Settings; Family on Television; Gleason, Jackie

## THE LIKELY LADS

### British Comedy

When the BBC's second television channel began in 1964, it was generally intended to provide the sort of minority-interest, factual and cultural programming which was being marginalised by the struggle for popularity against the commercial channel, ITV. It was also intended to advance the technology of television by transmitting on the new 625-line standard which would pave the way for the introduction of colour. To receive it, viewers needed to buy a new television set—and to sell the new sets in large enough numbers, the new channel needed some popular programming.

In the field of comedy, *The Likely Lads* provided the perfect vehicle, being both innovative and within the tradition of popular entertainment. It launched the comedy career of the writing team of Dick Clement and Ian La Frenais and proved one of the infant channel's most enduring successes.

The protagonists are two young friends, Terry Collier and Bob Ferris, recently out of school and starting out in their first jobs. Their interests are predictable—girls, drinks, football and fun. However, they are a new breed of working-class heroes. They have some money in their pockets and the “swinging sixties” are getting underway. The first scene of the first episode, “Entente Cordiale,” sees them coming home from a holiday in Spain—the sort of thing that had been unavailable to their kind in earlier years but which was to come to be taken for granted by their generation.

The setting, the Northeast of England, was also fairly new—to television, anyway. In many ways, *The Likely Lads* was television's response to the portrayal of north country youth in such films of the early 1960s as *A Kind of Loving* and *Billy Liar*. Indeed, the two young actors chosen for the lead roles—James Bolam as Terry and Rodney Bewes as Bob—had begun their careers in minor roles in these films.

As the series progressed the two characters emerged and their differences were to form the basis for the comedy and the development of the show. Both the lads have a sharp intelligence but use it differently, and they reach different conclusions about what they want out of life. Terry is a cynic. He knows his class and his place in society and his sole aim is to get what he can, when he can. Bob has ambitions. He thinks he can make a better life for himself but lacks confidence. Terry's crazy schemes scare him, but it is usually his friend who comes off worse.

There were three series of *The Likely Lads* between 1964 and 1966, a total of 20 episodes. In the final episode, “Good-bye to all that”, Bob decides to join the army. Missing his friend, Terry signs up too, only to find that Bob has been discharged for having flat feet and that he, Terry, is committed for five years.

So, the likely lads went their own ways and the actors into different projects with varying success. But, with the spread of colour television in the early 1970s, the BBC instituted a policy of reviving its biggest comedy successes of



The Likely Lads  
Photo courtesy of BBC

the 1960s. Following *Steptoe and Son* and *Till Death Us Do Part*, the decision was taken to bring back *The Likely Lads*. However, unlike the other two sitcoms, *The Likely Lads* was not the same as it had been. The new title, *Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads?*, reflected the fact that seven years had passed since they last appeared. The actors were older and the characters had aged with them. Terry had seen the world (Germany and Cyprus) with the army. Bob had been successful at work, and, as the series opened in 1973, he is buying a new house and is about to marry his childhood sweetheart Thelma (Bridgit Forsyth), and settle down to a respectable middle-class life.

Terry's return, and his withering contempt for what he sees as Bob's betrayal of his working-class roots, threatens to spoil Bob's plans and ruin his marriage, which takes place as the series progresses. At the same time, the shifting economic circumstances of the Northeast are reflected in Terry's feeble attempts to find employment or any sort of a role in a place which has changed so much in his absence.

*Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads?* provided, amongst all the laughs, a social commentary equal to anything found in the serious drama of the time. Two series were made in 1973 and 1974, a total of 26 shows. The actors, particularly James Bolam, tried subsequently to shake off their roles, but there are still many in Britain who wonder what Terry and Bob are up to now.

—Steve Bryant

#### CAST

Terry Collier . . . . . James Bolam  
Bob Ferris . . . . . Rodney Bewes

PRODUCERS Dick Clement, James Gilbert, Bernard Thompson

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY**

*The Likely Lads* 20 25-minute episodes  
*Whatever Happened to the Likely Lads?*  
 26 30-minute episodes  
 1 45-minute special

• BBC

**THE LIKELY LADS**

December 1964–January 1965 6 Episodes  
 June 1965–July 1965 6 Episodes  
 June 1966–July 1966 8 Episodes

**LINK, WILLIAM**

U.S. Writer

William Link and Richard Levinson formed one of the most notable writing and producing teams in the history of U.S. television. Working in both series and made-for-television movie forms, they moved easily from what they considered light entertainment to the exploration of serious and immensely complicated social problems. Their collaboration was of much longer standing than even their television careers suggest, for they had begun to work together in the early years of high school in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Even at that time the two wrote plays together, inspired by radio dramas which they frequently wire recorded. After graduating from the University of Pennsylvania and completing service in the U.S. Army, they quickly formed an adult partnership that was to last until Richard Levinson's death in 1987. Intent upon building a career in television, they followed the migration of talent to California in 1960 and were quickly identified for their talents.

After almost ten years of working with series television the "boys," as they were identified by Martin Sheen, who often starred in their movies, began to explore "social issues." It may have begun with their questions regarding the violence of television shows such as *Mannix*, their own creation. As Link put it in an interview, "Dick and I did not know whether television violence had an effect or not, but we just decided we were not going to do that kind of writing anymore." *Columbo* was the natural answer. In Link's words, "It portrayed a bloodless murder followed by a cat and mouse game. *Columbo* was a meat and potatoes cop who brought low the rich and famous."

The partners made these social concerns explicit in the character of Ira Davidson, central figure in their made-for-television movie, *The Storyteller* (1977). In that piece Davidson, a television writer, engages his producer in a debate about TV violence. The producer questions the writer's deletion of violent scenes from his original treatment. Davidson replies that he could tell the story just as well without vehicular mayhem. The producer then accuses him of ac-

**WHATEVER HAPPENED TO THE LIKELY LADS?**

January 1973–April 1973 13 Episodes  
 January 1974–April 1974 13 Episodes  
 24 December 1974 Christmas Special

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See also British Programming; La Frenaise, Ian

quiring a conscience just when non-violence was fashionable and insists he does not want the PTA or anyone else telling him what kind of television to make. He wants to use violence when it works for the plot without interference from the network. Ira responds, "Agreed." Surprised, the producer says, "Agreed? but I thought ....." Ira ends the



William Link

discussion by stating, "I was telling you what I am going to do. What you do is your business."

Discussing those social dramas Link commented, "The best things come to you—they fall into your hand or you see a human life situation like *That Certain Summer* and you say that would make a good drama. It's hard to begin by saying 'Let's do a social drama.' These things just occur to you." Of course, Link would admit that they "just occur" to him because of who he is and what he thinks.

Link's philosophy of film making is summed up in remarks made in the early 1980s. "In the films where we have serious intentions, we tend to understate. This comes from a feeling that if you're going to deal with subjects such as homosexuality, or race relations, or gun control, you should show some aesthetic restraint and not wallow in these materials like a kid who's permitted to write dirty words on a wall. Our approach is that if you're going to use these controversial subjects—play against them. Don't be so excited by your freedom that you go for the obvious. The danger, of course, is that sometimes you get so muted that you boil out the drama. In *The Storyteller* we were so concerned with being fair and with balance that we lost energy and dramatic impact."

When Link spoke movingly about Richard Levinson upon their induction into the Television Hall of Fame in 1995 the extremely difficult task of admitting to himself that there was no longer "Link and Levinson" was completed. Even as he oversaw the final production of *United States vs. Salaam Ajami* (aired as *Hostile Witness*), that fact had perhaps led to reviving a story idea which Levinson had rejected.

Link wrote and produced *The Boys*, dealing with a writing partnership in which one man smokes, but the other does not, but who informs his colleague that he has contracted cancer from second-hand cigarette smoke. Here was a social drama on two levels. While not strictly autobiographical, the drama was surely related to individual experience. Levinson smoked heavily during most of his adult years, and the practice most probably shortened his life. *The Boys*, then, was personal, but it also dealt with a real social issue.

After Levinson's death Link remained active as a writer-producer at Universal, working on new stories for *Columbo*. By continuing to hold to the producer credit he held creative control over the words. As Link expressed it in an interview, "We produce for two reasons. One is to protect the material. And the second is that we've discovered that producing is an extension of writing. The day before they're going to shoot it you walk on a set designed for a character you've written. You say to the art director, 'The man we've written would not have these paintings. He would not have that dreadful *objet d'art* sitting there. It's much too cluttered for a guy of his sensibilities. So clean out the set. . . .' We created that person as a character. We're also interested in how it's extended."

In the late 1980s Link served as supervising executive producer of *The ABC Mystery Movie*. Leaving Universal in

1991, he became executive producer and writer for *The Cosby Mysteries* on NBC. He also became an actor in the series when Bill Cosby insisted on casting him as a saxophone instructor for Cosby's character. Appearing infrequently, Link was a natural for the part.

As the season of 1996–97 approached Link was working on a two-hour pilot for a light mystery series for ABC, a series of movies featuring Michael Caine as, if Link has his way, Alex Risk. He was also developing a series of movies featuring the novels of Jonathan Kellerman, the first of which was *Bad Love*.

William Link has a lively sense of humor and frequently employs it to assail what he perceives as the current decay of the industry he loves. He is an avid reader of mysteries, extremely knowledgeable concerning music and cinema, and an active collector of Latin American art. He and his wife, Margery Link, live surrounded by the collection.

—Robert S. Alley

**WILLIAM LINK.** Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., 15 December 1933. Educated at University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, B.S. 1956. Served in U.S. Army, 1956–58. Married: Margery Nelson, 1980. Script-writer with his partner Richard Levinson for many television series; with Levinson created a number of television series; also with Levinson wrote and produced many made-for-television movies dealing with social problems; wrote *The Boys*, 1991, loosely based on the partnership with Levinson; writer-producer, *The Cosby Mysteries*, 1994–95; as actor, appeared as Sapolsky in *The Cosby Mysteries*, 1994; producer of television series and made-for-television movies, from 1995. Recipient (all with Richard Levinson): Emmy Award, 1970 and 1972; Image Award, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1970; Golden Globe Award, 1972; Silver Nymph Award, Monte Carlo Film Festival, 1973; Peabody Award, 1974; Edgar Awards, Mystery Writers of America, 1979, 1980, 1983; Christopher Award, 1981; Paddy Chayefsky Laurel Award, Writers Guild of America, 1986; Ellery Queen Award, Mystery Writers of America, 1989, for lifetime contribution to the art of the mystery; Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Television Hall of Fame, 1995.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1994–95      *The Cosby Mysteries*

**TELEVISION SERIES** (episodes written with Richard Levinson; selection)

1955–65      *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*  
1958–60      *Desilu Playhouse*  
1961–77      *Dr. Kildare*  
1963–67      *The Fugitive*

**TELEVISION SERIES** (created with Richard Levinson)

1967–75      *Mannix*  
1969–73      *The Bold Ones*

1971–77,  
1989–90 *Columbo*  
1971 *The Psychiatrist*  
1973–74 *Tenaflly*  
1975–76 *Ellery Queen*  
1980 *Stone*  
1984–96 *Murder, She Wrote*  
1985 *Scene of the Crime*  
1986–88 *Blacke's Magic*  
1987 *Hard Copy*

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

1989–90 *The ABC Mystery Movie*  
1991 *The Boys*

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES (with Richard Levinson)

1968 *Istanbul Express*  
1969 *The Whole World Is Watching*  
1970 *My Sweet Charlie*  
1971 *Two on a Bench*  
1972 *That Certain Summer*  
1972 *The Judge and Jake Wyler* (also with David Shaw)  
1973 *Tenaflly*  
1973 *Partners in Crime*  
1973 *Savage*  
1974 *The Execution of Private Slovik*  
1974 *The Gun*  
1975 *Ellery Queen*  
1975 *A Cry for Help*  
1977 *Charlie Cobb: Nice Night for a Hanging*  
1977 *The Storyteller*  
1979 *Murder by Natural Causes*  
1981 *Crisis at Central High*  
1982 *Rehearsal for Murder*  
1982 *Take Your Best Shot*  
1983 *Prototype*  
1984 *The Guardian*

1985 *Guilty Conscience*  
1985 *Murder in Space*  
1986 *Vanishing Act*  
1986 *Blacke's Magic*  
1988 *Hostile Witness*

#### FILMS (with Richard Levinson)

*The Hindenberg*, 1975; *Rollercoaster*, 1977.

#### STAGE (with Richard Levinson; selection)

*Merlin*, 1982; *Killing Jessica*, 1986; *Guilty Conscience*, 1986.

#### PUBLICATIONS (with Richard Levinson)

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*Fineman* (novel). New York: Laddin Press, 1972.  
*Stay Tuned: An Inside Look at the Making of Prime-Time Television*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981.  
*The Playhouse* (novel). New York: Berkeley, 1984.  
*Guilty Conscience: A Play of Suspense in Two Acts*. New York: Samuel French, 1985.  
*Off Camera: Conversations with the Makers of Prime-Time Television*. New York: New American Library, 1986.

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Newcomb, Horace and Robert S. Alley. *The Producer's Medium: Conversations with Creators of American TV*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.

See also *Columbo*; Detective Programs; Johnson, Lamont; Levinson, William

## LOACH, KEN

### British Director

Ken Loach is Britain's most renowned and controversial director of socially conscious television drama. He is also an internationally acclaimed director of feature films whose radical political messages consistently provoke strong responses in audiences and politicians alike. In 1965 he received the British Television Guild's "TV Director of the Year" Award, while the 1990s have brought prizes and nominations at the Cannes Film Festival. His considerable body of work, documenting British society since the 1960s, is an acknowledged source of inspiration to his contemporaries.

Loach worked for a brief spell as a repertory actor before joining the BBC in 1963 as a trainee television director. Significantly this was during the progressive Director-General-

ship of Sir Hugh Greene and coincided with Sydney Newman's influential appointment as head of BBC drama. Loach's earliest directorial contribution was on episodes of the groundbreaking police series, *Z Cars*, but he first attracted serious attention with *Up the Junction*, a starkly realistic portrayal of working-class life in South London, which in 1965 was one of the earliest productions in the BBC's innovative *Wednesday Playslot*. This success marked the beginning of a long and fertile creative collaboration with story-editor and producer, Tony Garnett, which led to the recognition of their particular mode of documentary drama as the "Loach-Garnett" style. It also positioned Loach as an exponent of television's foray into "social realist" British New Wave, popular in film, theatre, and novel.



Loach collaborated with Garnett on a number of other celebrated *Wednesday Play* productions, including David Mercer's famous play about schizophrenia *In Two Minds* (1967), which he later made into a feature film, *Family Life* (1971), and two significant industrial drama-documentaries written by ex-coalminer Jim Allen: *The Big Flame* (1969) and *The Rank and File* (1971). These productions demonstrated Loach's passionate concern to ignore theatrical artificiality in favour of authentic dramas on topical, important issues—dramas which give a voice to politically marginalised sections of society. By far the most powerful work from this period of Loach's career, however, is *Cathy Come Home* (1966), a study of the effects of homelessness and bureaucracy on family life. This remains one of the most seminal programme events in the history of British television.

*Cathy Come Home*, written by former journalist Jeremy Sandford, exploded with tremendous force upon the complacent, affluent, post-Beatles culture of the "Swinging Sixties." Drawing attention, as it did, to disturbing levels of social deprivation far in excess of those claimed by government, the play led to a public outcry, questions in Parliament, the establishment of the housing charity "Shelter," and a relaxation of policy on the dissolution of homeless families. Reflecting years afterwards on this *succès de scandale*, Loach explained that, though he may have believed at the time in the potential of television drama for effecting social change, he had subsequently come to realise it could do nothing more than provide a social critique, promoting awareness of problems capable of resolution only through political action.

It is not only the subject matter of *Cathy*, and of Loach's television work generally, that struck contemporary audiences and critics as innovative; his chosen form and style were distinctive and provocative too. Above all, he was concerned to capture a sense of the real, extending a range of practised cinema-vérité techniques to produce a sense of immediacy and plausibility that would in turn produce recognition in the spectator and inspire collective action. Lightweight, hand-held camera; grainy 16mm film stock; a black and white aesthetic; location shooting; natural lighting; direct, asynchronous sound; blending of experienced and non-professional performers; authentic regional accents and dialects; overlapping dialogue; improvised acting; expressive editing; incorporation of statistical information: all these strategies combined in varying degrees to create a compelling and original documentary effect markedly at odds with the look of traditional "acted" television drama.

In 1975, the distinctive "Loach-Garnett" style was employed in a notable exploration, nearly 400 minutes in length, of British labour history, which functioned as a poignant commentary on the parlous state of contemporary industrial relations. This was the four-part BBC serial *Days of Hope*, scripted by Jim Allen, which follows a northern British working-class family through the turbulent years of struggle from the end of the World War I to the General



Ken Loach

Photo courtesy of Ken Loach

Strike of 1926. Loach, already subject to criticism for preferring the docudrama form (deemed reprehensible in some quarters for its potential confusion of fact and fiction), now found himself embroiled in an academic debate about the extent to which radical television drama, using the conventions of bourgeois realism, could be truly "progressive." Loach insisted that his priority was populist political discourse rather than a rarefied, aesthetic debate of interest only to a critical elite. In other words, *Days of Hope* and the other strike dramas that preceded it were intended to open the eyes of ordinary people to the emancipatory potential of free collective bargaining within any capitalist culture.

Loach made his first feature film, *Poor Cow*, at the height of his television fame in 1967. He became a major founding partner, with Tony Garnett, of the independent production company, Kestrel Films, for which he made half a dozen low-budget films between 1969 and 1986. His first project at Kestrel Films was *Kes*, a moving story of a young boy and his pet kestrel set against a bleak Northern industrial landscape. Some of the Kestrel Films projects were intended for television screening as well as limited theatrical release.

The Thatcher years put Loach increasingly in conflict with those who took exception to the left-wing thrust of his work and wanted to censor it or lessen its impact. Finding it difficult to ensure transmission of the kind of television drama he considered important, he turned for a while almost exclusively to straight documentary, convinced that the nonfiction form could more speedily and directly address the key social and political questions of the day. If anything, however, this route led Loach into even greater problems with censorship, culminating in the controversial withdrawals of the four-part series *Questions of Leadership* (1983) and *Which Side Are You On?* (1984), a polemical documentary about the socially disruptive Miners' Strike. It was probably this unsavoury experience, and the greater

freedom afforded by cinema, that drove Loach away from television at the end of the 1980s.

The 1990s brought Ken Loach renewed success and established him as one of Britain's foremost film directors, albeit not of mainstream commercial films. Beginning with his political thriller about a military cover-up in Ulster, *Hidden Agenda*, which was reviled and praised in roughly equal measure on its first screening at Cannes, Loach has gone on to make roughly one feature film each year, usually with an early television showing in mind. These are, without exception, films of integrity that continue their director's lifelong principle of bringing issues of oppression, inhumanity, and hypocrisy to the public's attention. The political content is, if anything, more foregrounded than in the earlier television work; the uncompromising focus on the disadvantaged or voiceless sections of society remains the same.

—Tony Pearson

**KEN LOACH.** Born in Nuneaton, Warwickshire, England, 17 June 1937. Attended King Edward School, Nuneaton; St. Peter's College, Oxford. Married: Lesley Ashton, 1962; two sons and two daughters. Began career as actor with repertory company in Birmingham; joined BBC drama department as trainee, 1961; director with producer Tony Garnett, beginning with *Up the Junction*, 1965; founder, with Garnett, of Kestrel Films production company, 1969; has worked on a freelance basis, chiefly for Central Television, since the 1970s. Fellow, St. Peter's College, Oxford, 1993. Recipient: British Television Guild Television Director of the Year Award, 1965; British Academy of Film and Television Arts Award, 1967; Cannes Festival Special Jury Prize, 1990. Address: Parallax Pictures, 7 Denmark Street, London WC2H 8LS, England.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

- |         |  |
|---------|--|
| 1962–78 | <i>Z Cars</i>                                    |
| 1975    | <i>Days of Hope</i>                              |
| 1983    | <i>Questions of Leadership</i> (not transmitted) |

#### TELEVISION SPECIALS

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| 1964 | <i>Catherine</i>                            |
| 1964 | <i>Profit By Their Example</i>              |
| 1964 | <i>The Whole Truth</i>                      |
| 1964 | <i>The Diary of a Young Man</i>             |
| 1965 | <i>Tap on the Shoulder</i>                  |
| 1965 | <i>Wear a Very Big Hat</i>                  |
| 1965 | <i>Three Clear Sundays</i>                  |
| 1965 | <i>Up the Junction</i>                      |
| 1965 | <i>The End of Arthur's Marriage</i>         |
| 1965 | <i>The Coming Out Party</i>                 |
| 1966 | <i>Cathy Come Home</i>                      |
| 1967 | <i>In Two Minds</i>                         |
| 1968 | <i>The Golden Vision</i>                    |
| 1969 | <i>The Big Flame</i>                        |
| 1969 | <i>In Black and White</i> (not transmitted) |
| 1970 | <i>After a Lifetime</i>                     |
| 1971 | <i>The Rank and File</i>                    |

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| 1973 | <i>A Misfortune</i>                                 |
| 1976 | <i>The Price of Coal</i>                            |
| 1979 | <i>The Gamekeeper</i> (also co-writer)              |
| 1980 | <i>Auditions</i>                                    |
| 1981 | <i>A Question of Leadership</i>                     |
| 1983 | <i>The Red and the Blue</i>                         |
| 1984 | <i>Which Side Are You On?</i>                       |
| 1985 | <i>Diverse Reports: We Should Have Won</i> (editor) |
| 1988 | <i>The View from the Woodpile</i>                   |
| 1989 | <i>Split Screen: Peace in Northern Ireland</i>      |
| 1991 | <i>Dispatches</i>                                   |

#### FILMS (director)

*Poor Cow*, 1967; *Kes*, 1969; *The Save the Children Fund Film*, 1971; *Family Life*, 1971; *Black Jack*, 1979; *Looks and Smiles*, 1981; *Fatherland*, 1986; *Hidden Agenda*, 1990; *Singing the Blues in Red*, 1990; *Riff Raff*, 1991; *Raining Stones*, 1993; *Ladybird, Ladybird*, 1994; *Land and Freedom*, 1995.

#### FILMS (co-scriptwriter)

*Poor Cow*, 1967; *Kes*, 1969; *Black Jack*, 1979.

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- See also *Cathy Come Home*, Docudrama; Garnett, Tony; *Wednesday Play*

## LOCAL TELEVISION

Even though television networks and syndicators have garnered the lion's share of historical and critical attention in the United States, these entities could not have existed without local television. In the early struggles surrounding the establishment of television, crucial decisions were made with regard to the structure of the new industry. Central to many of those decisions were those of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). The commission grounded the organization, financing, and regulation of the television industry for the existing radio model of broadcasting, which had insured nationwide service. Thus local TV stations came to serve as the infrastructure of the industry. Local stations negotiated the role TV would play in their communities, coordinating the new medium to local rhythms, interests, sentiments, and ideologies. They have contributed immeasurably to the growth, allure, and impact of television in the United States. The considerable history—or rather, series of histories—of local television are still being written.

All of the earliest television stations were necessarily local stations. Most began in an "experimental" status, non-commercial and sporadically scheduled. Applications for early broadcasting stations had come from a range of potential participants, but many of the first to become truly operational were owned by radio networks or broadcast equipment manufacturers with strong financial reserves; costs for construction and research-and-development were high, and revenues were low or nonexistent for many years. Much of the television industry was developed by those who could withstand continuing financial losses. Stations independent of corporate ties were started by newspapers, automobile dealers, and other local entrepreneurs in major cities across the country. These groups and individuals had also often owned radio stations, or were otherwise experienced in radio.

The advantages of multiple station ownership were clear to some of these early investors, but they were faced with regulatory restrictions. Companies that hoped to attain a network-like reach were allowed to own only a handful of stations—up to five in the early years—each in a different market. As the technology for linking stations emerged, station affiliations grew. A few cities featured stations owned and operated by the existing national broadcasting networks, but most had stations affiliated with more than one network, and some areas had so few stations that each could feature multiple affiliations, often for many years. And some cities did maintain additional, fully independent channels.

But in every city and market, local stations worked to invent, adapt, and expand what television had to offer to their specific audiences. Each station produced a great deal of its own programming, increasingly so as the television schedule expanded to include more daytime and weekend hours. Viewers had a different relationship to the performers and personalities on local stations, a sense of accessibility and proximity that was

inflected by all things regional—from speech patterns to weather systems to fashion tastes. Station personnel tended to perform in different capacities and roles throughout the programming day—news reader at one point, talk-show host at another, children's show performer in still another—all lending them a familiarity and informality that often proved welcome by the audience. Local television could even seem quasi-interactive, and many programs included responses to viewer mail or even phone calls to viewers. For most local programs, budget constraints translated to a lack of production spectacle, but the same financial restriction led to a yen for ingenuity. In some cases this could afford marvelous and bizarre performers and programming formats, often outside the boundaries of what networks—already seeking a "national" audience—would deem suitable.

Certain programming similarities existed among stations of course, especially regarding TV's emerging relationship to the rhythms of everyday life, a relationship that presumed a family work-week and school-day, conventional gender roles, and regularized daily patterns of behavior and involvement. Kids' shows quickly became a late afternoon staple. Cooking and homemaking shows were popular around midday. Movies and sports programs could dominate evening and weekend hours. Most of the conventions of television news were also developed at the local level, typically out of necessity rather than conscious design or analysis.

Word quickly spread when a programming innovation proved successful at a local station, often insuring imitations at other stations and in other markets. Many stations featured disc jockeys who played favorite records, cartoon show emcees in the guise of friendly authority figures, afternoon movie hosts who proffered quizzes and giveaways. In some instances, local talent went on to national success: Ernie Kovacs and Dick Clark began locally in Philadelphia; Dave Garroway, Burr Tillstrom, and Fran Allison first appeared on TV in Chicago; Liberace, Alan Young, and Betty White started their TV careers on local Los Angeles stations.

But local television was more than just a supplement to the networks. In fact, many original formats and regional distinctions emerged in local TV before being subsumed or displaced by network schedules and priorities. In Chicago, for example, pioneer telecasters like William Eddy and Jules Herbuveaux helped to develop a casual but intelligent style of programming that became known as the "Chicago School." Many of these programs, featuring the likes of Garroway, Kukla, Fran and Ollie; and even Studs Terkel; appeared on NBC affiliate WNBQ. But when Chicago became networked to the East Coast in 1949, many of the most popular shows were re-tooled according to standards in the New York offices or were dropped entirely, and the regional style quickly evaporated.

Los Angeles was in a slightly different situation, for the network lines did not arrive until late 1951, and only one or two national "feeds" were possible for some time thereafter.

Partially due to this, Los Angeles was a strongly independent early TV market: it had a full complement of seven stations by January 1949, yet the network affiliates were the last on the air. Network stars such as Milton Berle were enormously popular, of course, even via kinescope, but for many years local programs dominated the ratings. The leading station until the mid-1950s was KTLA, owned by Paramount Pictures, Inc., and run by German émigré Klaus Landsberg, who had helped to telecast the 1936 Olympics before coming to this country later in the decade. Often utilizing "remote" coverage, programming in Los Angeles was surprisingly diverse, reflecting local tastes in a variety of musical shows and featuring any number of sporting events. The 1951 network link-up was complemented by a shift in TV production from New York to Los Angeles, especially after NBC and CBS opened elaborate new facilities there in 1952. The independent stations which had dominated were no longer able to compete with network practices, with the stars and spectacle that national advertising rates could afford.

The same pattern prevailed at almost every local station. Nationally-syndicated shows blossomed on local stations through the 1950s, followed in turn by reruns of network programs which began to be syndicated in the early 1960s. Of course there have been exceptions to the hierarchies of the network-dominated system, and the boom in UHF stations in the 1960s insured a fair amount of locally-produced programming. Some stations have even been able to produce work syndicated outside their own markets, sometimes via regional networks. But as more network programs became available for syndication, the demand for them generally meant fewer opportunities for programming tailored to local tastes. Nearly all of television began to reflect past or present nationally-distributed fare. Even the Prime Time Access Rule, designed to promote local programming by blocking out network shows for an hour each weeknight, resulted in a boom for the syndication industry. Measured against the costs of original production and the possibility of lower return in advertising dollars, the expense of acquiring syndicated offerings still seemed a clear economic advantage. Game shows such as *Jeopardy!* and *Wheel of Fortune*, and slick "infotainment" programming such as *Entertainment Tonight* became television institutions.

The new technologies of the modern television era have complicated these dynamics. Cable television systems

brought a range of new national competitors to existing local broadcast stations, but they also created local access channels. Public access television has in many cases featured informative and alternative programming (often syndicated among stations), as well as a range of often peculiar and amusing fare. But hopes that these channels might produce an enhanced televisual public sphere seem all but exhausted. Many of the politically-oriented and activist users of access television are likely to turn to the Internet as a site for communicating with interest groups that share concerns and extend beyond the local arena.

Satellite technology has similarly both enhanced and threatened local television. The availability of international newsfeeds enabled even local newscasts to compete with what was available from cable networks, and raised opportunities for examining the local ramifications of nonlocal incidents. But satellites have also made available a ready stream of sensationalistic footage and feature stories of little consequence. Conversely, a few local stations have come to enjoy national distribution via cable and satellite: the so-called "superstations," such as TBS, WOR, WGN, and KTLA. But many other local stations have faced being eclipsed by these same delivery systems, especially since satellite programming packages typically include network affiliates from other parts of the country, but none of the local broadcast stations from the audience's "home" area.

As a result of these shifts in technology and programming strategy, the future of local television seems uncertain. Certainly the dollar value of local stations has only escalated, especially in light of the competition for affiliates which resulted from the rise of FOX and other fledgling networks. The extent to which these stations will continue to provide truly local service—whether by audience demand or by regulatory edict—remains to be seen. But whatever the changes in technology, industrial organization, or commercial exigency, it will continue to be important to study the consumption and effects of local television—the medium's role in helping define the very concept of the local.

—Mark Williams

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Godfrey, Donald, and Michael Murray, editors. *Television in America: Pioneering Stations*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1996.

## THE LONE RANGER

U.S. Western

**T**he *Lone Ranger* originated on WXYZ radio in Detroit in 1933. Created by George W. Trendle and written by Fran Striker, the show became so popular it was one of the reasons why several stations linked together to share programming on what became the Mutual Broadcasting System. Aimed primarily at the children's audience, *The*

*Lone Ranger* made a successful transition to ABC television in 1949. Several characteristics were unique and central to the premise of this western, and the initial episode which explained the legend was occasionally repeated so young viewers would understand how the hero gained his name and why he wore a mask. The *Lone Ranger* was one of six Texas

Rangers who were ambushed while chasing a gang of outlaws led by Butch Cavendish. After the battle, one "lone ranger" survived, and was discovered by Tonto, a Native American who recognized the survivor as John Reid, the man who had saved his life earlier. Tonto thereafter referred to the ranger as "kemo sabe," which is translated as "trustworthy scout." After Tonto helped him regain his strength, the ranger vowed to hide his identity from Cavendish and to dedicate his life to "making the West a decent place to live." He and Tonto dug an extra grave to fool Cavendish into believing all six rangers had died, and the ranger donned a mask to protect his identity as the single surviving ranger. Only Tonto knows who he is . . . the Lone Ranger. After he and Tonto saved a silver-white stallion from being gored by a buffalo, they nursed the horse back to health and set him free. The horse followed them and the Lone Ranger decided to adopt him and give him the name Silver. Shortly thereafter, the Lone Ranger and Tonto encountered a man who, it turns out, has been set up to take the blame for murders committed by Cavendish. They established him as caretaker in an abandoned silver mine, where he produced silver bullets for the Lone Ranger. Even after the Cavendish gang was captured, the Lone Ranger decided to keep his identity a secret. Near the end of this and many future episodes, someone asks about the identity of the masked man. The typical response: "I don't rightly know his real name, but I've heard him called... the Lone Ranger."

The Lone Ranger exemplified upstanding character and righteous purpose. He engaged in plenty of action, but his silver bullets were symbols of "justice by law," and were never used to kill. For the children's audience, he represented clean living and noble effort in the cause of fighting crime. His values and style, including his polished manners and speech, were intended to provide a positive role model. The show's standard musical theme was Rossini's "William Tell Overture," accompanied by the Lone Ranger voicing a hearty "Hi-Ho, Silver, away" as he rode off in a cloud of dust. Clayton Moore is most closely associated with the TV role, but John Hart played the Lone Ranger for two seasons. The part of Tonto was played by Jay Silverheels. After the original run of the program from 1949 to 1957, it was regularly shown in reruns until 1961, and later in animated form. *The Lone Ranger* has also been the subject of comic books and movies. Both the original and animated versions of the program have been syndicated. Perhaps no fictional action hero has become as established in our culture through as many media forms as the Lone Ranger. Clayton Moore made personal appearances in costume as the Lone Ranger for many years, until a corporation which had made a feature length film with another actor in the role obtained a court injunction to halt his wearing the mask in public. Moore continued his appearances wearing oversized sun glasses. He later regained the right to appear as the Lone Ranger, mask and all.

—B.R. Smith

#### CAST

*The Lone Ranger* (1949–52, 1954–57) . . Clayton Moore



The Lone Ranger

*The Lone Ranger* (1952–54) . . . . . John Hart  
Tonto . . . . . Jay Silverheels

**PRODUCERS** Sherman Harris, George W. Trendle, Jack Chertok, Harry H. Poppe, Paul Landers

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 221 Episodes

• ABC

September 1949–September 1957	Thursday 7:30-8:00
June 1950–September 1950	Friday 10:00-10:30

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See also Westerns; Wrather, Jack

## THE LORETTA YOUNG SHOW

### U.S. Dramatic Anthology

**T**he *Loretta Young Show*, airing on NBC from 1953 to 1961, was the first and longest-running anthology drama series to feature a female star as host and actress. Film star Loretta Young played a variety of characters in well over half of the episodes, but her glamorous, fashion-show entrances as host became one of the most memorable features of this prime-time series.

Premiering under the title *Letter to Loretta*, the series was renamed *The Loretta Young Show* during the first season. Originally, the series was framed as the dramatization of viewers' letters. Each teleplay dramatized a different letter/story/message. Even after the letter device was dropped, Young still introduced and closed each story. At the beginning of each episode, she entered a living room set (supposedly her living room) through a door. Turning around to close the door and swirling her designer fashions as she walked up to the camera, Young was consciously putting on a mini-fashion show, and the spectacular entrance became Young's, and the series', trademark. Glamour and fashion had been important elements of her film star image, and she considered them central to her television image and appeal. (As an indication of how strongly Young felt about this aspect of the series, she later won a suit against NBC for allowing her then-dated fashion openings to be seen in syndication.)

The successful format and style of *The Loretta Young Show* spurred other similar shows. *Jane Wyman Theater* (1955–58), *The DuPont Show with June Allyson* (1959–61), and *The Barbara Stanwyck Show* (1960–61) were prime-time network series that attempted to capitalize on Young's success. Similar syndicated series included *Ethel Barrymore Theater* (1953), *Crown Theater with Gloria Swanson* (1954), and *Ida Lupino Theater* (1956).

When original sponsor Procter and Gamble snapped up the proposed *Loretta Young* series, Young and her husband, Thomas Lewis, hired Desilu (credited on-screen as DPI) to do the actual filming for the first season's episodes. At a time when television was often broadcast live from New York, the series was filmed in Hollywood, where Desilu was already a major force in telefilm production. The first five seasons of the show were produced by Lewislor Enterprises, a company created by Young and Lewis to produce the series. When Lewislor's five-year contract with NBC was up and Lewis and Young had split personally and professionally, Young formed Toreto Enterprises, which produced the series' last three seasons. Young played a variety of characters, but stories most often centered around her as mother, daughter, wife, or single woman (often a professional) finding romance. Presenting both melodramas and light romantic comedies, the series was designed as and considered to be women's programming. (In fact, NBC reran episodes on its daytime schedule, which was targeted to women.) Young chose stories for their messages, lessons to be learned by characters and audiences. Her introductory remarks always



The Loretta Young Show

framed the stories in specifically didactic terms, and she closed each episode with words of wisdom quoted from the Bible, Shakespeare, and other authoritative sources.

Stories affirmed postwar, middle-class ideas about the home, families, and gender roles. Single working women found love and were transformed. Mothers learned how to be better mothers. Women found true happiness within the domestic/heterosexual sphere of the middle-class home. Yet, characters sometimes had to stand up for their convictions, putting them at odds with the men in their lives. Women demonstrated strength, intelligence, and desire. This was a series that put women front stage and center, especially when Young portrayed the characters. Even when she did not act, themes of women's fiction, such as the play of emotions and the focus on character relationships, were present in the stories. Occasionally, the show explicitly addressed social issues of the day, such as American aid to war-ravaged Korea, the plight of East European refugees, and alcoholism. It stands out as a rare, prime-time network drama series where a woman tells her stories.

Unlike many of the live anthology dramas, big-name guest stars were not a regular feature of *The Loretta Young Show*. The biggest stars appeared as guest hosts during Young's illness in the fall of 1955. Barbara Stanwyck, Joseph

Cotten, Claudette Colbert, and several other film stars hosted the show in Young's absence. Marking the importance of her swirling entrances, none of the guest hosts came through the door to open the show. Over the years, guest actors included Hume Cronyn, Merle Oberon, Hugh O'Brian, and Teresa Wright.

*The Loretta Young Show* won various industry awards, including three Emmys for Young as Best Actress. It also was honored by numerous educational, religious, and civic groups. The series and its star were praised by these groups for promoting family- and community-based ideals in a rapidly changing postwar America.

*The Loretta Young Show* represents a type of television programming that no longer exists. The various anthology dramas of the 1950s disappeared as programs with continuing characters came to exemplify series television in the 1960s. TV series that worked through the image of the glamorous Hollywood star would forever remain a phenomenon of 1950s television, the period in which the Hollywood studio system that had created larger-than-life stars came to a close. The 1950s space for strong female stars also closed because television now had a permanent place in American homes. The industry no longer felt the need to attract specifically female audiences in prime time as a strategy to secure domestic approval for the medium.

—Madelyn Ritrosky-Winslow

#### HOSTESS

Loretta Young

## LOU GRANT

U.S. Drama

Created by executive producers Gene Reynolds with James L. Brooks and Allan Burns, this series drew on the comedy character of the executive producer of TV news in the long-running *Mary Tyler Moore Show*. But it transformed that comic persona into a serious, reflective, committed newsman at a major metropolitan newspaper.

As he developed the concept for the series, Reynolds drew on his experience with researching the TV series *M\*A\*S\*H*. He haunted Toronto newspaper offices to learn first-hand how they operate, how principals interact, procedures for processing news stories, what issues trouble professional newsgatherers, how they thrash out the daily agenda to be distributed to the mass public. From tape-recorded interviews came the seeds of storylines and snatches of dialogue to capture the flavor and cadences of newspeople in action.

The series sought weekly to explore a knotty issue facing media people in contemporary society, focusing on how investigating and reporting those issues impact on the layers of personalities populating a complex newspaper publishing com-

#### SUBSTITUTE HOSTESSES, 1955

Dinah Shore  
Merle Oberon  
Barbara Stanwyk

**PRODUCERS** John London, Ruth Roberts, Bert Granet, Tom Lewis

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 225 Episodes

• NBC

September 1953–June 1958      Sunday 10:00-10:30

October 1958–September 1961      Sunday 10:00-10:30

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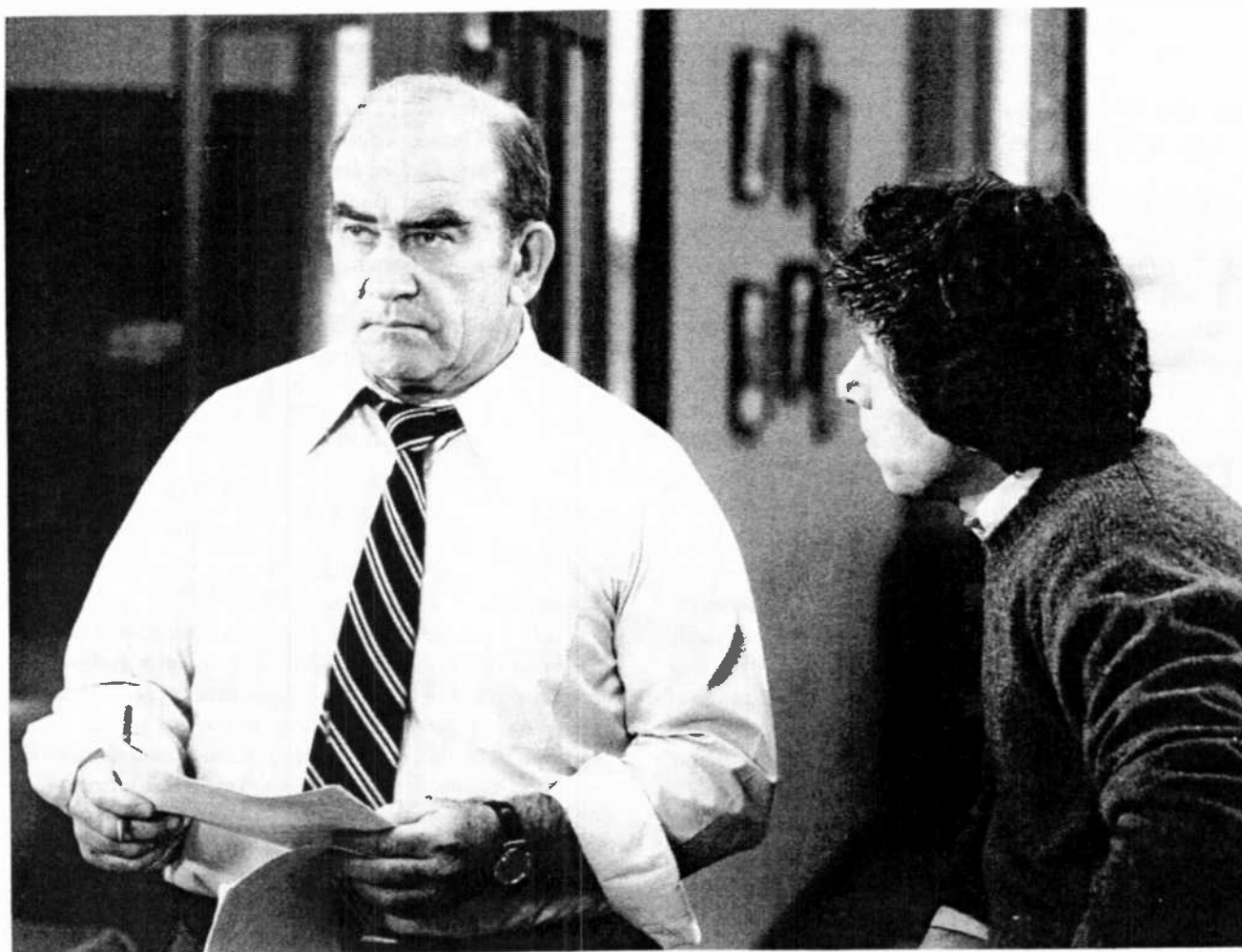
See also Anthology Drama; Loretta Young

pany. The program served as a vehicle for dramatic reflection, analyzing sometimes bold and sometimes tangential conflicts in business practices, government, media, and the professions. Topics treated dramatically included gun control, invasion of privacy, confidential sources, child abuse, Vietnamese refugees, news reporting vs. publishing economics. Mingled with each episode's issue was interplay of personalities, often light-hearted, among featured characters.

Reynolds risked undercutting issue-oriented themes by importing Ed Asner from the long-running comedy about a flaky TV newsroom to act as city editor of a daily newspaper. Asner not only effectively adapted the original comedic character to the serious role of *Lou Grant*, off-screen the actor spoke out increasingly about social and political issues possibly causing some audience disaffection in its final years.

The series (1977–1982) received critical acclaim for exploring complicated challenges involving media and society. It received a Peabody award in 1978, Emmy awards in 1979 and 1980 for outstanding drama series, plus other Emmies for writing and acting during its five years on the





Lou Grant

air. Yet it never ended any season among the top-20 most popular prime-time programs. First scheduled the last hour of Tuesday evenings (10:00 P.M.), in the second and following seasons it was aired on Mondays at that time. It enjoyed strong lead-in shows *M\*A\*S\*H* and *One Day at a Time*, but competing networks scheduled Monday night football (ABC) and theatrical movies (NBC), both at mid-point when *Lou Grant* came on. Scheduling was thus probably a "wash" as a factor; audiences were perhaps deterred more by the substantive issues explored which called for attentive involvement, unlike more passive TV entertainment.

Lou Grant is also significant in the history of MTM Productions as the "bridge" program between comedies such as *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* and later, more complex dramas such as *Hill Street Blues*. Few independent production companies have had such visible success in crossing lines among television genres. The transformation of Asner's character, then, and the focus on serious social issues pointed new directions for the company and, ultimately, for the history of American television.

—James A. Brown

#### CAST

<i>Lou Grant</i> . . . . .	Edward Asner
<i>Charlie Hume</i> . . . . .	Mason Adams
<i>Joe Rossi</i> . . . . .	Robert Walden
<i>Billie Newman McCovey</i> . . . . .	Linda Kelsey
<i>Margaret Pyncheon</i> . . . . .	Nancy Marchand
<i>Art Donovan</i> . . . . .	Jack Bannon
<i>Dennis "Animal" Price</i> . . . . .	Daryl Anderson
<i>National Editor (1977-79)</i> . . . . .	Sidney Clute
<i>National Editor (1979-82)</i> . . . . .	Emilio Delgado
<i>Foreign Editor (1977-80)</i> . . . . .	Laurence Haddon
<i>Financial Editor (1978-79)</i> . . . . .	Gary Pagett
<i>Adam Wilson (1978-82)</i> . . . . .	Allen Williams
<i>Photo Editor (1979-81)</i> . . . . .	Billy Beck
<i>Carla Mardigian (1977)</i> . . . . .	Rebecca Balding
<i>Ted McCovey (1981-82)</i> . . . . .	Cliff Potts
<i>Linda (1981-82)</i> . . . . .	Barbara Jane Edelman
<i>Lance (1981-82)</i> . . . . .	Lance Guest

**PRODUCERS** Allan Burns, James L. Brooks, Gene Reynolds

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 110 Episodes

## • CBS

September 1977–January 1978      Tuesday 10:00–11:00  
 January 1978–September 1982      Monday 10:00–11:00

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See also Asner, Ed; Brooks, James L.; *Mary Tyler Moore Show*; Reynolds, Gene; Tinker, Grant

## LOW POWER TELEVISION

### Television Transmission Technology

Television translators are broadcast devices that receive a distant station's signal from over the air, automatically convert the frequency, and re-transmit the signal locally on a separate channel. Until 1980, the operators of these devices were required solely to rebroadcast the program service of a licensed full service TV station, and were banned from originating all but 60 seconds per hour for fundraising inserts. In 1980 the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) announced that it would accept applications to waive the 60-second cap, so that translators could broadcast original programs—to an unlimited extent—from any suitable source. This liberalization was made permanent in 1982, with the creation of a new broadcast service, low power television, called LPTV.

The name derives from the fact that LPTV stations, like the TV translators that continue to operate, cannot employ transmitter powers in excess of 1,000 watts. This imposes a practical ceiling on the effective radiated power, using a high-gain antenna, of 20 kilowatts or so under ideal conditions. It contrasts with regular, full service TV operations, that are permitted up to 100 kilowatts of effective power (Channels 2 to 6), 316 kilowatts (Channels 7 to 13), or 5,000 kilowatts in the UHF bands (Channels 14 to 69). As of the end of 1995, the FCC had licensed 1,787 LPTV stations, with 1,224 operating at UHF, the remainder at VHF. The total number of LPTVs exceeds the number of licensed full service TV stations in the United States—some 1,180 commercial and 363 non-commercial stations, or 1,543 total.

Prior to the official launch of LPTV services, the FCC had granted waivers to permit origination of programs in several instances, notably for rural educational programming in upstate New York, and for the satellite-fed bush stations in Alaska, where there was no practical alternative for delivering television programming to isolated villages. The first low power television station was constructed in 1981 by John W. Boler in Bemidji, Minnesota. Boler had been a pioneer broadcaster in Fargo, North Dakota, and built the Bemidji facility as a smaller version of a traditional indepen-

dent TV station, with regular evening news, studios, a sales force, and even a mobile van.

LPTV service expanded just as the equipment manufacturers were introducing significant cost and feature improvements for all broadcast components. It became possible for a crew of one to record programs with a camcorder on inexpensive S-VHS cassette and use them to offer a watchable broadcast picture. Satellite services also expanded, giving LPTV operators a choice of program fare from new networks.

Mark J. Banks, a professor at Slippery Rock University in Pennsylvania, performed mail and telephone surveys of low power television stations in 1988, 1990, and 1994. In the most recent survey, his sample of 456 stations yielded completed interviews with only 129, but the results are somewhat informative. 71% per cent of the LPTV stations were commercial, 17% public or educational, 10% religious, and 2% operated on a scrambled, subscription basis. A plurality, 40%, were in rural areas, but almost as many, 37% were urban, with the remainder suburban or a mixture. The largest "group owners" are Alaska Public Broadcasting and Trinity Broadcasting Network. LPTV was designed to favor minority ownership, but only 8% described themselves as minority controlled.

The Mark J. Banks surveys over time indicated reduced dependency on satellite-fed program services, in favor of increased local programming. Stations reporting use of satellite services dropped from 87% in 1988 to 55% in 1994. Conversely, the amount of station time devoted to local programming has grown. The 63% reporting local programming said their most popular categories were, in order sports, news, talk, community events, public affairs, and children's programs. Locally originating stations derive their greatest revenue by far from the sale of local advertising, and total revenue is up, to an average of \$240,000 per station per year.

Low power television has achieved a solid niche, providing new services to rural areas that cannot support full service TV, and to ethnic and religious groupings in large urban areas. The full service TV broadcasters, commercial

and noncommercial, opposed LPTV from its inception, and sooner or later may succeed in eradicating it. The FCC no longer assigns any priority to assuring program delivery to underserved audiences and, as of the end of 1995, the agency had made no provision for LPTV in the future to change over to some form of advanced, digitized TV system.

—Michael Couzens

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See also Microwave

## LUMLEY, JOANNA

### British Actor

Joanna Lumley's lengthy career in television has been marked chiefly by two components—her image as glamorous and refined, and the characters she has played in three popular series, which span three decades. Her work over the years has been varied, encompassing theatre, film, and several major advertising campaigns, as well as television drama, comedy and regular celebrity appearances. Equally, her work has been of widely varying standards, ranging from the flimsy and trite to award-winning performances.

A former model in the "swinging sixties," Lumley landed her first major television role in *The New Avengers* (1976–77), in which she played special agent Purdey, alongside Gareth Hunt (Gambit) and Patrick Macnee (Steed). The show evidently seemed to be more concerned to promote Lumley's legs than her character's crime-fighting skills—not only did her costume consist of a skin-tight trouser suit and kinky high boots, but Purdey's prime weapon was her immobilising karate kick. In spite of this fetishistic fixation, Lumley became most synonymous with the pudding-bowl haircut named after her character, Purdey, and widely imitated by women and girls alike.

Shortly after *The New Avengers* came *Sapphire and Steel* (1979–82), an off-beat science fiction series in which Lumley co-starred with David McCallum. The two played mysterious agents who traveled through time and space, whilst the ethereal Sapphire (Lumley) costumed in a long, floaty dress communed with psychic forces. Although this and the previous show were popular with both children and adults, Lumley claimed she was becoming frustrated with the parts she was playing, primarily as they did not mimic real women.

For the remainder of the 1980s, Lumley was involved in less memorable productions, although she remained in the public eye, as the face for several advertisements, as a regular guest on TV chat shows, and with certain notable film appearances, particularly as headgirl-turned-prostitute in *Shirley Valentine* (1989). However, it was her performance with Ruby Wax (on *The Full Wax*) as a washed-up,

drugged-out actress, that initiated the revival of her career. This performance instantly transformed her from an idealised myth of feminine perfection to a more complex and humorous persona. Shortly after revealing her talent for comedy and self-parody, through a stroke of pertinent casting, Lumley became Patsy Stone, the aging, neurotic "Fash-



Joanna Lumley

Mag-Slag," conceived of by Jennifer Saunders for *Absolutely Fabulous* (1992–96). This casting was central to the success of *Absolutely Fabulous* and to the renaissance of Lumley's career. Lumley gives an immensely entertaining performance, but also, because of her on- and off-screen persona, she creates in Patsy a hilarious and hideous satire around the expectations of glamour and refinement assigned to her. As a character, Patsy has several functions which covered new ground in television culture: she overturned ageist assumptions by opening up a space in television for the representation of women of all ages as humorous; as an "unruly woman" she violated, in a highly entertaining way, the unspoken feminine sanction against making a spectacle of herself; and she confronted and redefined the values of beauty, consumerism and decorum inferred upon women, particularly of a certain age and social class.

Since playing what must surely be her ideal role, and achieving high critical acclaim with several awards, including BAFTAs and an Emmy, Lumley's subsequent work was not nearly so demanding on her talents. She played a down-at-heel aristocrat in the mediocre *A Class Act* and in a documentary-drama, *Girl Friday*, she had to fend for herself on an inhospitable desert island, with emphasis on how she copes without couture clothes, haute cuisine, and cosmetics. Both of these shows revolve around Lumley's conventional image, but neither seeks to recognise the contradictions apparent since *Absolutely Fabulous* in Lumley's persona as the epitome of high class. Whilst there may generally be a lack of recognition of Lumley's specific capabilities as an actor, all her major roles share a common interest in casting her as an independent woman—she is nobody's wife or side-kick. However, it seems ironic that *Absolutely Fabulous*, whilst giving Lumley a new lease of life and promoting her to an international audience, has remained an almost unique forum for her talent as a comedy actor.

—Nicola Foster

**JOANNA LUMLEY.** Born in Srinagar, Kashmir, India, 1 May 1946. Married: 1) Jeremy Lloyd (divorced, 1971); 2) Stephen Barlow, 1986; child: James. Established reputation as a top model before starting career as an actor on both stage and screen; co-star, in *The New Avengers* adventure series, and other shows, notably in *Absolutely Fabulous*. Officer of

the Order of the British Empire. Recipient: British Academy of Film and Television Arts Award, 1993; Emmy Award, 1994. Address: Caroline Renton, 23 Crescent Lane, London SW4 9PT, England.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1973	<i>Coronation Street</i>
1976–77	<i>The New Avengers</i>
1979–82	<i>Sapphire and Steel</i>
1986	<i>Mistral's Daughter</i>
1992	<i>Lovejoy</i>
1992–96	<i>Absolutely Fabulous</i>
1993	<i>Cluedo</i>
1993	<i>Class Act</i>

#### TELEVISION SPECIAL

1994	<i>Girl Friday</i>
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#### FILMS (selection)

*Some Girls Do*, 1968; *On Her Majesty's Secret Service*, 1969; *Tam Lin! The Devil's Widow*, 1970; *Games That Lovers Play*, 1972; *Don't Just Lie There, Say Something*, 1973; *The Satanic Rites of Dracula Count Dracula and His Vampire Bride*, 1973; *The Trail of the Pink Panther*, 1982; *Curse of the Pink Panther*, 1983; *The Glory Boys*, 1984; *Shirley Valentine*, 1989; *James and the Giant Peach*, 1996; *Cold Comfort Farm*, 1996.

#### RECORDINGS

*The Hundred and One Dalmatians*, 1984; *Invitation to the Waltz*, 1985.

#### STAGE

*Don't Just Lie There, Say Something*; *Othello*; *Private Lives*; *Noel and Gertie*; *Blithe Spirit*; *Me Old Cigar*; *Hedda Gabler*.

#### PUBLICATIONS

*Stare Back and Smile* (autobiography). London, and New York: Viking, 1989.  
*Forces Sweethearts*. London: Bloomsbury, 1993.

See also *Absolutely Fabulous*; *Avengers*; *Coronation Street*; Saunders, Jennifer

## LUPINO, IDA

U.S. Actor/Director

**I**da Lupino's career in television plays much like a rerun of her career in the cinema. Originally charting her course in each medium primarily as an actor, she apparently fell into directing as a matter of circumstance. Making her debut on CBS television's *Four Star Playhouse* in December 1953 as a performer, it was not until three years later that Lupino was commissioned to direct an episode

for *Screen Directors Playhouse*, "No. 5 Checked Out," for which she also wrote the script. Eventually, after more frequent invitations to helm episodes from a variety of series, Lupino would, over the course of the next 15 years, establish a reputation as the most active woman director working behind the cameras during this formative period in television's history.

Economic necessity, it would seem, played as much a part as creative opportunities in Lupino's decision to work almost exclusively within television for the remainder of her career as director. By the mid-1950s Lupino had been offered fewer leading roles, and her activities as a film director had gradually diminished. Although she would continue to act in even more television episodes than she would direct (over 50), her unique position in the fledgling industry rested more upon her reputation as a filmmaker than as a leading lady, in particular upon the critical and commercial success of her most widely seen cinematic work, *The Hitch-Hiker*.

In fact, after 1960 Lupino earned the nickname, "the female Hitch" (as in Hitchcock) for her specialty work in action-oriented television genres that employed her talent at creating suspense. For example, Richard Boone, the star of the popular *Have Gun, Will Travel* series, of which Lupino eventually directed four episodes, had admired her hard-boiled style and offered her a script by Harry Julian Fink, famed for his graphic descriptions of physical violence. From that point on, although she would direct many sitcoms (e.g. *The Donna Reed Show*, *The Ghost and Mrs. Muir*) and various dramatic programs (e.g. *Mr. Novak*, *Dr. Kildare*), Lupino would be commissioned primarily for westerns (*The Rifleman*, *The Virginian*, *Dundee and the Culhane*, *Daniel Boone*, *Tate*, *Dick Powell's Zane Grey Theater*), crime dramas (*The Untouchables*, *The Fugitive*, *77 Sunset Strip*), and mysteries (*The Twilight Zone*, *Kraft Suspense Theatre*, *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*). Perhaps the only series that Lupino genuinely shaped as director is *Thriller*, a mystery anthology hosted by Boris Karloff, for which she directed at least ten episodes in its first two seasons. At times lamenting publicly that she had become so typecast as an action director that she was overlooked for love stories, Lupino otherwise exploited her anomalous stature as a woman specializing in shoot-outs and car chases, at one point turning down Hitchcock's offer of a lead role in one episode of his series in order to replace him as its director.

This figure of Lupino as a "female Hitch," whose nomenclature suggests the freedom to call her own shots and her status as auteur, is rather misleading within the context of the U.S. television industry, whose creative efforts are shaped and controlled almost exclusively by producers rather than by directors. Thus, although she directed episodes of *The Untouchables* and *The Fugitive*, whose intricate weekly subplots and relatively large guest casts required her creative input, her influence on formulaic series such as *Gilligan's Island* or *Bewitched* was minimal. For this reason, in contrast to her body of cinematic works, most of which she also co-wrote or co-produced, Lupino's scattered work in television resists an auteurist approach because of the very nature of the industry. More of a freelance substitute than a series regular, Lupino never pursued long-term contracts with any particular producer or network. Such job security generally was reserved for her male colleagues.

On the other hand, Lupino's continued interest in acting may have been equally responsible for her irregular



Ida Lupino

directing schedule; it undoubtedly strengthened her reputation as a director who worked well with fellow actors. Although praised for her abilities to link scenes smoothly, to cooperate with the crew, and to come in on time and under budget, Lupino's most sought-after capacities were her skill at handling players of both sexes and her sensitivity to the problems and needs of her cast, qualities derived from her own training and experience as an actress.

Although Lupino was one of the first woman directors during the early years of American television production, it is odd that she is rarely referenced as a "groundbreaker" for other women entering the industry. Unlike Lucille Ball, Loretta Young, Joan Davis, and other women who were involved as producers in early television programming, Lupino had little creative control over the programs she directed. To contextualize Lupino's role as a director in relation to other women working contemporaneously as producers is not meant to suggest, however, that a critical analysis of Lupino's work is irrelevant to television history and feminist inquiry. What remains significant about Lupino as a "woman director" was her unique ability to succeed in an occupation which was (and still is) dominantly coded as "masculine." Constructed as an outsider and an anomaly, Lupino as a TV director was more often than not represented merely as a woman, her directorial skill either de-emphasized or ignored altogether in the popular press.

After a decade of professional activity spanning all three networks, a variety of genres, and an irregular schedule, Lupino's commitment to directing, like acting, could not have been said to be total. Working at a period in her life in which her desire for a career chafed at her equally strong desire to raise and care for her family, Lupino suffered the dilemma of the average woman of the time. She was forced to negotiate a notion of "work" dictating that her choices should threaten neither the spheres over which patriarchy dominated, such as the television industry, nor her identity as a wife and mother, whose "natural" place belonged in the home rather than in the studio. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that the nickname bestowed upon Lupino by her production crews—"Mother"—worked to contain her in the dominant role for women at the time.

—Mary C. Kearny and James Moran

**IDA LUPINO.** Born in London, England, 4 February 1918. Educated at the Clarence House School, Sussex; Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts, London. Married: 1) Louis Hayward, 1938 (divorced, 1945); 2) Collier Young, 1948 (divorced, 1951); 3) Howard Duff, 1951 (divorced, 1972); child: Bridget Mirella. Leading film role debut, 1932; actor in numerous British films; star in American films, from 1933; under contract with Paramount, 1933–37; under contract to Warner Brothers, 1940–47; co-founded Emerald Productions, 1949; producer, director, and co-scriptwriter, *Not Wanted*, 1949; director and co-writer, *Never Fear*, 1950; co-owner, Filmakers, 1950–80; television director, from 1953; worked exclusively in television, from 1957–66. Recipient: New York Film Critics Award, 1943. Died in Burbank, California, 3 August 1995.

#### TELEVISION SERIES (selection; guest director)

1953–62	<i>General Electric Theater</i>
1955–56	<i>The Screen Directors Playhouse</i>
1955–65	<i>Alfred Hitchcock Presents</i>
1956–59	<i>On Trial</i>
1957–58	<i>Mr. Adams and Eve (also star)</i>
1957–63	<i>Have Gun, Will Travel</i>
1958–63	<i>The Rifleman</i>
1958–64	<i>77 Sunset Strip</i>
1958–66	<i>The Donna Reed Show</i>
1959–61	<i>Manhunt</i>
1959–63	<i>The Untouchables</i>
1959–65	<i>The Twilight Zone</i>
1960	<i>Tate</i>
1960–61	<i>Dante's Inferno</i> ("Teenage Idol"; pilot)
1960–61	<i>Hong Kong</i>
1960–62	<i>Thriller</i>
1961–63	<i>The Dick Powell Show</i>
1961–66	<i>Dr. Kildare</i>
1962–63	<i>Sam Benedict</i>
1962–71	<i>The Virginian</i>
1963–64	<i>The Breaking Point</i>
1963–65	<i>Mr. Novak</i>

1963–65	<i>The Kraft Suspense Theatre</i>
1963–67	<i>The Fugitive</i>
1963–67	<i>Bob Hope Presents the Chrysler Theater</i>
1964–65	<i>The Rogues</i>
1964–67	<i>Gilligan's Island</i>
1964–70	<i>Daniel Boone</i>
1964–72	<i>Bewitched</i>
1965–67	<i>Please Don't Eat the Daisies</i>
1965–69	<i>The Big Valley</i>
1967	<i>Dundee and the Culhane</i>
1968–70	<i>The Ghost and Mrs. Muir</i>
1969–71	<i>The Bill Cosby Show</i>

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

1971	<i>Women in Chains</i>
1972	<i>Strangers in 7A</i>
1972	<i>Female Artillery</i>
1973	<i>I Love a Mystery</i>
1973	<i>The Letters</i>

#### FILMS

*Her First Affaire*, 1932; *Money for Speed*, 1933; *High Finance*, 1933; *The Ghost Camera*, 1933; *I Lived With You*, 1933; *Prince of Arcadia*, 1933; *Search for Beauty*, 1934; *Come On, Marines!*, 1934; *Ready for Love*, 1934; *Paris in Spring*, 1935; *Smart Girl*, 1935; *Peter Ibbetson*, 1935; *Anything Goes*, 1936; *One Rainy Afternoon*, 1936; *Yours for the Asking*, 1936; *The Gay Desparado*, 1936; *Sea Devils*, 1937; *Let's Get Married*, 1937; *Artists and Models*, 1937; *Fight for Your Lady*, 1937; *The Lone Wolf Spy Hunt*, 1939; *The Lady and the Mob*, 1939; *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*, 1939; *The Light That Failed*, 1939; *They Drive By Night*, 1940; *High Sierra*, 1941; *The Sea Wolf*, 1941; *Out of the Fog*, 1941; *Ladies in Retirement*, 1941; *Moontide*, 1942; *Life Begins at 8:30*, 1942; *The Hard Way*, 1943; *Forever and a Day*, 1943; *Thank Your Lucky Stars*, 1943; *In Our Time*, 1944; *Hollywood Canteen*, 1944; *Pillow to Post*, 1945; *Devotion*, 1946; *The Man I Love*, 1946; *Deep Valley*, 1947; *Escape Me Never*, 1947; *Road House*, 1948; *Lust for Gold*, 1949; *Not Wanted* (directed, produced, co-wrote), 1949; *Woman in Hiding*, 1949; *Outrage* (director, co-producer, co-screenwriter), 1950; *On Dangerous Ground*, 1951; *Hard, Fast, and Beautiful* (director and co-producer), 1951; *Beware, My Lovely*, 1952; *Jennifer*, 1953; *Private Hell 36*, 1954; *Women's Prison*, 1955; *The Big Knife*, 1955; *While the City Sleeps*, 1956; *Strange Intruder*, 1956; *The Trouble with Angels* (director and co-producer); *Backtrack*, 1969; *Junior Bonner*, 1972; *Deadhead Miles*, 1972; *The Devil's Rain*, 1975; *The Food of the Gods*, 1976; *My Boys Are Good Boys*, 1978.

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## LYNDHURST, NICHOLAS

## British Actor

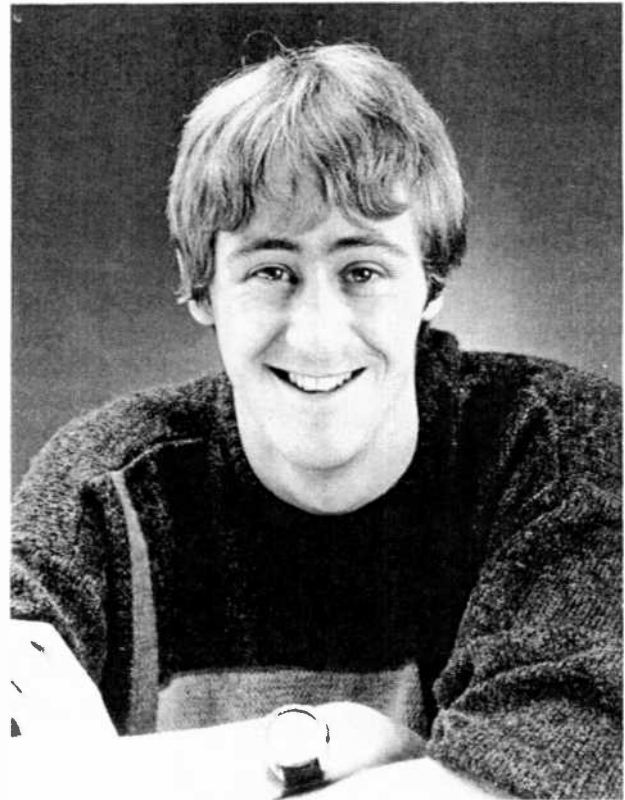
Nicholas Lyndhurst emerged as a prominent star among a new generation of British situation comedy performers in the early 1980s, though he had by then already amassed a considerable number of years' television experience, having started out as a child actor.

Lyndhurst made the transition from child performer to adult star in stages, beginning as an actor in a string of children's dramas and adventures such as *The Tomorrow People*, *Heidi* and *The Prince and the Pauper* (in which he played the dual leading role). He also tried his hand as a presenter for children's television, co-hosting for a time the series *Our Show* on Saturday mornings (with Susan Tully and others). In 1978, his selection for the part of Ronnie Barker's son in *Going Straight*, the sequel to the classic prison comedy *Porridge*, marked the start of his emergence as an adult performer, a process that continued with his casting as Wendy Craig's teenage son Adam in the long-running situation comedy *Butterflies*.

The final stage in the transition to a mature performer came in the hugely successful comedy series *Only Fools and Horses*, in which Lyndhurst was entrusted with the role of Rodney, the hapless and much put-upon younger brother of David Jason's immortal "Del Boy" Trotter. As Rodney, a part he played for some ten years, Lyndhurst was endearingly naive, sensitive, and idealistic—the perfect foil to Jason's streetwise would-be millionaire. Frequently rendered speechless at his brother's tricks and deceptions and all too often living up to the "plonker" tag that his exasperated sibling bestowed upon him, Rodney was widely praised as a beautifully realised comic creation.

Toward the end of the long run of *Only Fools and Horses*, Rodney was allowed to get married (to the long-suffering trainee banker Cassandra) and much humour was devised from the inevitable difficulties he experienced as a new husband. Subsequent situation comedies that were constructed around Lyndhurst further developed the theme of not dissimilar Rodney-style characters, bemused and indignant though not necessarily quite as dimwitted as Rodney, trying to cope with the demands of wives or girlfriends. In *The Two of Us*, for instance, Lyndhurst's character, com-

puter programmer Ashley, wrestled with independent girlfriend Elaine's reluctance to get married, despite his entreaties, and with her contrasting views on just about any subject he cared to raise. In *Goodnight Sweetheart*, meanwhile, his character Gary Sparrow agonized over whether he should stay true to his brash and pushy wife in their modern London flat or whether he should desert her for the barmaid with whom he had formed a relationship while exploring



Nicholas Lyndhurst

Photo courtesy of Nicholas Lyndhurst



wartime London after finding a way to travel some 50 years back through time.

Memories of the highly successful *Only Fools and Horses* series, kept fresh through regular repeats of old episodes, have perhaps dominated perceptions of the sort of roles Lyndhurst is capable of playing. Typecast though he may have been, he remains, however, unsurpassed in his portrayal of the henpecked husband or lover, well-meaning but frequently nonplused by the tricks that fate plays on him.

—David Pickering

NICHOLAS LYNDHURST. Born in Emsworth, Hampshire, England, 20 April 1961. Attended Corona Stage Academy, 1980. Began career as television performer, from a young age; comedy performer as Rodney Trotter in *Only Fools and Horses*; star, several situation comedy series. Address: Chatto and Linnit, Prince of Wales Theatre, Coventry Street, London W1V 7FE, England.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1978	<i>Going Straight</i>
1978–82	<i>Butterflies</i>
1981–91	<i>Only Fools and Horses</i>
1986–90	<i>The Two of Us</i>
1990	<i>The Piglet Files</i>
1993–	<i>Goodnight Sweetheart</i>

#### FILMS

*Endless Night*, 1971; *Bequest to the Nation*, 1973; *Bullshot*, 1983; *Gun Bus*.

#### STAGE (selection)

*The Foreigner*.

#### FURTHER READING

Ewbank, Tim. "The Name is Lyndhurst...Nicholas Lyndhurst." *TV Times* (London), 1 September 1990.

# M

## M\*A\*S\*H

U.S. Comedy

**M**\*A\*S\*H, based on the movie of the same name (Director Robert Altman, 1970), aired on CBS from 1972 to 1983 and has become one of the most celebrated television series in the history of the medium. During its initial season, however, *M\*A\*S\*H* was in danger of being canceled due to low ratings. The show reached the top ten program list the following year, and never fell out of the top twenty rated programs during the remainder of its run. The final episode of *M\*A\*S\*H* was a two-and-one-half hour special that attracted the largest audience to ever view a single television program episode.

In many ways the series set the standard for some of the best programming to appear later. The show used multiple plotlines in half-hour episodes, usually with at least one story in the comedic vein and another dramatic. Some later versions of this form, e.g. *Hooperman* (ABC 1987–1989) and *The Days and Nights of Molly Dodd* (NBC 1987–1989), would be known as the dramady, half-hour programs incorporating elements of both comedy and drama. Other comedies would forego the more serious aspects of *M\*A\*S\*H*, but maintain its focus on character and motive. And some dramatic programming, such as *St. Elsewhere* and *Moonlighting*, would draw on the mixture of elements to distinguish themselves from more conventional television.

*M\*A\*S\*H* was set in South Korea, near Seoul, during the Korean War. The series focused on the group of doctors and nurses whose job was to heal the wounded who arrived at this "Mobile Army Surgical Hospital" by helicopter, ambulance or bus. The hospital compound was isolated from the rest of the world. One road ran through the camp; a mountain blocked one perimeter and a minefield the other. Here the wounded were patched up and sent home—or back to the front. Here, too, the loyal audience came to know and respond to an exceptional ensemble cast of characters.

The original cast assumed roles created in Altman's movie. The protagonists were Dr. Benjamin Franklin "Hawkeye" Pierce (Alan Alda) and Dr. "Trapper" John McIntyre (Wayne Rogers). Pierce and McIntyre were excellent surgeons who preferred to chase female nurses and drink homemade gin to operating and who had little, if any use for military discipline or authority. As a result, they often ran afoul of two other medical officers, staunch military types, Dr. Frank Burns (Larry Linville) and Senior Nurse, Lieutenant Margaret "Hot Lips" Houlihan (Loretta Swit).

The camp commander, Lt. Col. Henry Blake (McLean Stevenson), was a genial bumbler whose energies were often directed toward preventing Burns and Houlihan from court martialing Pierce and McIntyre. The camp was actually run by Corporal Walter "Radar" O'Reilly (Gary Burghoff), the company clerk who could spontaneously finish Blake's unspoken sentences and hear incoming helicopters before they were audible to other human ears. Other regulars were Corporal Max Klinger (Jamie Farr) who, in the early seasons, usually dressed in women's clothing in an ongoing attempt to secure a medical (mental) discharge, and Father Francis Mulcahy (William Christopher), the kindly camp priest who looked out for an orphanage.

In the course of its eleven years the series experienced many cast changes. McIntyre was "discharged" after the 1974–75 season because of a contract dispute between the producers and Rogers. He was replaced by Dr. B.J. Hunnicutt (Mike Farrell), a clean-cut family man quite different from Pierce's lecherous doctor. Frank Burns was given a psychiatric discharge in the beginning of the 1977–78 season and was replaced by Dr. Charles Emerson Winchester (David Ogden Stiers), a Boston blueblood who disdained the condition of the camp and tent mates Pierce and Hunnicutt. O'Reilly's departure at the beginning of the 1979–80 season was explained by the death of his fictional uncle, and Klinger took over the company clerk position.

Perhaps the most significant change for the group occurred with the leave-taking of Henry Blake. His exit was written into the series in tragic fashion. As his plane was flying home over the Sea of Japan it was shot down and the character killed. Despite the "realism" of this narrative development, public sentiment toward the event was so negative that the producers promised never to have another character depart the same way. Colonel Sherman Potter (Harry Morgan), a doctor with a regular Army experience in the cavalry, replaced Blake as camp commander and became more both more complex and more involved with the other characters than Blake had been.

Though the series was set in Korea, *M\*A\*S\*H*, both the movie and the series, was initially developed as a critique of the Vietnam War. As that war dragged toward conclusion, however, the series focused more on characters than situations—a major development for situation comedy. Characters were given room to learn from their mistakes, to adapt



M\*A\*S\*H  
(first season)

and change. Houlihan became less the rigid military nurse and more a friend to both her subordinates and the doctors. Pierce changed from a gin-guzzling skirt chaser to a more "enlightened" male who cares about women and their issues, a reflection of Alda himself. O'Reilly outgrew his youthful innocence, and Klinger gave up his skirts and wedding dresses to assume more authority. This focus on character rather than character type set *M\*A\*S\*H* apart from other comedies of the day and the style of the show departed from the norm in many other ways as well, both in terms of its style and its mode of production.

While most other contemporary sitcoms took place indoors and were largely produced on videotape in front of a live audience, *M\*A\*S\*H* was shot entirely on film on location in Southern California. Outdoor shooting at times presented problems. While shooting the final episode, for example, forest fires destroyed the set, causing a delay in filming. The series also made innovative uses of the laugh track. In early seasons, the laugh track was employed during the entire episode. As the series developed, the laugh track was removed from scenes that occurred in the operating room. In a few episodes, the laugh track was removed entirely, another departure from sitcom conventions.

The most striking technical aspect of the series is found in its aggressively cinematic visual style. Instead of relying on straight cuts and short takes episodes often used long shots with people and vehicles moving between the characters and the camera. Tracking shots moved with action, and changed direction when the story was "handed off" from one group of characters to another. These and other camera



M\*A\*S\*H  
(final season)

movements, wedded to complex editing techniques, enabled the series to explore character psychology in powerful ways, and to assert the preeminence of the ensemble over any single individual. In this way *M\*A\*S\*H* seemed to be asserting the central fact of war, that individual human beings are caught in the tangled mesh of other lives and there must struggle to retain some sense of humanity and compassion. This approach was grounded in Altman's film style and enabled *M\*A\*S\*H* to manipulate its multiple story lines and its mixture of comedy and drama with techniques that matched the complex, absurd tragedy of war itself.

*M\*A\*S\*H* was one of the most innovative sitcoms of the 1970s and 1980s. Its stylistic flair and narrative mix drew critical acclaim, while the solid writing and vitally drawn characters helped the series maintain high ratings. The show also made stars of its performers, none more so than Alda, who went on to a successful career in film. The popularity of *M\*A\*S\*H* was quite evident in the 1978-79 season. CBS aired new episodes during primetime on Monday and programmed reruns of the series in the daytime and on Thursday late night, giving the show a remarkable seven appearances on a single network in a five day period. The series produced one unsuccessful spin-off, *AfterM\*A\*S\*H*, which aired from 1983-84. The true popularity of *M\*A\*S\*H* can still be seen, for the series is one of the most widely syndicated series throughout the world. Despite the historical setting, the characters and issues in this series remain fresh, funny and compelling in ways that continue to stand as excellent television.

—Jeff Shires

## CAST

*Capt. Benjamin Franklin Pierce (Hawkeye)* . . . Alan Alda  
*Capt. John McIntyre (Trapper John)*  
 (1972–75) . . . . . Wayne Rogers  
*Maj. Margaret Houlihan (Hot Lips)* . . . . Loretta Swit  
*Maj. Frank Burns* (1972–77) . . . . . Larry Linville  
*Cpl. Walter O'Reilly (Radar)* (1972–79) . . Gary Burghoff  
*Lt. Col. Henry Blake* (1972–75) . . . . . McLean Stevenson  
*Father John Mulcahy* (pilot only) . . . . . George Morgan  
*Father Francis Mulcahy* . . . . . William Christopher  
*Dr. Sydney Friedman* . . . . . Alan Arbus  
*Cpl. Maxwell Klinger* (1973–83) . . . . . Jamie Farr  
*Col. Sherman Potter* (1975–83) . . . . . Harry Morgan  
*Capt. B.J. Hunnicut* (1975–83) . . . . . Mike Farrell  
*Maj. Charles Emerson Winchester*  
 (1977–83) . . . . . David Ogden Stiers  
*Lt. Maggie Dish* (1972) . . . . . Karen Philipp  
*Spearchucker Jones* (1972) . . . . . Timothy Brown  
*Ho-John* (1972) . . . . . Patrick Adiarte  
*Ugly John* (1972–73) . . . . . John Orchard  
*Lt. Leslie Scorch* (1972–73) . . . . . Linda Meiklejohn  
*Gen. Brandon Clayton* (1972–73) . . . . . Herb Voland  
*Lt. Ginger Ballis* (1972–74) . . . . . Odessa Cleveland  
*Nurse Margie Cutler* (1972–73) . . . . . Marcia Strassman  
*Nurse Louise Anderson* (1973) . . . . . Kelly Jean Peters  
*Lt. Nancy Griffin* (1973) . . . . . Lynette Mettey  
*Various Nurses* (1973–77) . . . . . Bobbie Mitchell  
*Gen. Mitchell* (1973–74) . . . . . Robert F. Simon  
*Nurse Kellye* (1974–83) . . . . . Kellye Nakahara  
*Various Nurses* (1974–78) . . . . . Patricia Stevens  
*Various Nurses* (1976–83) . . . . . Judy Farrell  
*Igor* (1976–83) . . . . . Jeff Maxwell  
*Nurse Bigelow* (1977–79) . . . . . Enid Kent  
*Sgt. Zale* (1977–79) . . . . . Johnny Haymer  
*Various Nurses* (1978–83) . . . . . Jan Jordan  
*Various Nurses* (1979–83) . . . . . Gwen Farrell  
*Various Nurses* (1979–81) . . . . . Connie Izay  
*Various Nurses* (1979–80) . . . . . Jennifer Davis  
*Various Nurses* (1980–83) . . . . . Shari Sabo  
*Sgt. Luther Rizzo* (1981–83) . . . . . G. W. Bailey  
*Roy* (1981–83) . . . . . Roy Goldman  
*Soon-Lee* (1983) . . . . . Rosalind Chao  
*Various Nurses* (1981–83) . . . . . Joann Thompson  
*Various Nurses* (1992–83) . . . . . Deborah Harmon

**PRODUCERS** Larry Gelbart, Gene Reynolds, Burt Metcalf, John Rappaport, Allan Katz, Don Reo, Jim Mulligan, Thad Mumford, Dan Wilcox, Dennis Koenig

## PROGRAMMING HISTORY 251 Episodes

## • CBS

September 1972–September 1973	Sunday 8:00–8:30
September 1973–September 1974	Saturday 8:30–9:00
September 1974–September 1975	Tuesday 8:30–9:00
September 1975–November 1975	Friday 8:30–9:00
December 1975–January 1978	Tuesday 9:00–9:30
January 1978–September 1983	Monday 9:00–9:30

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See also Alda, Alan; Comedy, Workplace; Gelbart, Larry; Vietnam on Television; War on Television; Workplace Programs

## FRANK N. MAGID ASSOCIATES

Though little known by the public at large, Frank N. Magid Associates is one of the most successful and influential television and entertainment consulting companies in existence. Founded in 1957 by a young social psychologist, the company has grown to over 300 employees and serves clients around the world. The first broadcasting client was television station WMT (now KGAN) in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The company is still headquartered in neighboring Marion, Iowa, but also has offices in Los Angeles, London, and Kuala Lumpur.

Magid Associates emphasizes custom research on audience and client attitudes and behavior, and this specifically tailored work is designed to answer questions about business strategy. For local television, the company operates in considerably more than the top 100 markets in the United States. In each market it provides consulting to one television station. It also provides various services for each of the U.S. networks and many studios and syndicators. Magid's services have been extended to clients elsewhere in the entertainment industries, such as record companies and movie producers, and the company contracts with any other businesses desiring marketing or survey research. It is increasingly employed by international clients in television and other media.

A significant part of Magid operations, indeed the work for which they are most well known, is consulting with the news departments of local television stations. The company became the leading news consultant of the 1970s and growing controversy over its influence. Magid is often credited—or blamed—for design of the "Action News" format, and the sameness of local news broadcasts from station to station and city to city is seen as a result of their advice and that of similar news consulting firms. This sameness is produced by the repetition of news presentation techniques. The formulas include the use of co-anchors, a reliance on short news stories with time for chatting and expressing emotional reactions between items, an emphasis on graphics and live shots irrespective of their contribution to the news story, special attention to the looks and clothes of the news presenters, and the use of lighter stories and positive news in a mix with sensational crime and accident stories.

On the other hand, Magid does consistently emphasize the importance of local news. They claim that their client stations win more journalism awards than their competitors and promote the generalization that stations that lead their markets in news usually also lead in overall ratings. This perspective provides a rationale for localism in a business, network TV, that often ignores local issues. Certainly the news presentation styles that Magid Associates advise have attracted

an audience and been successful for television as a business. And from the financial perspective it is also important that local news broadcasts include as many or more minutes of local advertising time as any other programming activity. The news programs are a major source of direct income, making the profitability of the local news one of the most important factors in the business success of a television station.

A typical news consulting operation involves a meeting between a team of consultants, researchers, and the management of a television station. The purpose of this meeting is to identify the concerns of the local managers. The consultants' primary research method is telephone surveying, sometimes with people who have agreed ahead of time to watch the newscast in question and compare it with the newscast they regularly watch. They may also mail video tapes to selected interviewees or use focus groups for trial broadcasts. The newscast in question is subjected to expert critique and compared to the competitors' newscasts, national trends, and leading newscasts in other markets. Finally the consultants offer advice on anything from personnel hiring and firing, through story selection and news script writing, to set design, graphics, promotions, lighting, camera angles, on-camera demeanor, clothes, make-up, and hair style.

Using similar research techniques, which emphasize data gathered from audience members asked to make evaluative comparisons, Magid Associates consult on any aspect of television station operations of concern to the client, on program evaluations or on marketing research. The basic rationale of Magid's consulting is that television stations and other entertainment businesses will be more successful if they attract and hold a sizeable audience; that the best way to do this is to give the audience what it finds attractive; and finally, that since audience members are not often articulate about what they want, researchers and expert consultants are needed to identify what the audience will find attractive.

—Eric Rothenbuhler

### FURTHER READING

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See also Market; News, Local and Regional

## MAGNUM, P.I.

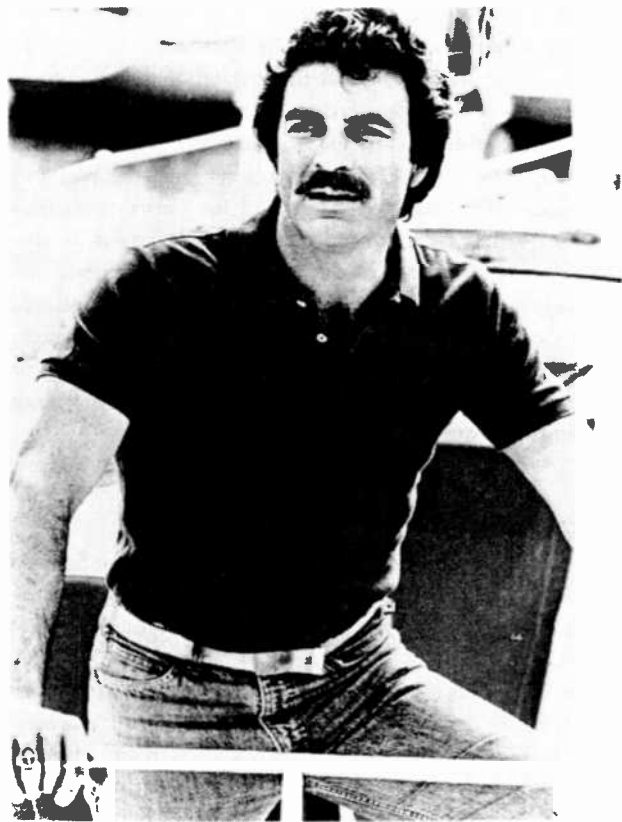
### U.S. Detective Program

A permutation of the hard-boiled detective genre, *Magnum, P.I.* aired on the CBS network from 1980 through 1988. Initially, the network had the series developed to make use of the extensive production facilities built during the 1970s in Hawaii for the successful police procedural, *Hawaii Five-O*, and intended the program to reflect a style and character suited to Hawaiian glamour. For the first five years the series was broadcast, it ranked in the top twenty shows for each year.

The series was set in the contemporary milieu of 1980s Hawaii, a melting pot of ethnic and social groups. Thomas Magnum, played by Tom Selleck, was a former Naval Intelligence officer making his way as a private investigator in the civilian crossroads between Eastern and Western cultures. In charge of the security for the estate of the never-seen author Robin Masters, Magnum lived a relatively carefree life on the property. A friendly antagonism and respect existed between Magnum and Jonathan Higgins III (John Hillerman), Masters' overseer of the estate. Though both men came from military backgrounds, Magnum's free-wheeling style often clashed with Higgins' more mannered British discipline. In addition, two of Magnum's former military buddies rounded out the regular cast. T.C., or Theodore Calvin (Roger Mosely), operated and owned a helicopter charter company, a service which came in handy for many of Magnum's cases. Rick Wright (Larry Manetti), a shady nightclub owner, often provided Magnum with important information through his links to the criminal element lurking below the vibrant tropical colors of the Hawaiian paradise.

Though originally dominated by an episodic narrative structure, *Magnum, P.I.* moved far beyond the simple demands of stock characters solving the crime of the week. Without using the open-ended strategy developed by the prime-time soap opera in the 1980s, the series nevertheless created complex characterizations by building a cumulative text. Discussion of events from previous episodes would continually pop up, constructing memory as an integral element of the series franchise. While past actions might not have an immediate impact on any individual weekly narrative, the overall effect was to expand the range of traits which characters might invoke in any given situation. For the regular viewer of the series, the cumulative strategy offered a richness of narrative, moving beyond the simpler "who-done-it" of the hard-boiled detective series that populated American television in the 1960s and 1970s.

Part of the success of *Magnum, P.I.* stemmed from the combination of familiar hard-boiled action and exotic locale. Just as important perhaps, the series was one of the first to regularly explore the impact of the Vietnam War on the American cultural psyche. Many of the most memorable episodes dealt with contemporary incidents triggered by memories and relationships growing out of Magnum's past



Magnum, P.I.

war experiences. Indeed, the private investigator's abhorrence of discipline and cynical attitude toward authority seem to stem from the general mistrust of government and military bureaucracies that came to permeate American society in the early 1970s.

On one level, Magnum became the personification of an American society that had yet to deal effectively with the fallout from the Vietnam War. By the end of the 1980s, the struggle to deal with the unresolved issues of the war erupted full force into American popular culture. Before Magnum began to deal with his psychological scars in the context of the 1980s, network programmers apparently believed that any discussion of the war in a series would prompt viewers to tune it out. With the exception of Norman Lear's *All in the Family* in the early 1970s, entertainment network programming acted, for the most part, as if the war had never occurred. However, *Magnum, P.I.*'s success proved programmers wrong. Certainly, the series' success opened the door for other dramatic series which were able to examine the Vietnam War in its historical setting. Series such as *Tour of Duty* and *China Beach*, though not as popular, did point out that room existed in mainstream broadcasting for discussions of the emotional and political wounds that had yet

to heal. As Thomas Magnum began to deal with his past, so too did the American public.

Critics of the show often point out, however, that in dealing with this past, the series recuperated and reconstructed America's involvement in Vietnam. While some aspects of the show seem harshly critical of that entanglement, many episodes justify and rationalize the conflict and the American role. As a result, *Magnum, P.I.* is shot through with conflicting and often contradictory perspectives and any "final" interpretation must take the entire series into account, rather than concentrate on single events or episodes. The construction of this long-running narrative, riddled as it is with continuously developing characterizations, ideological instability, and multi-layered generic resonance, illustrates many of commercial U.S. television's capacity for narrative complexity, as well as some of its most vexing problems and questions.

—Rodney A. Buxton

#### CAST

*Thomas Sullivan Magnum* . . . . . Tom Selleck  
*Jonathan Quayle Higgins III* . . . . . John Hillerman  
*T.C. (Theodore Calvin)* . . . . . Roger E. Mosley  
*Rick (Orville Wright)* . . . . . Larry Manetti  
*Robin Masters* (voice only) 1981–85 . . . . Orson Welles  
*Mac Reynolds* . . . . . Jeff MacKay  
*Lt. Tanaka* . . . . . Kwan Hi Lim  
*Lt. Maggie Poole* . . . . . Jean Bruce Scott  
*Agatha Chumley* . . . . . Gillian Dobb  
*Asst. District Attorney, Carol Baldwin* . . Kathleen Lloyd  
*Francis Hofstetler ("Ice Pick")* . . . . . Elisha Cook, Jr.

**PRODUCERS** Donald P. Bellisario, Glen Larson, Joel Rogosin, John G. Stephens, Douglas Benton, J. Rickley Dumm, Rick Weaver, Andrew Schneider, Douglas Green,

Reuben Leder, Chas. Floyd Johnson, Nick Thiel, Chris Abbot

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 150 Episodes; 6 2-Hour Episodes

#### • CBS

December 1980–August 1981	Thursday 9:00-10:00
September 1981–April 1986	Thursday 8:00-9:00
April 1986–June 1986	Saturday 10:00-11:00
June 1986–August 1986	Tuesday 9:00-10:00
September 1986–May 1987	Wednesday 9:00-10:00
July 1987–February 1988	Wednesday 9:00-10:00
June 1988–September 1988	Monday 10:00-11:00

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Meyers, Richard. *TV Detectives*. San Diego: A.S. Barnes, 1981.

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See also Action Adventure Shows; Detective Programs; Vietnam on Television

## MALONE, JOHN C.

### U.S. Television Executive

**U**.S. Telecommunication Executive/Entrepreneur John C. Malone is the Chief Executive Officer of TeleCommunications, Inc. (TCI), the largest operator of cable systems in the United States. Malone has overseen TCI's phenomenal growth from the time of his arrival at the company in 1972, and in the process has come to be regarded as among the most powerful people in the television industry. He has been praised by many for his outstanding business acumen and his technological foresight, but at the same time, he has also acquired a less flattering reputation for his hardball style of business practice. Among those who have been openly critical of Malone in this latter vein was then Tennessee Senator Albert Gore, who dubbed Malone the "Darth Vader" of the cable industry.

Malone began his career at AT and T Bell Labs in the mid-1960s, before moving on to become a management consultant for McKinsey and Company in 1968. He received his Ph.D. in Industrial Engineering from Johns Hopkins in 1969, and soon joined the General Instrument Corporation, where he became president of its Jerrold cable equipment division. It was here that he first established ties to many of the cable industry's pioneers. In 1972, he turned down an offer from Steve Ross of Warner Communications to head its fledgling cable division, opting instead to leave the East Coast to accept an offer from TCI founder Bob Magness to run the small cable company from its Denver headquarters.

Malone joined TCI just before it fell into very difficult times. Malone's first major success at TCI was in negotiating



a restructuring of the company's heavy debt load. Once freed from the burden of this debt, Malone embarked on a conservative growth strategy for TCI. Rather than attempting to expand its holdings by building large urban cable systems at great expense, as many other cable companies did in the late 1970s, Malone focused TCI's growth efforts on gaining franchise rights in smaller communities, where the costs to build the systems would be far less onerous. The wisdom of Malone's strategy soon became evident. TCI was able to grow without encountering the exceedingly high costs associated with building capital intensive urban cable systems, and in the early 1980s, it was able to purchase several existing large market systems, such as those in Pittsburgh and St. Louis, at bargain prices from companies that had financially overextended themselves in the construction process.

As TCI grew throughout the 1980s, so did its power within the television industry. The company invested heavily in programming services, and currently holds stakes in more than 25 different cable networks. But TCI's success has been sometimes overshadowed by the public's perception of it as a heavy-handed company that occasionally resorts to bullying tactics to achieve its desired ends. For instance, in TCI's earlier days, some of its systems were known to replace entire channels of programming for days at a time, leaving these channels blank except for the names and home phone numbers of local franchising officials. The strategy aimed to gain leverage in franchise negotiations. Fairly or not, Malone came to personify TCI and its negative public image.

But despite its poor public relations record, few would deny that Malone and TCI are among the most powerful forces shaping the television industry as it moves into the next century. Like Paley and Sarnoff of an earlier era, Malone exercises great control over what America's television viewers will or will not see. Nearly one in four cable subscribers in the United States is served by a TCI system, and these viewers are directly affected by the decisions Malone makes. Even those who are not TCI subscribers feel Malone's influence, because access to the critical mass of viewers represented by TCI's cable systems is crucial to any programmer's success. Programmers often must seek to gain positions on TCI systems in order to gather the audience numbers that provide solid financial status. John Malone is therefore in the position of a gatekeeper who wields enormous influence over the entire television marketplace, which helps to explain another nickname sometimes applied to him—"The Godfather" of cable television.

Malone's most ambitious undertaking was an attempted merger between TCI and regional telephone company Bell Atlantic. Announced in October 1993, the deal was scuttled four months later after financial and philosophical concerns left the two companies unable to reach a final accord. Despite the merger's failure, the venture is indicative of Malone's vision and resolve to secure TCI's place in the future television marketplace. TCI continues to expand its empire by purchasing more cable systems, forging alliances



*John C. Malone*  
*Photo courtesy of TCI*

with other cable companies and telephone service providers, and strengthening its non-U.S. holdings in cable and telecommunications. These connections position the company for a central role in an emerging full-service communications marketplace. But whatever the future holds for TCI, John Malone already has cemented his place as one of the key shapers of the American television landscape over the last quarter of the 20th century.

—David Gunzerath

**JOHN MALONE.** Born in Milford, Connecticut, U.S.A., 7 March 1941. Attended Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, Phi Beta Kappa, B.S. in Electrical Engineering and Economics 1963, and M.S. in Industrial Management 1964; Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, Ph.D. in Industrial Engineering 1969. Married Leslie; two children. Began professional career in economic planning and research and development with Bell Telephone Laboratories/AT and T, 1963; worked as management consultant for McKinsey and Co., 1968; group vice president, General Instrument Corporation; former president, cable equipment division, Jerrold Electronics Corporation (a General Instrument Corporation subsidiary); president and chief executive

officer, Telecommunications Inc., Denver, since 1973; chair of board for Cable Television Laboratories, Inc.; director, National Cable Television Association (NCTA), 1974–77 and 1980–93, and treasurer, 1977–78; serves on board of directors for TCI, Bank of New York, Turner Broadcasting System, Inc., and Discovery Communications, Inc. Recipient: TVC Magazine Man of the Year Award, 1981; Wall Street Transcript's Gold Award for the cable industry's best chief executive officer, 1982, 1985, 1986, and 1987; NCTA Vanguard Award, 1983; Wall Street's Transcript Silver Award, 1984 and 1989; named as Women in Cable's Betsy Magness Fellowship Honoree; University of Pennsylvania Wharton School Sol C. Snider Entrepreneurial Center Award of Merit for Distinguished Entrepreneurship; American Jewish Committee Sherrill C. Corwin Human Relations Award; Communications Technology Magazine Service and Technology Award; Financial World CEO of the Year Competition, 1993; Johns Hopkins University Distinguished Alumnus Award, 1994. Honorary degree: Doctor of Humane Letters, Denver University, 1992. Address: Telecommunications, Inc., Denver, Colorado, U.S.A.

## MAMA

### U.S. Domestic Comedy/Drama

**M***ama*, which aired from 1949 to 1957 on CBS, proves that television was capable of complex characterizations in the series format even early in its history. A weekly family comedy-drama based on Kathryn Forbes's *Mama's Bank Account*, as well as its play and film adaptations *I Remember Mama*, *Mama* would best be described today as "dramedy." Unfortunately, except for its last half-season, when it was filmed, the program aired live, with kinescope recordings prepared for west coast broadcasts. Consequently it is unavailable in the repetitive re-runs that have made other domestic situation comedies from the 1950s—many, like *Father Knows Best*, that it influenced—familiar to several generations of viewers.

Each episode dramatizes, with warmth and humor, the Hansen family's adventures and everyday travails in turn of the century San Francisco. The working-class Norwegian family included Mama, Papa (a carpenter), and children Katrin, Nels, and Dagmar. Mama's sisters and an uncle were semi-regular characters. Although earlier incarnations of the Forbes material had focused the relationship between Mama and Katrin, the television series centered episodes on all of the characters, a technique made available and almost demanded by the production of a continuing series.

The stories might revolve around Dagmar's braces, Nels starting a business, or the children buying presents for Mama's birthday. The entire family would contribute to the drama's resolution, however, and images of them sitting down to a cup of Maxwell House Coffee—the show's long-time sponsor—would frame each episode of the show. As George Lipsitz points

### FURTHER READING

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"Malone Paints Rosy Picture for IRTS." *Broadcasting* (Washington, D.C.), 20 March 1989.

"Malone Urges Creation of Bandwidth Manager; TCI Wants Vendors to Come up with a Residential Communications Gateway Unit." *Broadcasting and Cable* (Washington, D.C.), 15 August 1994.

Moshavi, Sharon D. "TCI's Malone: Cable Nearing Compression Revolution." *Broadcasting* (Washington, D.C.), 18 March 1991.

Roberts, Johnnie L. "Time's Uneasy Pieces." *Newsweek* (New York), 2 October 1995.

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See also Cable Networks; United States: Cable Television

out, it was common for the dramatic solutions to involve some kind of commodity purchase, not surprising given the commercial basis of American network television and the consumer culture of post-war America. What is surprising—but also what makes *Mama* so special—is how often the show foregrounded both the contradictions of this consumer culture in which everyone does not have access to the desired goods. Dramatic tension often results from the realization that Mama's endeavors provide the foundation for the achievements of individual family members. It was not uncommon for Papa and the Hansen children to have to come to terms with the value of Mama's work.

The program's complex treatment of cultural tensions resulted not only from Forbes's original material, but also from head writer Frank Gabrielson, director-producer Ralph Nelson (a Hollywood liberal of Norwegian descent who went on to direct the film *Lilies of the Field*), and a distinguished cast. Peggy Wood, who incarnated Mama, was a versatile stage and film actress who had starred in operetta and Shakespeare, and is probably best known to today's audiences for her Oscar-nominated role as Mother Superior in *The Sound of Music*. (Mady Christians, who starred in the role of Mama on Broadway, was not considered for the television role because she was blacklisted.) Dick Van Patten played Nels, and would later star in television's *Eight Is Enough* in the 1970s. Robin Morgan, who played Dagmar, is now a well-known feminist activist and writer. Not surprisingly, she attributes to *Mama* many of her early lessons in feminine power.

—Mary Desjardins

**CAST**

<i>Marta Hansen (Mama)</i>	Peggy Wood
<i>Lars Hansen (Papa)</i>	Judson Laire
<i>Nels</i>	Dick Van Patten
<i>Katrin</i>	Rosemary Rich
<i>Dagmar (1949)</i>	Iris Mann
<i>Dagmar (1950–56)</i>	Robin Morgan
<i>Dagmar (1957)</i>	Toni Campbell
<i>Aunt Jenny</i>	Ruth Gates
<i>T.R. Ryan (1952–56)</i>	Kevin Coughlin
<i>Uncle Chris (1949–51)</i>	Malcolm Keen
<i>Uncle Chris (1951–52)</i>	Roland Winters
<i>Uncle Gunnar Gunnerson</i>	Carl Frank
<i>Aunt Trina Gunnerson</i>	Alice Frost
<i>Ingeborg (1953–56)</i>	Patty McCormack

**PRODUCERS** Carol Irwin, Ralph Nelson, Donald Richardson

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY**

## • CBS

July 1949–July 1956	Friday 8:00–8:30
December 1956–March 1957	Friday 8:00–8:30

**FURTHER READING**

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Mama

See also Comedy, Domestic Settings; Family on Television

## MAN ALIVE

### Canadian Religious/Information Program

A critically-acclaimed, non-denominational program which the show's executive producer, Louise Lore, describes as "a religious program for a post-Christian age," *Man Alive* is one of Canada's longest-running information programs. Begun in 1967 amidst a renewed sense of theological activism inspired by the reforms of Vatican II, *Man Alive* takes its name and inspiration from a St. Irenaeus quote: "the glory of God is man fully alive." From a format which concentrated on theological issues, the show's focus has broadened considerably in its 30 seasons.

It has profiled and interviewed many of the world's most important religious figures from Mother Teresa to the Dalai Lama and Archbishop Desmond Tutu. An 8 October 1986 interview with the Aga Khan was this religious leader's first formal North American interview. He had declined previous requests from such well-known shows as CBS' *60 Minutes* in favour of *Man Alive* because of the show's reputation for balance and the relaxed, soft-spoken interviewing style of the show's host, Roy Bonisteel. Many of these interviews were marked by their candidness and honesty as

in the case of Archbishop Tutu, who related how Jackie Robinson and Lena Horne were his boyhood heroes.

Bonisteel, the show's host from for 22 seasons and so identified with it that many mistake him for a minister, was a journalist by training. He had been producing radio shows for the United Church of Canada in the mid-1960s when he was approached to be the host of the new television program. By the time he left he had become the longest running host of any information program in Canada. He was succeeded by Peter Downie, former co-host of CBC's *Midday* current affairs program in the fall of 1989. *Man Alive* observed its 25th anniversary with a one-hour special in February 1992, which celebrated not only its longevity but also the diversity of its programming.

Throughout its history, the show has consistently provided programming that appeals to a broad audience and this has been one of the keys to its success. It has delved into a variety of topics, from UFOs to the threat of nuclear war, from father-son relationships to life in a maximum security hospital for the criminally insane. Nor has it avoided con-

roversial and unpopular subjects such as the Vatican bank scandal, sexual abuse in the church, or aid to El Salvador. Some of the show's most critically acclaimed episodes have been those that have chronicled very personal human dramas such as the story of David McFarlane who met the challenges presented by his Down's Syndrome to star in a television drama, or the story of the Rubineks, Holocaust survivors, and their moving return to Poland after 40 years. In spite of the changing nature of television audiences and serious budgetary constraints, *Man Alive* continues the tradition of providing an informative and well-balanced examination of relevant social issues and contemporary ethical questions.

—Manon Lamontagne

#### HOSTS

Roy Bonisteel (1967–89)

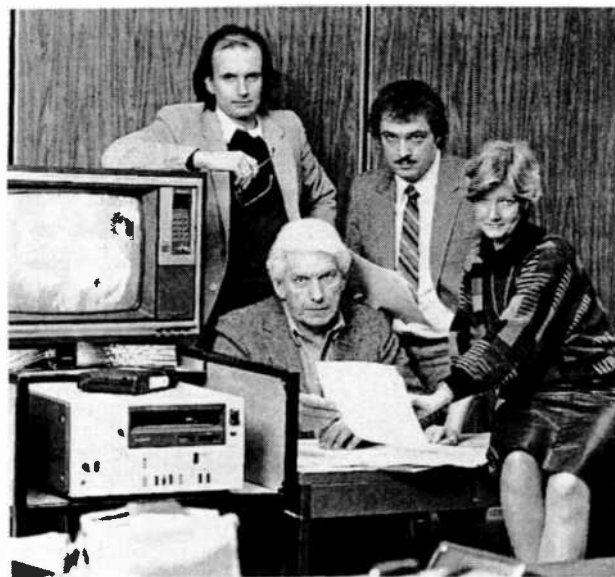
Peter Downie (1989–)

**EXECUTIVE PRODUCERS** Leo Rampen (1967–1985); Louise Lore (1985–)

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

##### • CBC

October 1967–March 1968	Sundays 5:00–5:30
November 1968–March 1978	Mondays 9:30–10:00
October 1979–March 1980	Tuesdays 10:30–11:00
October 1980–March 1983	Sundays 10:30–11:00
October 1983–March 1984	Sundays 10:00–10:30
October 1984–March 1987	Wednesdays 9:30–10:00



Man Alive

Photo courtesy of the National Archives of Canada

October 1987–

Tuesdays 9:30–10:00

#### FURTHER READING

Bonisteel, Roy. *Man Alive: The Human Journey*. Toronto: Collins, 1983.

———. *In Search of Man Alive*. Toronto: Totem, 1980.

See also Canadian Programming in English

## THE MAN FROM U.N.C.L.E./THE GIRL FROM U.N.C.L.E.

### U.S. Spy Parody

**T**he *Man from U.N.C.L.E.*, which aired on NBC from September 1964 to January 1968, has often been described as television's version of James Bond, but it was much more than that. It was, quite simply, a pop culture phenomenon. Although its ratings were initially poor early in the first season, a change in time period and cross-country promotional appearances by its stars, Robert Vaughn and David McCallum, helped the show build a large and enthusiastic audience.

At the peak of its popularity, *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* was telecast in 60 countries and consistently ranked in the top ten programs on U.S. television. Eight feature-length films were made from two-part episodes and profitably released in the United States and Europe. *TV Guide* called it "the cult of millions." The show received 10,000 fan letters per week, and Vaughn and McCallum were mobbed by crowds of teenagers as if they were rock stars. *U.N.C.L.E.* was also a huge merchandising success with images of the series' stars and its distinctive logo (a man standing beside a skeletal globe) appearing on

hundreds of items, from bubble gum cards to a line of adult clothing.

The show had a little something for everyone. Children took it seriously as an exciting action adventure. Teenagers enjoyed its hip, cool style, identifying with and idolizing its heroes. More mature viewers appreciated the tongue-in-cheek humor and the roman a clef references to real-life political figures like Mahatma Gandhi and Eva Peron, interpreting it as a metaphor for the struggle common to all nations against the forces of greed, cruelty and aggression.

*The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* redefined the television spy program introducing into the genre a number of fresh innovations. Notably, the show broke with espionage tradition and looked beyond the Cold War politics of the time to envision a new world order. The fictional United Network Command for Law Enforcement was multinational in makeup and international in scope, protecting and defending nations regardless of size or political persuasion. For example, a third season episode, "The Jingle Bells Affair" showed a Soviet premier visiting New York during



The Man from U.N.C.L.E.



The Girl from U.N.C.L.E.

Christmas time, touring department stores and delivering a speech on peaceful coexistence at the United Nations, twenty-two years before Mikhail Gorbachev actually made a similar trip.

The show also broke new ground in re-conceptualizing the action adventure hero. Prompted by a woman at the BBC he once met who complained that the leads in American series were all big, tall, muscular and, well, American, producer Norman Felton (*Eleventh Hour*, *Dr. Kildare*) decided to vary the formula. His series, developed with Sam Rolfe (co-creator of *Have Gun, Will Travel*) teamed an American agent, Napoleon Solo (Robert Vaughn) with a Soviet one, Illya Kuryakin (David McCallum). Each week, they were sent off on their missions (called "affairs") by their boss, Alexander Waverly, a garrulous, craggy, pipe-smoking spy master played by Leo G. Carroll.

Neither the suave Solo nor the enigmatic Kuryakin were physically impressive. They were instead intelligent, sophisticated, witty, charming, always polite and impeccably well-tailored. Sometimes they made mistakes, and often they lost the battle before they won the war.

What made *U.N.C.L.E.* truly appealing was the way it walked a fine line between the real and the fanciful, juxtaposing elements that were both surprisingly fantastic and humorously mundane. For example, as they battled bizarre threats to world peace like trained killer bees, radar-defeating bats, hiccup gas, suspended animation devices, and earth-

quake machines, the agents also worried about expense accounts, insurance policies, health plans and interdepartmental gossip.

While the series showed that heroic people had ordinary concerns, it also demonstrated that ordinary people could be heroic. During the course of each week's affair at least one civilian or "innocent" was inevitably caught up in the action. These innocents were average, everyday people—housewives, stewardesses, secretaries, librarians, school teachers, college students, tourists, even some children—people very much like those sitting in *U.N.C.L.E.*'s viewing audience. At the start of the story, they often complained of their boring, unexciting lives—lives to which, after all the terror and mayhem was over, they were only too happy to return.

By contrast, *U.N.C.L.E.*'s villains were fabulously exotic and larger than life. In addition to the usual international crime syndicates, Nazi war criminals, and power hungry dictators, *U.N.C.L.E.* also battled THRUSH, a secret society of mad scientists, megalomaniac industrialists, and corrupt government officials who held the Nietzschean belief that because of their superior intelligence, wealth, ambition and position, they were entitled to rule the world. A number of prominent actors and actresses guest starred each week as either villains or innocents, including Joan Crawford, George Sanders, Kurt Russell, William Shatner and Leonard Nimoy (who appeared together pre-*Star Trek* in "The Project Strigas Affair") and Sonny and Cher.

The *U.N.C.L.E.* formula was so successful that it spawned a host of imitators, including a spin-off of its own, *The Girl from U.N.C.L.E.* in 1966. Starring Stefanie Powers as female agent April Dancer and Noel Harrison (son of Rex) as her British sidekick, Mark Slate, *The Girl from U.N.C.L.E.* took its cue from the wild campiness of the then-popular *Batman* rather than from its parent show. Although it featured many of the same elements of *Man*, including a specially designed gun and other advanced weaponry and the super-secret headquarters hidden behind an innocent tailor shop, *Girl's* plots were either absurdly implausible or downright silly and the series lasted only a year.

By its third season, *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* had also become infected by the trend toward camp and though the tone was readjusted to be more serious in the fourth season, viewers deserted the show in droves. Once in the top ten, the series dropped to sixty-fourth in the ratings and was canceled mid-season, to be replaced by *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*.

This was not the end of *U.N.C.L.E.*, however. Because of concerns about violence voiced by parent-teacher groups, the series was not widely syndicated and reruns did not appear until cable networks began to air them in the 1980s. Nevertheless, *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* was not forgotten. Nearly every spy program that appeared during the ensuing decades borrowed from its various motifs (naming spy organizations with an acronym has become a genre cliché). *The Scarecrow and Mrs. King* expanded the premise of *U.N.C.L.E.*'s original pilot episode into an entire series, and even non-espionage programs as diverse as *The A-Team* and *thirtysomething* continued to make references to it. In 1983, Vaughn and McCallum reunited to play Solo and Kuryakin in a made-for-TV movie, *Return of the Man from U.N.C.L.E.: The Fifteen Years Later Affair*.

—Cynthia W. Walker

## MANN, ABBY

U.S. Writer

Abby Mann's television and film writing career has spanned four decades and earned him widespread critical acclaim and numerous prestigious industry awards in the United States and abroad. He has received an Academy Award and New York Film Critics Award for his screenplay for *Judgment at Nuremberg* (1961), and Emmys for *The Marcus-Nelson Murders* (1973, the *Kojak* pilot), *Murderers Among Us: The Simon Wiesenthal Story* (1989), and *Indictment: The McMartin Trial* (1995).

Mann's made-for-television movies—a television genre in which he is widely acknowledged as a leading practitioner—have covered a breadth of subjects. His most daring (and controversial) scripts have offered viewers a withering critique of the functioning of America's criminal justice system. Although some critics have argued that Mann has,

### CAST

*Napoleon Solo* . . . . . Robert Vaughn  
*Illya Kuryakin* . . . . . David McCallum  
*Mr. Alexander Waverly* . . . . . Leo G. Carroll  
*Lisa Rogers* (1967–1968) . . . . . Barbara Moore

**PRODUCERS** Norman Felton, Sam H. Rolfe, Anthony Spinner, Boris Ingster

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 104 Episodes

### • NBC

September 1964–December 1964	Tuesday 8:30-9:30
January 1965–September 1965	Monday 8:00-9:00
September 1965–September 1966	Friday 10:00-11:00
September 1966–September 1967	Friday 8:30-9:30
September 1967–January 1968	Monday 8:00-9:00

### FURTHER READING

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 Heitland, John. *The Man from U.N.C.L.E. Book: The Behind-the-Scenes Story of a Television Classic*. New York: St. Martin's, 1987.  
 Javna, John. *Cult TV*. New York: St. Martin's, 1985.  
 Paquette, Brian, and Paul Howley. *The Toys from U.N.C.L.E.* Worcester, Massachusetts: Entertainment, 1990.  
 Worland, Rick. "The Cold War Mannerists: *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* and TV Espionage in the 1960s." *Journal of Popular Film and Television* (Washington, D.C.), Winter 1994.

See also Spy Programs

on occasion, selectively marshaled facts and taken "polemical" positions in his portrayal of his subjects, almost all have expressed admiration for his exhaustive investigative research, and his rich dramatic portrayal of character. Most importantly, few have questioned the factual basis for his arguments.

Mann, the son of a Russian-Jewish immigrant jeweler, grew up in the 1930s in East Pittsburgh—a predominantly Catholic working-class neighborhood he describes as a "tough steel area." As a Jewish youth in these surroundings, Mann felt himself an outsider. Perhaps this in part explains the persistent preoccupation, in his scripts, with the working poor and racial minorities—outsiders who are trapped in a social system in which prejudice, often institutionalized in the police and judicial apparatus, is used to deprive them of their rights.

This recurrent overarching theme is developed in stories focusing on the forced signing of criminal confessions; inadequate police and district attorney investigation of murder cases involving victims who are minorities or poor, or both; judicial and police officials who protect their reputations and careers, when confronted with evidence of possible miscarriage of justice, by refusing to re-open cases in which innocent persons, often minorities, have been convicted; the possibility that law enforcement officials conspired in the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.; the failure of union leaders to adequately fight for the rights of their workers; the greed and questionable ethics of some members of the legal, medical, and mental health professions; and the sensationalized coverage of murder cases by the media, who tend to prejudge cases according to their perception of general public sentiment.

Mann began his professional writing career in the early 1950s, writing for NBC's *Cameo Theater*, and for the noted anthology series *Studio One*, *Robert Montgomery Presents*, and *Playhouse 90*. His script for the celebrated film drama *Judgment at Nuremberg* (1961), recounting the Nazi war crimes trials, was originally produced for *Playhouse 90*. Mann moved to Hollywood as production on the feature film version began. Other successful film scripts quickly followed, including *A Child Is Waiting* (1963), directed by John Cassavetes, which offered one of the first sympathetic film portrayals of the care and treatment of mentally challenged children; and a screen adaptation of Katherine Anne Porter's novel *Ship of Fools* (1965), the story of the interlocking lives of passengers sailing from Mexico to pre-Hitler Germany, directed by Stanley Kramer (who had directed *Judgment at Nuremberg*).

Mann returned to television writing in 1973 with the script for *The Marcus-Nelson Murders*, which launched Universal Television's popular *Kojak* series. Universal approached Mann about doing a story based on the 1963 brutal rape and murder of Janice Wylie and Emily Hoffert—two young, white professional women living in midtown Manhattan. George Whitmore, a young black man who had previously been arrested in Brooklyn for the murder of a black woman, signed a detailed confession for the Wylie and Hoffert murders. Whitmore later recanted his confession, claiming he was beaten into signing it. Mann visited Whitmore in jail in New York before agreeing to write the screenplay, and became convinced not only that Whitmore was innocent, but also that some top officials in the Manhattan and Brooklyn District Attorneys' offices had ignored Whitmore's alibi that he was in Seacliff, New Jersey—fifty miles from New York City—at the moment of the murders. After the airing of *The Marcus-Nelson Murders*, for which Mann won an Emmy and a Writers Guild Award, Whitmore was released from prison.

Although he was not involved in the production of *Kojak*, Mann was unhappy with the treatment of the series by its producer, Universal Television, which, he argued, re-framed the police melodrama as a formulaic cops-and-



Abby Mann

Photo courtesy of Broadcasting and Cable

robbers potboiler, whereas he had sought to show, in *The Marcus-Nelson Murders*, that law enforcement officials should be watched.

In his next television project, Mann cast his critical gaze on one of the country's most sacrosanct institutions—the medical profession. *Medical Story*, an anthology series produced by Columbia, premiered on NBC in 1975 and had a brief four-month run. Mann was the series creator and also served as co-executive producer.

Mann made his directorial debut with *King*, a six-hour docudrama on the life of civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr. He had wanted to do a feature film on King while King was still alive, but was unable to raise the necessary financing. Ironically, unforeseen circumstances brought the project to fruition in 1978, ten years after King's death.

The central figure in *The Marcus-Nelson Murders*, George Whitmore, had claimed that he was watching King's "I Have A Dream" speech on television when the murders were committed. Mann asked King's widow, Coretta Scott King, for the rights to use the film clip of King's speech in *The Marcus-Nelson Murders*, which she granted. She then asked Mann if he was still interested in the piece on King's life. Encouraged by Mrs. King's continued interest, Mann



pursued the project. In doing research on the script, Mann uncovered information that led him to believe that a conspiracy involving the Memphis, Tennessee, police and fire departments may have been responsible for King's death. The conspiracy theory focused on the reassignment, just prior to the assassination, of a black police officer and two black firefighters who had been stationed in a firehouse overlooking the motel where King was shot, despite numerous threats of assassination while King was in Memphis.

Reporter Mark Lane assisted Mann in his investigation of the circumstances surrounding the King assassination. The research resulted in an official House of Representatives inquiry into whether a conspiracy had indeed been involved in the assassinations. As a result, Mann was publicly maligned by the Memphis police and fire chiefs.

For *Skag*, his next television project which aired on NBC in 1980, Mann returned to the scene of his youth—the steel mills of the suburbs surrounding Pittsburgh. He developed the concept and wrote the script for the three-hour pilot, and was given “complete freedom” by NBC President Fred Silverman. Starring Karl Malden as Pete “Skag” Skagska, *Skag* was the unflinching, realistic portrait of a middle-aged steel worker who had worked hard all his life, but when stricken by a stroke, found himself suddenly “expendable” because he was no longer able to provide food for the table or perform sexually with his wife. *Skag* also dealt with the larger social issues of steel workers' unhealthy working conditions, and the failure of their unions to fight for their rights. Steel workers unions bitterly attacked *Skag*, calling Mann “anti-union.” But with this series Mann was attempting to draw attention to a class of Americans who until the 1980s were grossly underrepresented in prime-time television drama, a fictional world largely populated by white, white-collar, middle-aged male protagonists.

While the premiere episode won critical praise and high ratings, viewership rapidly declined, and the series ended its run after six weeks on the air. Mann, who was involved in the first two regular series episodes, attributed the series failure to uneven directing of some of the subsequent episodes and artistic interference from the show's star Malden.

Mann's direct involvement with *Medical Story* and *Skag* convinced him that the process involved in producing series television inevitably led to too many compromises, both ideological, as politically controversial themes became “muddled,” and creative, as strong pilots were followed by aesthetically weak regular series episodes. For these reasons, he decided in the 1980s to focus his artistic energy exclusively on made-for-television movies, over which he had greater artistic control.

*The Atlanta Child Murders* aired on CBS in 1985. The notorious Atlanta child murders case focused on Wayne Williams, a black, who was accused of recruiting young boys for his homosexual father, using them sexually along with his father, and then murdering them. Mann was urged by prominent black leaders in Atlanta not to take on the project because, they argued, the additional publicity generated by

a television movie focusing on an accused black mass murderer would, in the end, only further damage the black community. Mann initially withdrew from the proposed project, but attended the Williams trial and was disturbed by the courtroom proceedings, which revealed to him the inadequate investigation into the murders of victims who belonged to poor minority families, the introduction of potentially unreliable evidence, and the sensationalized media coverage of the trial.

Mann, the only writer able to speak to Wayne Williams in prison after his conviction, raised doubts about the case, arguing that the judicial system itself was on trial, as was a society that had neither compassion for the victims during their lives nor justice for them after their deaths. Critics praised the dramaturgy of *The Atlanta Child Murders*, but some questioned Mann's doubts about both the propriety of the courtroom proceedings and Williams' guilt, arguing that after all, the State Supreme Court of Georgia had upheld Williams' conviction. After seeing the television movie, prominent defense attorneys Alan Dershowitz, William Kunstler, and Bobby Lee Cook agreed to join in a pro bono defense of Williams, but, according to Mann, once the publicity died down they did not pursue the appeal to re-open the case.

Mann's more recent made-for-television movies premiered on HBO, which he has found to be much more supportive of his often-contentious stands on controversial social issues than were the commercial broadcast networks, who felt they must avoid the inherent commercial risks of alienating significant sectors of their mass audience. Most recent among these was *Indictment: The McMartin Trial*, created by Mann and his wife Myra. The film won an Emmy and a Golden Globe in 1995. Once again Mann questioned the workings of the judicial system. This case involved the McMartin preschool in Manhattan Beach, California, at which it was alleged that seven preschool teachers had molested 347 children over the course of a decade. Most people in Los Angeles were convinced of the veracity of the charges, which were supported by the accounts of hundreds of children who attended the school. Mann became intrigued by the case when charges against five of the defendants were dropped. The two remaining defendants, Peggy Buckley, the school superintendent, and her son, Ray, were still under arrest. Buckley's daughter argued on Larry King's show that the Los Angeles district attorney was continuing with the prosecution of her mother and brother because they had been kept in jail so long that the district attorney could not admit his error without losing face. As Mann investigated the case, he once again confronted the seamy side of the justice system: informers who supposedly heard confessions only because they had made financial deals to their own advantage; greedy parents who were suing to get damages; and prosecutors who withheld crucial evidence and selectively ignored facts to advance their own careers by obtaining a conviction. Mann was also intent in exploring the important psychological question regarding the ease with which

children can be led by manipulative adults into admitting events that never occurred.

Ultimately, despite two trials, no one was convicted in the McMartin case. *Indictment* produced very strong reactions among viewers. According to Mann, "People seem . . . obsessed by it. I suppose they realize that they have watched and believed stories that were as incredible as the Salem witch hunt." Reaction to the television film had a direct impact on the Manns as well. On the day production on *Indictment* began, their house was burned to the ground. Undeterred, Mann, at age 69, began work on his next HBO movie—on the lives and trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

—Hal Himmelstein

ABBY MANN. Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., 1927. Attended Temple University, Philadelphia; and New York University. Married: Myra. Gained fame as television writer for *Robert Montgomery Presents*, *Playhouse 90*, *Studio One*, and *Alcoa-Goodyear Theatre*. Recipient: Academy Award; two Emmy Awards; Golden Globe Award; Writers Guild Award.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1948–58 *Studio One*  
 1950–55 *Cameo Theatre*  
 1950–57 *Robert Montgomery Presents*  
 1956–61 *Playhouse 90*  
 1973–78 *Kojak*  
 1975–76 *Medical Story*  
 1980 *Skag*

## MANN, DELBERT

U.S. Director/Producer

Like many directors of television's "golden age," Delbert Mann came from a theatrical background. While studying political science at Vanderbilt University, Mann became involved with a Nashville community theater group where he worked with Fred Coe, who went on to produce the alternating programs known as *Philco-Goodyear Television Playhouse*. He received an M.F.A. in Directing from Yale School of Drama and then worked as a director/producer at the Town Theatre (Columbia, South Carolina) and as a stage manager at the Wellesley Summer Theater. When he first went to New York, Mann worked as a floor manager and assistant director for NBC.

In 1949, Mann began directing dramas for *Philco-Goodyear Television Playhouse*, where he was one of a stable of directors that included Vincent Donahue, Arthur Penn, and Gordon Duff. During the 1950s, Mann also directed productions for *Producers' Showcase*, *Omnibus*, *Playwrights '56*, *Ford Star Jubilee*, and *Ford Startime*. Although he worked almost exclusively on anthology series, Mann also directed live episodes of the first domestic situation comedy, *Mary Kay and Johnny*.

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

1973 *The Marcus-Nelson Murders* (executive producer, writer)  
 1975 *Medical Story* (executive producer, writer)  
 1979 *This Man Stands Alone* (executive producer)  
 1980 *Skag* (executive producer, writer)  
 1985 *The Atlanta Child Murders* (executive producer, writer)  
 1989 *Murderers Among Us: The Simon Wiesenthal Story* (co-executive producer)  
 1992 *Teamster Boss: The Jackie Presser Story* (executive producer)  
 1995 *Indictment: The McMartin Trial* (writer)

#### TELEVISION MINISERIES

1978 *King* (director, writer)

#### FILMS

*Judgment at Nuremberg*, 1961; *A Child Is Waiting*, 1963; *Ship of Fools*, 1965; *The Detectives*, 1968; *Report to the Commissioner*, 1975; *War and Love*, 1985.

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O'Connor, John J. "McMartin Preschool Case: A Portrait of Hysteria." *The New York Times*, 19 May 1995.  
 Shales, Tom. "Tipping the Scales of Justice." *The Washington* (D.C.) *Post*, 20 May 1995.

See also Anthology Drama; Golden Age of Television; *Playhouse 90*; *Studio One*

Mann is perhaps most often identified with the *Philco-Goodyear Television Playhouse* (and subsequent film) production of Paddy Chayefsky's *Marty*, which has been thought by many of today's critics to be one of the most outstanding original dramas produced by Fred Coe and the *Philco-Goodyear Television Playhouse*. Although it did not receive outstanding reviews when it first aired, it was one of the first television plays to receive any major press coverage and more than one line in a reviewer's column. When Mann directed the film version of *Marty* two years later, he was awarded the Oscar for Best Director, and the film won the Cannes Film Festival and Oscars for Best Picture, Actor, and Screenplay. The film was nominated but did not win Oscars for Best Supporting Actor, Supporting Actress, Cinematography, and Art Direction.

Many of Mann's works tackled social issues, such as the plight of the elderly in *Ernie Barger Is Fifty*. However, the director contends that, at the time, the plays were not thought of in terms of their social issues—they were stories about people and "just awfully good drama."

Mann's theatrical training was a tremendous influence on his television work. Cameras are fairly static and actors are staged within the frame. At Coe's direction, close-ups were used only to emphasize something or if there was a dramatic reason for doing so. The static camera is particularly effective in the *Marty* dance sequence, which Mann filmed with one camera and no editing. Actors were carefully choreographed to turn to the camera at the exact moment when they needed to be seen. Combined with the crowded, relatively small set, the static camera focused the audience's attention on the characters and their sense of uneasiness in the situation. Chayefsky has credited the success of *The Bachelor Party* to Mann's direction noting that, through simple stage business and careful balancing of scenes, Mann was able to illustrate the emptiness of life in the small town and the protagonist's increasing depression.

Many of Mann's works are period pieces based on the director's own love of history, which he tried to recreate accurately. But historical context serves as background to the personal relationships in the story. *The Man Without a Country*, produced during the height of anti-Vietnam protests, is a patriotic story of love of country and flag intended to stir a sense of nationalism during the Civil War and, simultaneously, the intimate story of one man's oppression.

Mann shifted to filmmaking in the 1960s but periodically returned to television to pursue more personal, people-oriented stories in made-for-television films. Productions such as *David Copperfield* and *Jane Eyre* allowed him to, once again, tell stories of personal relationships in an historical setting.

Mann returned to his live television roots for the productions of *All the Way Home* (1981) and *Member of the Wedding* (1982) for NBC's *Live Theater Series*. These productions differed from live television in the 1950s in that they were staged as a theatrical production in a theater rather than a studio and were filmed with a live audience in order to show their reaction to the piece.

Mann has been nominated for three Emmy Awards for directing: *Our Town* (1955, *Producers' Showcase*, 1955), *Breaking Up* (ABC special, 1977), and *All Quiet on the Western Front* (CBS special, 1979).

—Susan R. Gibberman

**DELBERT MANN.** Born in Lawrence, Kansas, U.S.A., 30 January 1920. Educated at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, B.A. 1941; Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, M.F.A. Married Ann Caroline Gillespie, 1942; three sons and one daughter. Served as First Lieutenant in U.S. Air Force during World War II: B-24 pilot and squadron intelligence officer, 1944–45. Worked as director of Town Theater, Columbia, South Carolina, 1947–49; stage manager, Wellesley Summer Theater, 1947–48; director, *Philco-Goodyear Playhouse*, 1949–55; began film directing career with *Marty*, 1954; freelance film and television director, since 1954. Honorary degree: L.L.D., Northland College, Ashland, Wisconsin. Former member, board of governors, Academy of Television Arts and Sciences; former



Delbert Mann

Photo courtesy of Delbert Mann

co-chair, Tennessee Film, Tape and Cinema Commission; former president, Directors Guild Educational Benevolent Foundation, Cinema Circulus; former lecturer, Claremont (California) McKenna College; board of trustees, Vanderbilt University, since 1962. Member: Directors Guild of America (president, 1967–71). Address: 401 South Burnside Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90036, U.S.A.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1948–55	<i>Philco-Goodyear Television Playhouse</i>
1949	<i>Mary Kay and Johnny</i>
1949	<i>Lights Out</i>
1950	<i>The Little Show</i>
1950	<i>Waiting for the Break</i>
1950	<i>Masterpiece Theatre</i>
1954–56, 1957,	
1959	<i>Omnibus</i>
1955	<i>Producers Showcase</i>
1956	<i>Ford Star Jubilee</i>
1956	<i>Playwrights 56</i>
1958	<i>DuPont Show of the Month</i>
1958–59	<i>Playhouse 90</i>
1959	<i>Sunday Showcase</i> (also producer)

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

1968	<i>Heidi</i>
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- 1968 *Saturday Adoption*  
 1970 *David Copperfield*  
 1971 *Jane Eyre*  
 1972 *She Waits* (also producer)  
 1972 *No Place to Run*  
 1973 *The Man without a Country*  
 1974 *The First Woman President* (also producer)  
 1974 *Joie* (also producer)  
 1975 *A Girl Named Sooner*  
 1976 *Francis Gary Powers: The True Story of the U-2 Spy Incident*  
 1977 *Breaking Up*  
 1977 *Tell Me My Name*  
 1978 *Love's Dark Ride*  
 1978 *Tom and Joann*  
 1978 *Thou Shalt Not Commit Adultery*  
 1978 *Home to Stay*  
 1979 *All Quiet on the Western Front*  
 1979 *Torn Between Two Lovers*  
 1980 *To Find My Son*  
 1981 *All the Way Home*  
 1982 *Bronte*  
 1982 *The Member of the Wedding*  
 1983 *The Gift of Love*  
 1984 *Love Leads the Way*  
 1985 *A Death in California*  
 1986 *The Last Days of Patton*  
 1986 *The Ted Kennedy Jr. Story*  
 1987 *April Morning* (also co-producer)  
 1991 *Ironclads*  
 1992 *Against Her Will: An Incident in Baltimore* (also co-producer)  
 1993 *Incident in a Small Town* (also co-producer)  
 1994 *Lily in Winter*

#### FILMS

*Marty*, 1954; *The Bachelor Party*, 1956; *Desire Under the Elms*, 1957; *Separate Tables*, 1958; *Middle of the Night*, 1959; *The Dark at the Top of the Stairs*, 1960; *The Outsider*, 1960; *Lover Come Back*, 1961; *That Touch of Mink*, 1962; *A Gathering of Eagles*, 1962; *Dear Heart*, 1963; *Quick Before It Melts* (also producer), 1964; *Mister Buddwing* (also producer), 1965; *Fitzwilly*, 1967; *Kidnapped*, 1972; *Birch Interval*, 1976; *Night Crossing*, 1982.

#### OPERA

*Wuthering Heights*, New York City Center, 1959.

#### PLAYS

*A Quiet Place*, 1956; *Speaking of Murder*, 1957; *Zelda*, 1969; *The Glass Menagerie*, 1973.

#### FURTHER READING

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 Wicking, Christopher, and Tise Vahimagi. *The American Vein: Directors and Directions in Television*. New York: Dutton, 1979.  
 Wilk, Max. *The Golden Age of Television: Notes from the Survivors*. New York: Dell, 1977.

See also Chayefsky, Paddy; Coe, Fred; *Golden Age of Television Drama*; *Goodyear Playhouse*; *Omnibus*; *Philco Television Playhouse*

## MANSBRIDGE, PETER

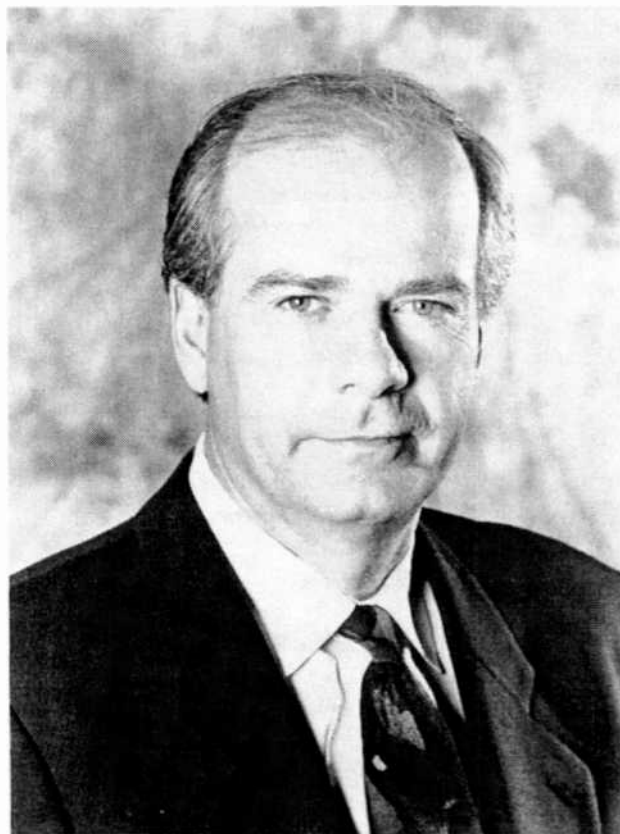
Canadian Broadcast Journalist

As anchor of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC) flagship nightly newscast *Prime Time News*, Peter Mansbridge holds a critical position within Canada's most influential broadcast news organization. His three-decade-long career within the CBC has made him one of Canadian media's most familiar figures, synonymous with "the corporation." The prominence to which Mansbridge has risen, however, began in a somewhat unorthodox fashion.

In what is now Canadian news media folklore, Mansbridge was "discovered" by a local CBC radio producer as he was making an airport public address announcement while working as freight manager for a small airline in Churchill, Manitoba. Mansbridge turned the resulting position as a disc jockey into one as a newscaster, simultaneously transforming himself into a journalist, despite his lack of formal training or apprenticeship. From this unlikely beginning, Mansbridge moved quickly through the ranks of CBC television news, beginning with a one-year stint in 1972 with the CBC Winnipeg station as a local reporter, followed by another one year position as the Saskatchewan-based reporter for the CBC national newscast. From 1976 to 1980, Mansbridge held a spot on the prestigious parliamentary bureau in the nation's capital. Anchor status commenced with the *Quarterly Report* (co-anchored by Barbara Frum), a series of special reports concerning issues of an urgent, national nature that aired four times a year. Beginning in 1985, Mansbridge anchored the newly formed national weekly *Sunday Report*.

Mansbridge's nationwide prominence was secured in 1988 when he accepted the enviable position of chief correspondent and anchor of the flagship CBC broadcast *The National*, a weekday 10:00 P.M. newscast (22 minutes) that was followed by the highly respected current affairs and documentary broadcast, *The Journal* (38 minutes). The status attributed to this anchor position was reflected in the public interest created by the events which preceded Mansbridge's assumption of the position. Amid much press speculation, Mansbridge was offered a co-anchor position in the United States, opposite Kathleen Sullivan on CBS *This Morning*, (1987) for a salary reputed to be five to six times his earnings. It was expected that Mansbridge would follow the familiar exodus of Canadian broadcast journalists to the United States, where the level of national and international experience of many Canadian journalists is highly valued. This emigration has included journalists such as Don Miller (CNN), Don McNeill (CBS), Robert MacNeil (PBS), Morley Safer (*60 Minutes*), and Peter Jennings (ABC). In a last-minute, much-publicized effort to stop Mansbridge from leaving Canada, the current chief anchor Knowlton Nash stepped down early to offer his position to Mansbridge. Nash and Mansbridge were consequently heralded as patriots and, moreover, managed to promote the turnover of anchors.

Despite the respectable audience numbers drawn under Mansbridge's leadership, *The National* was moved in 1992



Peter Mansbridge

Photo courtesy of the National Archives of Canada

to CBC's all-news network Newsworld. Mansbridge assumed the role of anchor (originally co-anchored by Pamela Wallin) on CBC's *Prime Time News*. This new broadcast was part of a controversial (and subsequently reversed) decision to move the national evening news from the 10:00 P.M. to the 9:00 P.M. time slot.

During his tenure as CBC's star anchor, Mansbridge has covered many of the key events which have attracted public attention in Canada, including federal elections and leadership campaigns, the Gulf War, the Charlottetown Referendum, and the events of Tiananmen Square. Coverage of these and other stories has garnered Mansbridge four Gemini awards (Academy of Canadian Cinema and Television) in 1988, 1989, 1990, and 1993. Mansbridge's style of presentation is understated and sober, but sufficiently amiable to attract viewers in the increasingly entertainment-oriented news media. His understated delivery, in combination with his appearance—once described as "bland good looks"—makes Mansbridge's presentation and persona consistent with the standard among Canadian broadcast journalists.

Although the CBC has historically placed a great deal of emphasis on news and current affairs programming, this

was particularly evident during the years of Mansbridge's rise within the corporation in the 1980s. The reduced resources made available to the broadcaster, in addition to the challenges of broadcasting in the increasingly multi-channel media system, demanded a renewed focus on this traditionally strong area. The subsequent commitment to news is evident in the continuing production of quality news programming and has assisted Mansbridge in developing a particularly strong profile within the industry.

—Keith C. Hampson

PETER MANSBRIDGE. Born in London, England, 1948. Educated in Ottawa. Married: Wendy Mesley (divorced). Served two years in the Royal Canadian Navy. Disc jockey and newscaster, CBC Radio, Churchill, 1968; reporter, CBC Radio, Winnipeg, 1972; reporter, CBC Television

News, 1973; reporter, *The National*, Saskatchewan, 1975; assigned to the Parliamentary Bureau in Ottawa, 1976–80; co-anchor, *Quarterly Report*, and anchor, *Sunday Report*, from 1985; anchor, *The National*, 1988–92; continuing anchor of news segment, *The National*, anchor of CBC's *Prime Time News*, from 1992. Recipient: four Gemini Awards, including Gordon Sinclair Award.

#### TELEVISION

1972–85 *CBC News* (reporter)  
 1985–88 *Quarterly Report* (co-anchor)  
 1985–88 *Sunday Report* (anchor)  
 1988–92 *The National* (anchor)  
 1992– *Prime Time News* (anchor)

See also Canadian Television Programming in English; *National/The Journal*

## MARCUS WELBY, M.D.

### U.S. Medical Drama

*Marcus Welby, M.D.*, which aired on ABC from late September 1969 through mid-May 1976, was one of the most popular doctor shows in U.S. television history. During the 1970 television year, it even ranked number one among all TV series according to the Nielsen Television Index. As such, it was the first ABC program to take the top program slot for an entire season. The Nielsen data suggested *Marcus Welby, M.D.* was viewed regularly in about one of every four American homes that year.

The Tuesday, 10-11:00 P.M. program was created by David Victor, who had been a producer on the hit *Dr. Kildare* television series during the 1960s. Victor took a centerpiece of the basic doctor-show formula—the older physician-mentor tutoring the young man—and transferred it from the standard hospital setting to the suburban office of a general practitioner. The sicknesses that Marcus Welby and his young colleague Steven Kiley dealt with—everything from drug addiction to rape, from tumors to autism—ran the same wide gamut that hospital-based medical shows had. In fact, many of the patients ended up in the hospital, and Welby even moved his practice to a hospital toward the end of the show's run. Nevertheless, *Marcus Welby, M.D.* was different from other shows of its era such as *Medical Center* and *The Bold Ones*. Those shows stressed short-term illnesses that paralleled or ignited certain unrelated personal problems. *Welby*, on the other hand, dealt consistently with long-term medical problems that were tied directly to the patient's psyche and interpersonal behavior. Acute episodes of the difficulty often sparked movement toward a cure, but only after Welby or Kiley uncovered the root causes of the behavioral problems.

In one case, for example, Dr. Welby and Dr. Kiley become concerned about Enid Cooper, a counselor in an orphanage, when they learn she's addicted to pills. The doctors are unable

to persuade the young woman to give them up. Then, under the influence of pills, Enid is responsible for a car accident in which one of her charges is hurt. That allows Welby to move her towards conquering her addiction.



Marcus Welby, M.D.

This emphasis on the psyche and medicine was celebrated by Robert Young, who played Marcus Welby. Young suffered from chemical imbalances in his body that led him toward depression and alcoholism. To fight those difficulties, he had developed an approach to life that mirrored the holistic health philosophy that he now acted out as a TV doctor. People who worked with him on the set said that it was often hard to tell where Young stopped and Welby began, so closely did the actor identify with his role. Viewers seemed to have that difficulty, too. Young received thousands of letters asking for advice on life's problems.

In choosing topics to deal with in the program itself, *Welby's* producers and writers benefited from a softening in the U.S. television networks' rules regarding what was acceptable on TV in the early 1970s. The relaxation came about partly because of increased network competition for viewers in their 20s and 30s and partly as a result of new demands for openness and the questioning of authority that the social protests of the late 1960s brought. It allowed David Victor to initiate stories, such as one on venereal disease, that he could not get approved for *Dr. Kildare*.

The show did ignite public controversies. One episode called "The Outrage" centered on the rape of a teenage boy by a male teacher. It ignited one of the first organized protests against a TV show by gay activists. More general were complaints by the rising women's rights movement that Marcus Welby's control over the lives of his patients (many of whom were women) represented the worst aspects of male physician's paternalistic attitudes.

While scathing, such opposition made up a rather small portion of the public discussion of the series over its seven-year prime-time life. More consistent was the controversy over *Welby's* impact on physicians' images. With previous doctor shows, the concern of physicians was to cultivate as favorable an image as possible. Now some physicians worried that *Welby's* incredibly solicitous and loyal bedside manner was leading their patients to question why they did not act toward them as *Welby* would. Was it true, as writer-physician Michael Halberstam contended in *The New York Times Magazine*, that

the series couldn't help "but make things better for American doctors and their patients"? Or, was it the case, as others claimed, that *Welby* was among the factors contributing to the rise of malpractice actions against physicians?

The debate marked the first time that the physicians establishment got involved in a large-scale argument over whether fictional images that were *positive* actually had negative effects on their status. The argument would continue about other doctor shows in the coming years. But to Robert Young, Marcus Welby incarnate, it was a non-issue. According to an article in *McCall's* magazine, a doctor said to Young at a convention of family physicians, "You're getting us all into hot water. Our patients tell us we're not as nice to them as Doctor Welby is to his patients." Young didn't mince words. "Maybe you're not," he replied.

—Joseph Turow

#### CAST

<i>Dr. Marcus Welby</i> . . . . .	Robert Young
<i>Dr. Steven Kiley</i> . . . . .	James Brolin
<i>Consuelo Lopez</i> . . . . .	Elena Verdugo
<i>Myra Sherwood</i> (1969–70) . . . . .	Anne Baxter
<i>Kathleen Faverty</i> (1974–76) . . . . .	Sharon Gless
<i>Sandy Porter</i> (1975–76) . . . . .	Anne Schedeen
<i>Phil Porter</i> (1975–76) . . . . .	Gavin Brendan
<i>Janet Blake</i> (1975–76) . . . . .	Pamela Hensley

**PRODUCERS** David Victor, David J. O'Connell

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 172 Episodes

• ABC

September 1969–May 1976

Tuesday 10:00–11:00

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See also Workplace Programs; Young, Robert

## MARKET

**B**roadcasting is inherently a medium of fixed location and, because of its dependence on direct-wave radiation, television broadcasting is particularly so. In the United States, because of the dominance of advertising, these fixed locations have come to be called markets. Additionally the term market may refer to a group of people of interest to broadcasters and/or advertisers for business reasons. Indeed, the term is increasingly used in this manner throughout the world as more and more television systems become supported by advertising revenue or other commercial underwriters.

The broadcast television signal operates by direct-wave radiation; the signal waves must travel in a straight line from

the transmitting to the receiving antenna. Even if transmitters could operate with unlimited power, television broadcasting operates in a geography fixed by the horizon of the curve of the earth's surface. As the signal radiates outward from a transmitting antenna it produces a more-or-less round geographical coverage pattern, with a radius of about 60 miles for VHF (Very High Frequency) stations and about 35 miles for UHF (Ultra High Frequency) stations. The coverage contour can be distorted by hills and mountains that block the signal, increased by antenna height, or added to by translators that rebroadcast the signal at another frequency in another location, or by retransmission on cable television systems.



Reflecting the inherent locatedness of television broadcasting, the United States Federal Communications Commission (FCC) allocates channels and assigns licenses to facilities in communities. The word "market" has come to be the designator of those communities, reflecting the degree to which advertising dominates television in the United States. Anyone doing any type of business in an area may of course refer to that area or the people living in it as a market, placing the boundaries wherever sensible for the business in question. This practice includes the operators of commercial television. (The operators of noncommercial television facilities have less reason to use the word "market," though it is increasingly applied in this arena.) In the business of television these geographically outlined markets are formally defined by the ratings companies, among which Nielsen Media Research dominates.

Markets are defined by Nielsen as Designated Market Areas (DMAs) in a manner essentially the same that the Arbitron company, which is no longer in the business of providing television ratings, once defined Areas of Dominant Influence (ADIs). Both acronyms are still commonly used and designate essentially the same thing.

DMAs are defined by county, or in some cases parts of counties (for convenience counties will suffice). Every county in the United States is assigned to one and only one DMA. Each DMA is named after the city that defines its center, such as the Chicago DMA or the Des Moines DMA. Each county is assigned to that DMA for which the most-watched television stations are broadcast. So, for example, Los Angeles County is assigned to the Los Angeles DMA because the television stations that the people in Los Angeles County watch most often are located in Los Angeles County. But Orange County is also assigned to the Los Angeles DMA because the most frequently watched television stations by viewers in Orange County are also located in Los Angeles County.

Such a system of categories, in which every county in the United States is assigned to one and only one DMA, is considered mutually exclusive and exhaustive. Such systems have formal advantages. The key benefit here is the simple arithmetic for manipulating numbers associated with the categories. Since none of the markets overlap, numbers

associated with any of them can be added together to describe a market that would be defined as the aggregate of the smaller markets. Since no area is left out of the system of market definitions, the sum of all of them defines the national market. This eases calculation of ratings and other data for local, regional, or national markets, and for syndicated, cable, and network television shows available in different areas.

In addition to these formal uses of the term "market," as Nielsen's DMA or regional or national aggregates of DMAs, there are various other uses for the term in the television business. One of the most common is in phrases such as "the African-American market," "the Hispanic market," or "an upscale market". These are extensions of the use of demographics to define types of people of interest to advertisers and other business people. In either usage the term remains a clear marker of the commercial aspects of the U.S. television industry, in which buying and selling—of both programs and audiences—is a central component.

—Eric Rothenbuhler

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See also A.C. Nielsen Company; Advertising; Call Signs/Letters; Magid Associates; Ratings; Share

## MARKETPLACE

### Canadian Consumer Affairs Program

**M**arketplace, which went on the air in 1972, is a weekly half-hour, prime-time consumer news show on CBC. It has won many national and international awards, including the Gemini in 1994 as Canada's best information program. The format, which has changed little over its history, involves a pair of hosts introducing segments on product testing, service evaluation, fraudulent practices and trends in consumer advocacy. The show's audience has held up well for more than two decades—it remains one of CBC's most highly rated

shows—and it is regarded by many in the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation as the benchmark by which other public affairs programs should be judged.

The first producer, Dodi Robb, with consumer reporter Joan Watson (from CBC radio) and broadcaster George Finstad as hosts, had a mandate to inform consumers about questionable sales practices and inferior products. From the beginning, the show treated consumer information as hard news, but it gradually expanded its mandate to include investigative reports with particular attention to public

health and safety. According to *Globe and Mail* television writer John Haslett Cuff, the program is "a veritable gadfly in the hard-sell marketplace of consumer television." It is "routinely monitored . . . by manufacturers and government regulatory agencies and frequently copied by American newsmagazine programs such as *60 Minutes* and *20/20*." Although it does put defenders of commercial practices and products on "hot seat," it has an earnest quality that distinguishes it from the "ambush journalism" sometimes practiced by U.S. public affairs producers.

The program not only gets headlines, but, as one reviewer put it, it gets results. Laws have been amended, new regulations adopted and consumer guidelines imposed as a result of *Marketplace* reports. Its major contributions include the banning of urea formaldehyde foam insulation (UFFI) and lawn darts; warnings on pop bottles that sometimes explode on store shelves; prosecution of retailers for false advertising (leading in one case to a fine of \$1 million); new standards for bottled drinking water and drinking fountains; new regulations for children's nightwear (to make them less flammable); and new designs for children's cribs. From tests for bacteria content in supermarket hamburger (an early report) to checks on the safety of furnaces and long-haul tractor trailers, the program has used its small staff—relying on independent laboratories for tests—to considerable effect. Despite law suits and threats of suits (and other pressures), the show has retained its probing quality. The longest serving hosts, Joan Watson and Bill Paul, became leading consumer advocates.

Reviewers have commented that the tough-minded consumer advocacy practiced by *Marketplace* is the kind of programming that public broadcasters, somewhat insulated from commercial considerations, should be providing. It is unlikely that the show would have had the same effectiveness and longevity in private-sector television. Its producers attribute consistent good ratings to its focus on the personal concerns of its audience, which derives in part from careful attention to the thousands of letters it receives from viewers each year, many of which have led to *Marketplace* investigations. Freedom from commercial pressures may also be significant.

—Frederick J. Fletcher and Robert Everett



Marketplace  
Photo courtesy of CBC

#### HOSTS

George Finstad, Joan Watson, Harry Brown, Bill Paul, Christine Brown, and others

**PRODUCERS** Dodi Robb, Bill Harcourt, Jock Ferguson, Murray Creed

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

- CBC
- October 1972–

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See also Canadian Programming in English

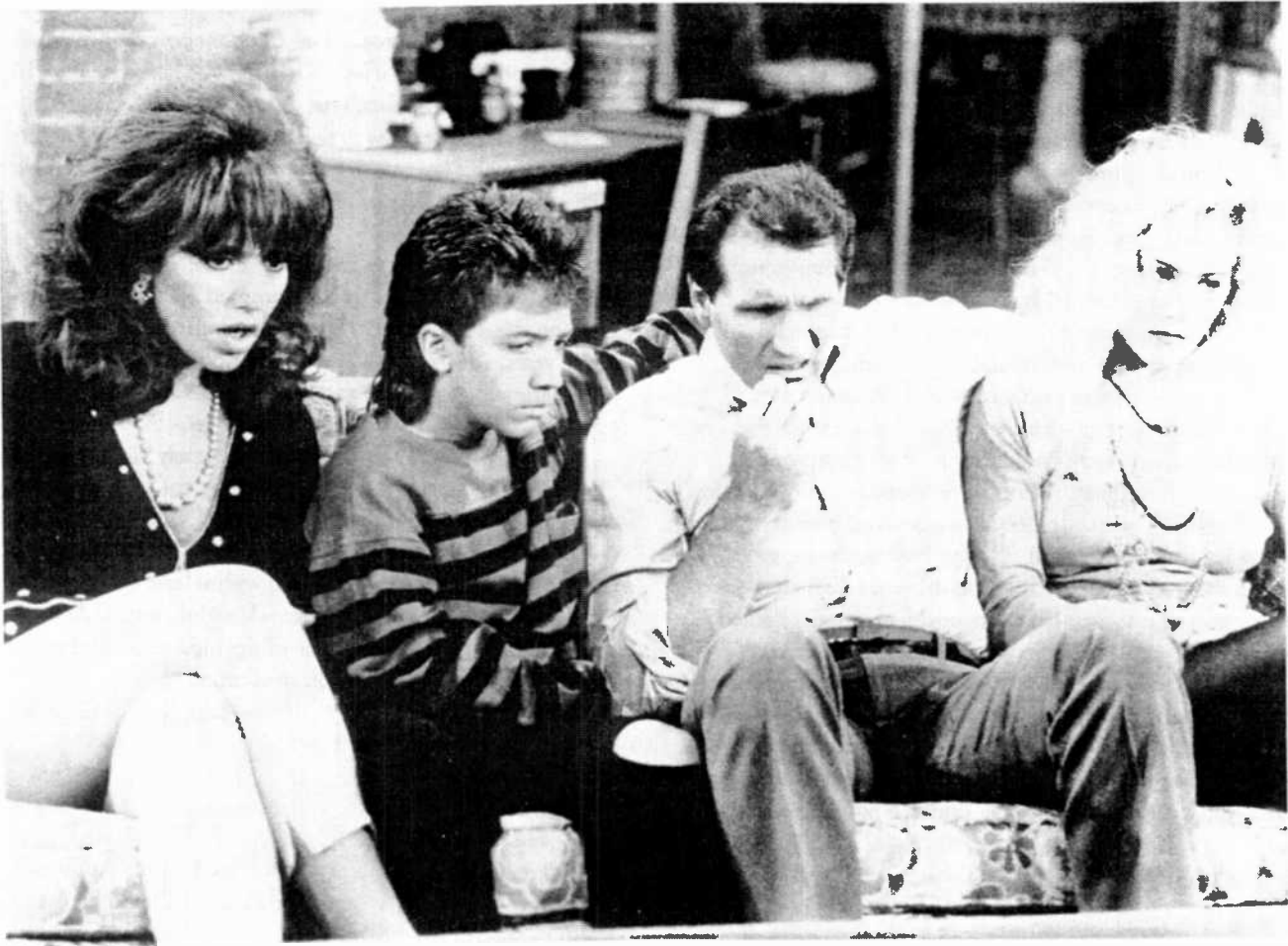
## MARRIED...WITH CHILDREN

U.S. Situation Comedy

**M***arried... With Children*, created by Michael Moya and Ron Leavitt, premiered as one of the new Fox Broadcasting Company's Sunday series in 1987. Moya and Leavitt had previously produced *The Jeffersons*, a long-running comedy about a black entrepreneur who becomes wealthy and moves his family to an almost all-white New York City neighborhood. Set in Chicago, their new show was a parody

of American television's tendency to create comedies dealing with relentlessly perfect family. Their program was immediately termed "anti-family."

At the time of *MWC*'s appearance, the top-rated television series was *The Cosby Show*. In the *Cosby* version of family, an African-American doctor and his attorney-wife raised their college bound offspring in an upper-middle-class environment.



Married...With Children

Instead of such faultless people, Moye and Leavitt presented "patriarch" Al Bundy (Ed O'Neill) whose family credo is, "when one of us is embarrassed, the others feel better about ourselves." In *Married...With Children*, almost every character is amusingly tasteless and satirically vulgar.

Bundy is a luckless women's shoes salesman who hates fat women, tries to relive his days as a high-school football hero, and does almost anything to avoid having sex with his stay-at-home, bon-bon eating spouse Peggy (Katie Sagal). Peg loves to shop and her ability to buy always exceeds Al's capacity to earn. She refuses to cook and the Bundys must take desperate measures to stay fed, frequently searching beneath the sofa cushions for crumbs of food. After one family funeral, the Bundys steal the deceased man's filled refrigerator. Peggy's clothes are too tight, her hair too big, make-up too thick, and heels too high. She wants sex as much as Al avoids it.

The Bundy's stereotypically beautiful dumb blonde daughter, Kelly (Christina Applegate), is a frequent target of their naive con artist son, Bud (David Faustino). Moye and Leavitt created Kelly in the guise of Sheridan's Mrs. Malaprop; she can never manage to find the right word and her verbal confusions are felicitous. According to Bud, Kelly will

have sex with any available male. In one episode, Kelly acquires backstage passes to a rock concert and announces she is just one paternity suit away from a Caribbean home. The Bundys think Bud has no chance of ever attracting a date; running jokes mention his collection of blow-up rubber women. All characters have a common failing: none exercises good judgment.

In *MWC* Moye and Leavitt not only lampoon *Cosby*, they parody its creator, Marcy Carsey. The other continuing characters in *Married...With Children* are Al and Peggy's upscale next-door neighbors, Jefferson and Marcy D'Arcy. Marcy and her husband serve as a device to entice and challenge the Bundy clan, then put them down. Marcy (Amanda Bearse) is a banker and activist for almost any cause which defeats Al's current get rich quick scheme. She marries Jefferson (Ted McGinley) while drunk and discovers him in her bed the next morning. He has no career although he has claimed to be a clever criminal, now living in the witness protection program. Marcy's first husband Steve Rhoades (David Garrison) makes frequent guest appearances.

The show had a small, loyal following until February 1989, and the producers had a history of arguments over taste

and language with Fox's lone, part-time network censor. One episode, "A Period Piece" in which the Bundy and Rhoades families go camping, was delayed one month in the broadcast schedule because it focused on the women's menstrual cycles. Two months later, the episode scheduled for 19 February 1989, "I'll See You in Court," was pulled from the schedule and never aired on the Fox network. The episode involved sexual videotapes of Marcy and Steve, which Al and Peggy viewed when they rented a sleazy motel room. When both couples realized their activity at the motel was broadcast to other rooms, they sued. The jury chose to compensate the couples for their performance quality, with Al and Peggy getting no money.

That same winter, two weeks after "A Period Piece," an episode titled "Her Cups Runneth Over" led to a social stir. The segment featured Peggy's need for a new brassiere, which coincided with her birthday. Al and Steve traveled to a lingerie shop in Wisconsin where an older male receptionist wore nothing below his waist but panties, a garter belt, stockings and spike heeled shoes. Steve fingered leather-fringed falsies attached to the nipples of one near-naked mannequin; women flashed Al and Steve, though the nudity was not shown on camera.

One television viewer, Terry Rakolta, from the wealthy Detroit suburb of Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, took offense at the show after the brassiere episode. She saw her children watching the program and found both the language and partial nudity unacceptable for viewing during a time when children made up a large portion of the audience. Rakolta acted by writing to advertisers and asking them to question the association of their products with *Married...With Children's* content. She also brought her cause to national television news shows.

In March 1989 Rakolta said on *Nightline*, "I picked on *Married...With Children* because they are so consistently offensive. They exploit women, they stereotype poor people, they're anti-family. And every week that I've watched them, they're worse and worse. I think this is really outrageous. It's sending the wrong messages to the American family."

Rakolta had mixed success. Advertisers such as major movie studios and many retail stores refused to buy commercials on the new FOX network (prime-time telecasts had started less than two years earlier). Media brokers cited a bad connotation. *Newsweek* magazine featured a front-page story on "Trash TV" questioning the standards of taste in prime-time television. *Married...With Children* and tabloid news shows such as *A Current Affair* were primary examples. Yet the greater effect was strongly positive.

Among FOX's greatest problems at the time of the controversy was limited viewer awareness. Many viewers simply did not know a fourth network existed. Related to this was the fact that a small, similar viewing group comprised Fox's entire audience. Moreover many Fox stations had weak UHF signals which were difficult to receive. Rakolta's complaints garnered substantial national publicity and this seemed to assist the network in solving many of its difficulties. After *Nightline*, *Good Morning America*, *Today* and most other national and local news shows featured the controversy over *Married...With Children* viewer awareness

rose dramatically. People purposely sought out their local Fox affiliate and *Married...With Children* became a success.

By April 1989 *Married...With Children* had reached a 10 rating according to Nielsen's national measurements, the highest rating of any Fox show to that date. Fox began charging the same amount for commercials in *Married...With Children* that CBS asked for *60 Minutes*. The program began intermittently winning its time slot.

By 1995, the show had become the longest-running situation comedy currently programmed on network television, on the air as long as the classic comedy *Cheers*. After many years, *Married...With Children* no longer pushed new boundaries of good taste and the jokes became routine and expected, even when still funny.

The show did, however, have an extremely lucrative after-life in daily syndication, running strongly for years in many markets. In Los Angeles, Fox's station KTTV ran the program twice each weekday in prime-time access. Daily viewership for the show continues to be strong and with at least ten seasons of episodes to add variety to off-network nightly reruns *MWC* is likely to consistently remain one of the most successful properties in the history of television syndication.

—Joan Stuller-Gigliione

#### CAST

<i>Al Bundy</i> . . . . .	Ed O'Neill
<i>Peggy Bundy</i> . . . . .	Katey Sagal
<i>Kelly Bundy</i> . . . . .	Christina Applegate
<i>Bud Bundy</i> . . . . .	David Faustino
<i>Steve Rhoades</i> (1987–90) . . . . .	David Garrison
<i>Marcy Rhoades D'Arcy</i> . . . . .	Amanda Bearse
<i>Jefferson D'Arcy</i> (1991–) . . . . .	Ted McGinley

**PRODUCERS** Ron Leavitt, Michael G. Moye, Katherine Green, Richard Gurman, John Maxwell Anderson

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

##### • FOX

April 1987–October 1987	Sunday 8:00-8:30
October 1987–July 1989	Sunday 8:30-9:00
July 1989–	Sunday 9:00-9:30

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See also Comedy, Domestic Setting; Family on Television; Gender and Television

## MARSHALL, GARRY

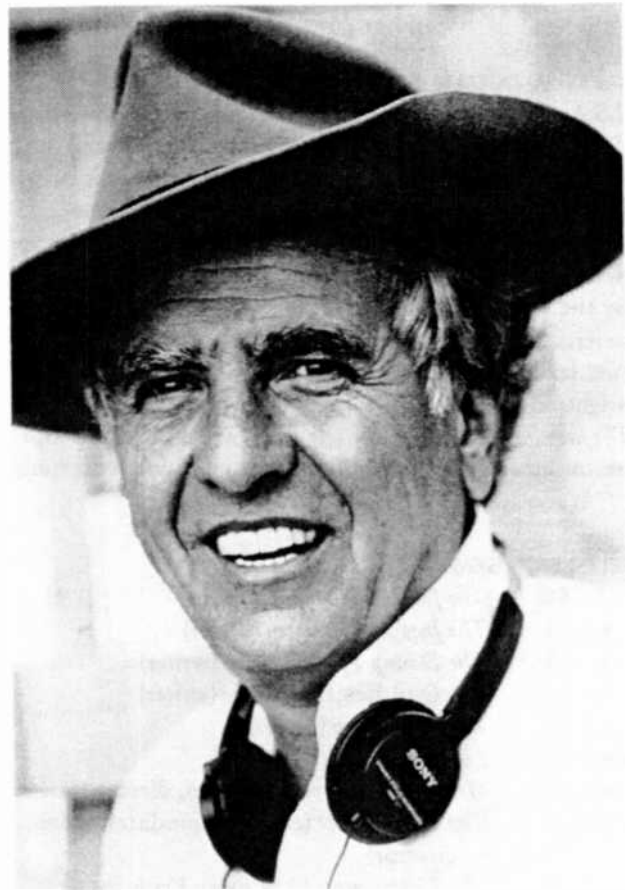
U.S. Producer/Writer/Actor

Garry Marshall was the executive producer of a string of sitcoms that helped ABC win the ratings race for the first time in the network's history in the late 1970s. While Norman Lear's Tandem Productions and Grant Tinker's MTM Enterprises had put CBS on top in the early part of the decade, by the end of the 1978-79 season, four of the five highest-rated shows of the year were Marshall's.

Marshall became a comedy writer during the last years of television's "golden age." He started out as an itinerant joke writer for an assortment of TV comics and eventually secured a staff writing position on *The Joey Bishop Show*. There he met Jerry Belson, with whom he would go on to write two feature films, a Broadway play, and episodes for a variety of TV series, including *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, *The Lucy Show*, and *I Spy*. The last project Marshall and Belson did together was the most successful of their partnership. *The Odd Couple*, a series they adapted from the Neil Simon play in 1970, would run for five seasons and have a major impact on Marshall's comic style.

Rather than forming his own independent production company, which had become standard procedure for producers at the time, Marshall remained at Paramount to make a succession of hit situation comedies for ABC. *Happy Days* debuted as a series in January 1974, and by the 1976-77 season it was the most popular show on TV. Set in Milwaukee in the 1950s and centered around a teenager (Ron Howard), his family, and his friends, *Happy Days* generated three spin-offs, all of which Marshall supervised. *Laverne and Shirley* featured two working-class women (Penny Marshall and Cindy Williams), whose antic schemes were reminiscent of those portrayed on *The Lucy Show*. Viewers were introduced to the frenetic young comic Robin Williams in *Mork and Mindy*, a series about an alien (Williams) who comes to Earth to study human behavior by moving in with an all-American young woman (Pam Dawber). *Joanie Loves Chachi* followed two of the younger characters from *Happy Days*, as they struggled to make it as rock 'n' roll musicians.

While Norman Lear had used shows like *All in the Family* and *Maude* to explore contemporary social issues like racism, the women's movement, and the war in Vietnam, Marshall's shows were usually more concerned with less timely, personal issues like blind dates, making out, and breaking up. Lear, Tinker, and others had attracted young audiences with "relevant" programming earlier in the decade; Marshall attracted even younger ones with lighter, more escapist fare, most of it set in the supposedly simpler historic past. In an interview reprinted in *American Television Genres* (1985), Marshall recalled that, after producing the adult-oriented *Odd Couple*, he had been anxious to make shows "that both kids and their parents could watch." When he gave a speech upon accepting the Lifetime Achievement Prize given at the American Comedy Awards in 1990, Marshall said, "If television is the education of the American



Garry Marshall

Photo courtesy of Broadcasting and Cable

people, then I am recess." Not surprisingly, four of Marshall's sitcoms were adapted into Saturday morning cartoons.

Marshall continued to borrow from *The Odd Couple* throughout his career. Over and over again he employed the comic device of coupling two distinctly different characters: the hip and the square on *Happy Days*, the earthling and the Orkan on *Mork and Mindy*, the rich and the poor on *Angie*, and, later, the businessman and the prostitute in the movie *Pretty Woman*. In 1982, he brought a short-lived remake of *The Odd Couple* to ABC, this time with African-Americans Ron Glass and Demond Wilson playing the parts of Felix and Oscar.

By the mid-1980s, Marshall had turned his attention to directing, producing, and occasionally writing feature films, including *Young Doctors in Love* (1982), *The Flamingo Kid* (1984), *Nothing in Common* (1986), *Overboard* (1987), *Beaches* (1989), *Pretty Woman* (1990), and *Frankie and Johnny* (1991). He also began appearing on screen occasionally, most recently in a recurring role on *Murphy Brown*.

Marshall's television tradition was carried on by Thomas L. Miller and Robert L. Boyett, two alumni of

Marshall's production staff. Their youth-oriented series like *Perfect Strangers*, *Full House*, and *Family Matters* became staples of ABC's lineup in the later 1980s and early 1990s.

—Robert J. Thompson

**GARRY MARSHALL.** Born in New York City, New York, U.S.A., 13 November 1934. Educated at Northwestern University, B.S. in journalism 1956. Married: Barbara; children: one son and two daughters. Served in the U.S. Army during the Korean War, writing for *Stars and Stripes* and serving as a production chief for the Armed Forces Radio Network. Worked as a copy boy, and briefly as a reporter, for the New York *Daily News*, 1956–59; wrote comedy material for Phil Foster and Joey Bishop; drummer in his own jazz band; successful stand-up comedian and playwright; in television from late 1950s, starting as writer for *The Jack Paar Show*; prolific television writer through 1960s, creator-executive producer for various television series from 1974; also active creatively in films and stage.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

- 1959–61      *The Jack Paar Show* (writer)
- 1961–65      *The Joey Bishop Show* (writer)
- 1961–64      *The Danny Thomas Show* (writer)
- 1961–66      *The Dick Van Dyke Show* (writer)
- 1962–68      *The Lucy Show* (writer)
- 1965–68      *I Spy* (writer)
- 1966–67      *Hey Landlord* (creator, writer, director)
- 1970–75      *The Odd Couple* (executive producer, writer, director)
- 1972–74      *The Little People* (*The Brian Keith Show*) (creator, executive producer)
- 1974–84      *Happy Days* (creator, executive producer)
- 1974          *Blansky's Beauties* (creator, executive producer)
- 1976–83      *Laverne and Shirley* (creator, executive producer)
- 1978          *Who's Watching the Kids?* (creator, executive producer)

## MARTIN, QUINN

### U.S. Producer

Quinn Martin, among the most prolific and consistent television producers, helped to create and control some of television's most successful and popular series from the 1950s through the 1970s. At various times in the 1960s and 1970s, Martin simultaneously had as many as four series on various networks.

Martin's early television career consisted of writing and producing for many shows at Ziv Television and at Desilu. He produced the *Desilu Playhouse* two-hour television movie, "The Untouchables," which served as the basis for the series. Under Martin, *The Untouchables* be-

- 1978–82      *Mork and Mindy* (creator, executive producer)
- 1979–80      *Angie* (creator, executive producer)
- 1982–83      *Joanie Loves Chachi* (creator, executive producer)
- 1982–83      *The New Odd Couple* (executive producer)
- 1988–          *Murphy Brown* (actor)

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIE

- 1972          *Evil Roy Slade* (creator, executive producer)

#### TELEVISION SPECIAL

- 1979          *Sitcom: The Adventures of Garry Marshall*

#### FILMS

*How Sweet It Is* (writer-producer), 1968; *The Grasshopper*, 1970; *Young Doctors in Love* (also executive producer, director), 1982; *The Flamingo Kid* (also co-writer), 1984; *Nothing in Common*, 1986; *Overboard*, 1987; *Beaches*, 1988; *Pretty Woman*, 1990; *Frankie and Johnnie*, 1991; *Psych-Out* (actor), 1968; *Lost in America*, 1985; *Jumpin' Jack Flash*, 1986; *Soapdish*, 1991; *A League of Their Own*, 1992; *Hocus Pocus*, 1993.

#### STAGE

*The Roost* (writer, with Jerry Belson), 1980; *Wrong Turn at Lungfish* (writer, with Lowell Ganz; also director, actor), 1992.

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See also Comedy, Domestic Settings; *Happy Days*; Producer in Television; *Laverne and Shirley*

came a huge hit for ABC. Martin left after the first two seasons to form his own production company, QM Productions. The first series from QM, *The New Breed*, was unusual for Martin in that it was unsuccessful. But during the years at Desilu and the first years of QM, Martin surrounded himself with a cadre of writers, directors, and producers who would later ably serve him when he was juggling the production schedules of several series. Alan Armer, George Eckstein, Walter Grauman, and John Conwell are but a few of the names to appear again and again in the credits of QM productions.

QM and Martin entered into an era of considerable success in the 1960s. Among the shows to come from QM during this period was *The Fugitive*, *Twelve O'Clock High*, *The FBI*, and *The Invaders*, all broadcast on ABC. Indeed, the relationship between QM and ABC was enormously beneficial to both, despite repeated charges that they rode to their mutual successes upon a wave of violent programming begun with *The Untouchables* and continuing as a central stylistic feature in QM programs.

It was also during this period that two aspects of Martin's approach to television production emerged. First was the QM segmented program format: a teaser; an expository introduction which often employed the convention of a narrator; a body broken into acts I, II, III, and IV; and an epilogue, using an off-screen narrator to explain or offer insight into the preceding action. So recognizable did this convention become that it was parodied in the 1982 sitcom *Police Squad*. Second, Martin compartmentalized his productions. This was done not only out of necessity, resulting from the volume of television being produced by the company, but also because of the trusted individuals with whom Martin populated QM. At QM, the writers, producers, and post-production supervisors had very well-defined tasks and would rarely stray beyond the parameters established by Martin. John Conwell, casting director and assistant to Martin for years, often referred to Martin as "Big Daddy" because of his paternalistic approach to production.

Additionally, as Cooper reports, Alan Armer credited Martin with changing the face of the telefilm by moving from the soundstage to the outdoors and by ensuring authenticity by employing night-for-night shooting, as described in *The Fugitive*. Too often producers would save a few dollars by simply darkening film footage shot during the day to simulate night time. Not Quinn Martin. He made money and he spent money. In 1965, *Television Magazine* quoted Martin as saying that the 10% he would have paid an agent (if he had retained one) was simply rolled back into production.

The successes of QM and Martin continued well into the 1970s. Preeminent and longest running among the QM shows of this era were *The Streets of San Francisco*, *Cannon*, and *Barnaby Jones*, itself a spin-off of *Cannon*. Martin had at least a half dozen other series in prime time during the 1970s. During this period virtually every QM show dealt with law enforcement and crime.

Since the first days of *The Untouchables* Martin had been criticized for using excessive violence in his productions. A new criticism was now mounted against Martin's work because of the subject matter. Critics claimed that Martin's shows enforced the dominant ideology of the inherent value of law and order. They suggested that the bulk of Martin's work legitimized a right-wing, conservative agenda. As Newcomb and Alley indicate in *The Producer's Medium*, Martin openly acknowledged his fondness for authority and his positive presentation of institutions of police powers—individual, state, and federal.



Quinn Martin

Photo courtesy of Broadcasting and Cable

Martin sold QM Productions to Taft Broadcasting around 1978. Part of the agreement was for Martin to leave television production for five years and not to compete with Taft. Martin became an adjunct professor at Warren College of the University of California, San Diego. In the late 1980s Martin became president of QM Communications, which developed motion pictures for Warner Brothers. He died in 1987, leaving a production legacy of 17 network series, 20 made-for-television movies, and a feature film, *The Mephisto Waltz*. No one has yet surpassed his streak of 21 years with a show in prime time.

—John Cooper

QUINN MARTIN. Born Martin Cohn in New York City, New York, U.S.A., 22 May 1922. Educated at University of California, Berkeley, B.A. 1949. Married: 1) Madelyn Pugh, 1958; child: Michael; 2) Muffet Webb, 1961; children: Jill and Cliff. Served in U.S. Army Air Corps, during World War II. Began career as apprentice editor, MGM; worked as film editor, writer, and head of post-production for various studios, including Universal, 1950–54; writer and executive producer, Desilu Productions' *Jane Wyman Theater*, *The Desilu Playhouse*, and *The Untouchables*, 1957–59; founder, president, and chief executive officer, QM Productions, 1960–78; sold QM Productions to Taft Broadcasting, 1978;



chair of the board, Quinn Martin Films; president, Quinn Martin Communications Group, 1982–87; adjunct professor of drama, and in 1983 endowed the Quinn Martin Chair of Drama, Warren College, University of California, San Diego; president, Del Mar Fair Board, with jurisdiction over Del Mar Race Track, 1983–84; president, La Jolla Playhouse, California, 1985–86. Trustee: Buckley School, North Hollywood, California; La Jolla Playhouse. Recipient: TV Guide Award, 1963–64; Emmy Award, 1964. Died, in Rancho Santa Fe, California, 6 September 1987.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1955–58	<i>The Jane Wyman Theater</i> (writer)
1958	<i>The Desilu Playhouse</i> (writer)
1959–63	<i>The Untouchables</i>
1961–62	<i>The New Breed</i>
1963–67	<i>The Fugitive</i>
1964–67	<i>Twelve O'Clock High</i>
1965–74	<i>The FBI</i>
1967–68	<i>The Invaders</i>
1970–71	<i>Dan August</i>
1971–76	<i>Cannon</i>
1972–73	<i>Banyon</i>
1972–77	<i>The Streets of San Francisco</i>
1973–80	<i>Barnaby Jones</i>
1974	<i>Nakia</i> (co-producer)
1974–75	<i>The Manhunter</i>
1975	<i>Caribe</i>
1976	<i>Bert D'Angelo/Superstar</i>
1976–77	<i>Most Wanted</i>
1977	<i>Tales of the Unexpected</i>

## MARX, GROUCHO

### U.S. Comedian

Although often remembered as the quipping leader of the team of brothers who starred in anarchic film comedies of the 1930s and 1940s, Groucho Marx reached a far bigger audience through his solo television career. As the comic quizmaster of the long-running *You Bet Your Life*, Groucho became an icon of 1950s television, maintaining a weekly presence in the Nielsen Top 10 for most of the decade.

The familiar Groucho persona served as a comedic anchor for the popular quiz-show format when the sixty-year-old Marx made the transition to television in 1950. Groucho replaced his trademark greasepaint mustache with a real one, but his attributes were otherwise unchanged. The show simply let Groucho be Groucho. He unleashed his freewheeling verbal wit in repartee with contestants, scattered good-natured insults at his willing participants, and lived up to his billing as "TV's King Leer" by greeting female guests with his characteristic raised eyebrows and waggling cigar. Groucho's personality and gift for gab drove the

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES (selection)

1970	<i>House on Greenapple Road</i>
1971	<i>Face of Fear</i>
1971	<i>Incident in San Francisco</i>
1974	<i>Murder or Mercy</i>
1974	<i>Attack on the 5:22</i>
1975	<i>The Abduction of St. Anne</i>
1975	<i>Home of our Own</i>
1975	<i>Attack on Terror</i>
1976	<i>Brinks: The Great Robbery</i>
1978	<i>Standing Tall</i>

#### FILM

*The Mephisto Waltz*, 1971.

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See also Arnaz, Desi; *FBI*; *Fugitive*; Producer in Television; *Untouchables*; *Westinghouse-Desilu Playhouse*

program, with the quiz playing only a minor role. So immediate was his success in the medium that Groucho received an Emmy as Outstanding Television Personality of 1950 and was on the cover of *Time* a year later.

Groucho's move to TV was not surprising, but the magnitude of his success was. Like many of early television's "vaudeo" stars, he was a show business veteran with roots in vaudeville and an established presence on national radio. However, his radio career had been erratic. He lacked a successful show of his own until program packager John Guedel brought *You Bet Your Life* to ABC radio in 1947. Guedel modeled the show on his other popular series, *People Are Funny* and *House Party*, which featured host Art Linkletter interacting with audiences. The format showcased Groucho's talents well. He gained a large listenership and moved to the more powerful CBS after two seasons. Like other radio hits, *You Bet Your Life* moved into television.

A pilot was made at CBS with Groucho simply filmed performing one of his radio episodes. A bidding war for

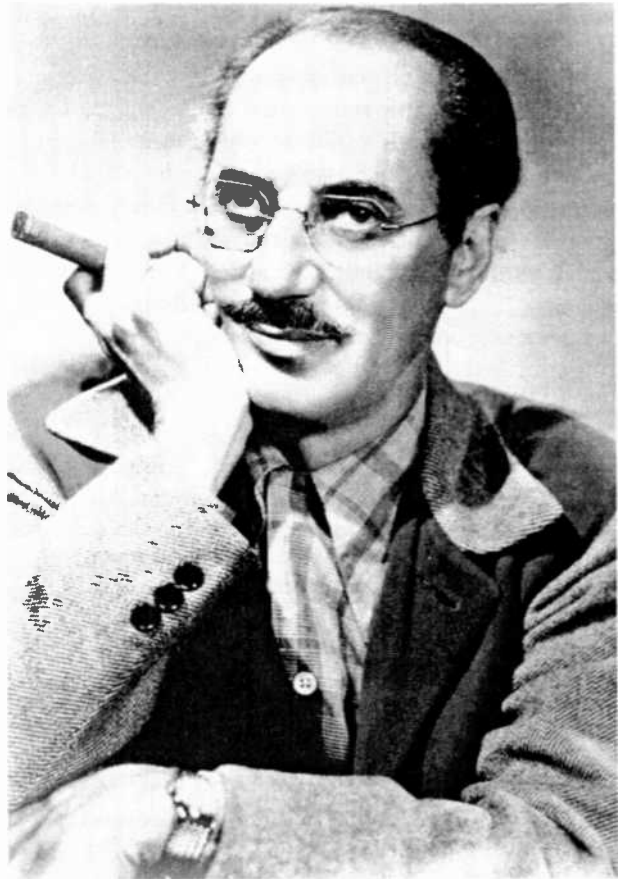
Groucho's services ensued (the star later wrote that he chose NBC over CBS because William Paley displeased him by trying to appeal to their Jewish solidarity). *You Bet Your Life* remained a staple of NBC's Thursday night TV lineup for eleven seasons, and played on the network's radio stations each Wednesday until 1957. Television episodes were different editions of performances aired on radio the previous evening.

The show's idiosyncratic production methods had as much to do with the nature of Groucho's performance style as they did with the logistics of working in two media simultaneously. Both the radio and television versions of *The Groucho Show* (as it was retitled in its final season) were somewhat pioneering in that they were recorded and edited for later broadcast. Visually, the TV edition was quite static, using a single set: Groucho sitting on a stool chatting with contestants. A multi-camera system used two cameras to film the interviews from each of four angles, including a slave camera on Groucho. The look was simple, but the set-up allowed the producers to edit and sharpen Groucho's performances. He could venture into risqué banter, knowing anything too blue for broadcast could be cut. Dull bits of his unrehearsed, hour-long interviews were deleted, leaving only the comic highlights for the thirty-minute telecasts.

Putting the program of film (and paying a star's salary) gave *You Bet Your Life* a higher production cost than other game shows. The investment was returned, however, by both high ratings and the ability to repeat episodes. During the thirteen-week summer hiatus, NBC aired *The Best of Groucho*, helping to innovate the programming convention of the rerun. *The Best of* telefilms also went straight into daily syndication for several years when production ceased in 1961.

Throughout its run, *You Bet Your Life*'s formula remained unchanged. Announcer and straight man George Fenneman began "Here he is: the one, the only . . .," prompting the studio audience to shout "Groucho!" The quizmaster previewed the week's "secret word" as a wooden duck (in Groucho guise) descended with \$100 whenever the word was spoken. Male and female contestants were paired up to talk with Groucho, who often played matchmaker. The show recruited entertaining, oddball contestants as well as celebrities. Many performed vaudeville-style numbers, making *You Bet Your Life* as much variety show as talk or quiz program. After each interview, Groucho posed trivia questions. Winners received modest amounts of money, while losers got a consolation prize for answering a variation of Groucho's famous query: "Who's buried in Grant's Tomb?"

The routine thrived because of Groucho's rapport with guests. He was a living encyclopedia of show biz patter, gags, and lyrics and possessed a genuine gift for witty ad libs. Yet his material was more scripted than it appeared. A staff of writers provided teleprompted jokes. Working off of these, Groucho maintained a palpable spontaneity, never meeting with the screened contestants before the show.



Groucho Marx

While *You Bet Your Life* was Groucho's greatest contribution to television, he was a popular TV raconteur until the latter years of his life. After a short-lived series revival on CBS (*Tell It To Groucho*) and appearances on British TV in the early 1960s, he hosted variety programs, did cameos, and sat in on panel shows. However he found his most comfortable niche as a talk show personality with an intellectual edge. His acerbic manner went well with fringe late-night programming, such as Les Crane's controversial talk show (on its 1964 premiere Groucho served as a meta-critic to political dialogue among William F. Buckley, John Lindsay, and Max Lerner). Of more lasting importance, Groucho served as an interim host for *The Tonight Show* when Jack Paar stepped down and introduced Johnny Carson when he debuted as host. Groucho also developed a famous friendship with *Tonight Show* writers Dick Cavett and Woody Allen, thereby influencing a new generation of TV and film comedians.

In the 1970s, Groucho's celebrity was revived by a surprisingly successful re-syndication of *You Bet Your Life* (though later imitations of it by Buddy Hackett and Bill Cosby flopped). Books, films, and LPs by and about Groucho also sold well. His popularity extended to both those nostalgic for a past era and those who made his

anti-authority comedy style part of the younger counter-culture.

This contradiction was appropriate for the performer who was simultaneously an insightful intellectual critic and a pop icon. Groucho is attributed with a memorable put-down of television: "I find television very educational. The minute somebody turns it on, I go into the library and read a good book." Yet, in true contrarian fashion, when promoting his own show's premiere he added a seldom-quoted rejoinder: "... now that I'm a part of television, or 'TV' as we say out here on the Coast, I don't mean a word of it."

—Daniel G. Streible

**GROUCHO MARX.** Born Julius Marx in New York City, New York, U.S.A., 2 October 1895. Married: 1) Ruth Johnson, 1922 (divorced, 1942), children: Miriam and Arthur; 2) Catherine Gorcey, 1945 (divorced, 1950), children: Melinda; 3) Eden Hartford, 1953 (divorced, 1969). With brothers Chico, Harpo, and Zeppo formed comedy team, the Marx Brothers, successful in film comedies; served as host for radio and television game show *You Bet Your Life*. Recipient: Emmy Award, 1950. Died in Los Angeles, California, 19 August 1977.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1950–61      *You Bet Your Life (The Groucho Show)*  
1962      *Tell It to Groucho*

#### FILMS

*Coconuts*, 1929; *Animal Crackers*, 1930; *A Girl in Every Port*, 1931; *Horsefeathers*, 1932; *Duck Soup*, 1933; *A Night at the Opera*, 1935; *A Day at the Races*, 1937; *Room Service*, 1938; *At the Circus*, 1939; *Go West*, 1940; *The Big Store*, 1941; *A*

*Night in Casablanca*, 1946; *Copacabana*, 1947; *Mr. Music*, 1950; *Love Happy*, 1950; *Double Dynamite*, 1951; *Will Success Spoil Rock Hunter?*, 1957; *The Story of Mankind*, 1957; *Skidoo*, 1968.

#### RADIO

*You Bet Your Life*, 1947–57.

#### STAGE

*Minnie's Boys* (co-author), 1970.

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## THE MARY TYLER MOORE SHOW

### U.S. Situation Comedy

**T**he *Mary Tyler Moore Show* premiered on CBS in September 1970 and during its seven-year run became one of the most acclaimed television programs ever produced. The program represented a significant change in the situation comedy, quickly distinguishing itself from typical plot-driven storylines filled with narrative predictability and unchanging characters. As created by the team of James Brooks and Allan Burns, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* presented the audience with fully-realized characters who evolved and became more complex throughout their life on the show. Storylines were character-based and the ensemble cast used this approach to develop relationships which changed over time.

The program starred Mary Tyler Moore, who had previously achieved success as Laura Petrie on *The Dick Van Dyke Show*. As Mary Richards, a single woman in her thirties, Moore presented a character different from other single TV

women of the time. She was not widowed or divorced or seeking a man to support her. Rather, the character had just emerged from a live-in situation with a man whom she had helped through medical school. He left her upon receiving his degree and she relocated to Minneapolis determined to "make it on her own." This now-common concept was rarely depicted on television in the early 1970s, despite some visible successes of the women's movement.

Mary Richards found a job in the newsroom of fictional television station WJM, the lowest rated station in its market, and there she began her life as an independent woman. She found a "family" among her co-workers and her neighbors. Among these were Lou Grant (Ed Asner), the crusty news director, Murray Slaughter (Gavin MacLeod), the cynical news writer, Ted Baxter (Ted Knight), the supercilious anchorman, and, later, Sue Ann Nivens (Betty White), the man-hungry "Happy Homemaker." Sharing her apart-



The Mary Tyler Moore Show

ment house were Rhoda Morgenstern (Valerie Harper), Mary's best friend, and Phyllis Lindstrom (Cloris Leachman), their shallow landlady. This ensemble pushed the situation comedy genre in new directions and provided the show with a fresh feel and look.

The "workplace family," while not new to television sitcoms (*Our Miss Brooks* and *The Gale Storm Show* were among earlier incarnations of this sub-genre), was redefined in *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. Here were characters easily defined by traditional familial qualities—Lou as the father figure, Ted as the problem child, Rhoda as the family confidante, and Mary as the mother/daughter around whom the entire situation revolved. But the special nature of these relationships gave the show its depth and humor. Never static, each character changed in ways previously unseen in the genre. One of the best examples occurred when Lou divorced his wife of many years. His adjustment to the transition from married to divorced middle-aged man provided rich comic moments but also allowed viewers to see

new depths in the character, to see behind the gruff facade into Lou's vulnerability, to grow closer to him. This type of evolution occurred with all the cast members, providing writers with constantly shifting perspective on the characters. From those perspectives new story lines could be developed and these fresh approaches helped renew a genre grown weary with repetition and familiar techniques.

Similarly, the program set the standard for a new sub-genre of situation comedy: the working woman sitcom. Beginning as a determined but uncertain independent woman, Mary Richards came to represent what has since become a convention in this type of comedy. Unattached and not reliant upon a man, Mary never rejected men as romantic objects or denied her hopes to one day be married. But unlike Rhoda, Mary did not define her life through her search for "Mr. Right." Rather, she dated several men and even spent the night with a few of them (another new development in TV sitcoms). Working-woman sitcoms since, including *Kate and Allie* and *Murphy Brown*, owe a debt to Mary Richards.

The program became an anchor of CBS' Saturday night schedule and, along with *All in the Family*, *M\*A\*S\*H*, *The Bob Newhart Show* and *The Carol Burnett Show*, was part of one of the strongest nights of programming ever presented by a network. From September 1970 until its final airing in September 1977, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* was normally among the top 20 shows. It garnered three Emmy Awards as "Outstanding Comedy Series" (in 1975, 1976 and 1977). Moore, Asner, Harper, Knight and White all won Emmy's for their performances and the show's writing and directing were similarly honored several times.

The show was the first from MTM Productions, the company formed by Moore and her husband, Grant Tinker. MTM went on to produce an impressive list of landmark situation comedies and dramas including *The Bob Newhart Show*, *Newhart*, *The White Shadow*, *Hill Street Blues*, *St. Elsewhere* and *L.A. Law*. The characters from *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* provided the focus for several successful spin-offs in the 1970s: *Rhoda*, *Phyllis* and *Lou Grant*. The latter was significant in that it represented the successful continuation and transformation of a character across genre lines. In the new show Asner played Grant as a newspaper editor in a serious, hour-long, issue-oriented drama. MTM Productions developed a reputation, begun in *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, for creating what became known as "quality television," television readily identifiable by its textured, humane and contemporary themes and characters.

Traits of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* have become standard elements of many situation comedies since its airing. Because numerous writers and directors worked at MTM and on this show, then moved on to develop their own productions, its influence is notable in sitcoms such as *Taxi*, *Cheers* and *Night Court*.

*The Mary Tyler Moore Show* was also one of the first sitcoms to bring closure to its story. In its last episode in 1977, the entire WJM news staff, with the exception of the very expendable Ted Baxter, was fired. Mary's neighbors, Rhoda and Phyllis, had departed previously for their own programs. Now the rest of her "family" was being broken up. Ironically, television brought them together and now the vagaries of television were separating them—in the "real" world as well as in their own fictional context. In the final moments Mary, Lou, Murray, Ted, his wife, Georgette, and Sue Ann mass together in a teary group hug and exit. Then Mary turns out the lights in the newsroom for the last time. It was a fitting conclusion to a program which had become very comfortable and very real in ways few other programs ever had.

—Geoffrey Hammill

#### CAST

<i>Mary Richards</i>	Mary Tyler Moore
<i>Lou Grant</i>	Edward Asner
<i>Ted Baxter</i>	Ted Knight
<i>Murray Slaughter</i>	Gavin MacLeod
<i>Rhoda Morgenstern</i> (1970–74)	Valerie Harper
<i>Phyllis Lindstrom</i> (1970–75)	Cloris Leachman
<i>Bess Lindstrom</i> (1970–74)	Lisa Gerritsen
<i>Gordon (Gordy) Howard</i> (1970–73)	John Amos
<i>Georgette Franklin Baxter</i> (1973–77)	Georgia Engel
<i>Sue Ann Nivens</i> (1973–77)	Betty White
<i>Marie Slaughter</i> (1971–77)	Joyce Bulifant
<i>Edie Grant</i> (1973–74)	Priscilla Morrill
<i>David Baxter</i> (1976–77)	Robbie Rist

**PRODUCERS** James L. Brooks, Alan Burns, Stan Daniels, Ed Weinberger

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 168 Episodes

#### • CBS

September 1970–December 1971	Saturday 9:30-10:00
December 1971–September 1972	Saturday 8:30-9:00
September 1972–October 1976	Saturday 9:00-9:30
November 1976–September 1977	Saturday 8:00-3:30

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See also Asner, Ed; Brooks, James L.; Burns, Allan; Comedy, Domestic Settings; Comedy, Workplace; Family on Television; Gender and Television; Moore, Mary Tyler; Tinker, Grant; Workplace Programs

# MASS COMMUNICATION

The term "mass communication" is a term used in a variety of ways which, despite the potential for confusion, are usually clear from the context. These include (1) reference to the activities of the mass media as a group, (2) the use of criteria of "massiveness" to distinguish among media and their activities, and (3) the construction of questions about communication as applied to the activities of the mass media. Significantly only the third of these uses does not take the actual process of communication for granted.

"Mass communication" is often used loosely to refer to the distribution of entertainment, arts, information, and messages by television, radio, newspapers, magazines, movies, recorded music, and associated media. This general application is only appropriate as designating the most common features of such otherwise disparate phenomena as broadcast television, cable, video playback, theater projection, recorded song, radio talk, advertising, and the front page, editorial page, sports section, and comics page of the newspaper. In this usage "mass communication" refers to the activities of the media as a whole and fails to distinguish among specific media, modes of communication, genres of text or artifact, production or reception situations, or any questions concerning actual communication. The only analytic purpose served is to distinguish mass communication from interpersonal, small-group, and other face-to-face communication situations.

Various criteria of massiveness can also be brought to bear in analyses of media and mass communication situations. These criteria may include size and differentiation of audience, anonymity, simultaneity, and the nature of influences among audience members and between the audience and the media.

Live television spectacles of recent decades may be the epitome of mass communication. These may include such serious events as the funerals of John Fitzgerald Kennedy or Martin Luther King, Jr., and entertainment spectacles such as the Olympic games, the Superbowl, and the Academy Awards. These transmissions are distributed simultaneously and regardless of individual or group differences to audiences numbering in several tens or even a few hundreds of millions. Outside of their own local groups, members of these audiences know nothing of each other. They have no real opportunities to influence the television representation of the events or the interpretation of those representations by other audience members.

By contrast the audience for most cable television channels is much smaller and more differentiated from other audience groups. The audience for newspapers, magazines, and movies is less simultaneous, again smaller and more differentiated, and holds out the potential for a flow of local influences as people talk about articles and recommend movies. Still, compared to a letter, phone call, conversation, group discussion, or public lecture all of these media produce communication immensely more massive on every criterion.

All of the criteria used in defining mass communication are potentially confused when one is engaged in a specific research project or critical examination. The most confounding problem is encountered when determining the level of analysis. Should the concern be with a single communication event or with multiple events but a single communication channel? Should the focus be upon multiple channels but a single medium? Does the central question concern a moment in time or an era, a community, nation, or the world?

Radio provides an excellent example of the importance of these choices. Before television, network radio was the epitome of mass communication; it was national, live, available and listened to everywhere. Today it is difficult to think of radio this way because the industry no longer works in the same manner. Commercial radio stations depend on local and regional sources of advertising income. Essentially all radio stations are programmed to attract a special segment of a local or regional audience, and even when programming national entertainment materials such as popular songs, stations emphasize local events, personalities, weather, news, and traffic in their broadcast talk. Radio is an industry characterized by specialized channels each attracting relatively small, relatively differentiated audiences. But the average home in the United States has five and half radios, more than twice the number of televisions. Cumulatively the U.S. audience for radio is just as big, undifferentiated, and anonymous as that for television; and because radio is normally live and television is not, the reception of radio communication is more simultaneous than that of television. Is radio today, then, a purveyor of mass communication? It depends on whether the concern is with the industry as a whole or with the programming and audience of a particular station.

Most uses of the term "mass communication" fall into one of these first two categories, either to refer to the activities of the mass media as a whole, or to refer to the massiveness of certain kinds of communication. Both uses have in common that they take issues of communication for granted and instead place emphasis on the size, the massiveness of the distribution system and the audience. Attention is given to what are called the mass media because they are the institutional and technological systems capable of producing mass audiences for mass distributed "communications." Communication, then, ends up implicitly defined as merely a kind of object (message, text, artifact) that is reproduced and transported by these media. For some purposes this may be exactly the right definition. But it diminishes our ability to treat communication as a social accomplishment, as something people do rather than as an object that gets moved from one location to another. If communication is something people do, then it may or may not be successful, may or may not be healthy and happy. If communication means "to share" for example rather than

"to transmit," then what, if anything, of importance is shared when people watch a television show.

Scholars of mass communication are often more interested in communication as a social accomplishment than they are in the media as mass distribution systems. This interest is based on an intellectual independence from existing habits of terminology, and most importantly, independence from media institutions as they exist. The term mass, however it may be defined, is then treated as a qualification on the term communication, however it may be defined. Such intellectual exercises, of course, can work out in a great variety of ways, but a few examples will suffice.

At one extreme, if communication is defined so that interaction between parties is a necessary criterion, as in "communication is symbolic interaction," and mass is defined as an aggregate of *non-interacting* entities, then mass communication is an oxymoron and an impossibility. At the opposite extreme, if the term "mass communication" is defined as involving *any* symbolic behavior addressed "to whom it may concern" then choices of clothing, furniture, and appliance styles, body posture, gestures, and any other publicly observable activity may well count as mass communication. Both of these extremes may seem like mere intellectual games. But they are important precisely because their intellectuality frees them of the practical constraints under which we operate in other realms. The contribution of such intellectual games is precisely to stimulate new thinking. Perhaps pausing to consider the idea that mass communication may be an impossibility could help us to understand some of the paradoxes and incoherencies of contemporary American culture.

Consider a third example in which we use a model of communication to evaluate industry practices. Definitions of mass communication that take communication for granted and focus simply on the massiveness of the medium are always in danger of implicitly adopting, or certainly failing to question, the assumed criteria of evaluation already used in industries. In commercial television, as in any of the other commercial media, what is assumed is that television is a business. The conventions of the industry are to evaluate things solely in business terms. Is this television show good for business? Would increasing network news to an hour be a good business decision? Would noncommercial, educational programming for children be a successful business venture? In such an environment it is an important intervention to point out that these industries are communicators as well as businesses. As such they can and should be held to communicative standards. The public has a right to ask whether a television show is good for communication, whether an hour of network news would be a successful form of communication, whether there is a communication need for noncommercial, educational children's programming.

As the terms of the questions shift, so, of course, may the answers. Becoming aware of such possibilities begins with being sensitive to the definitions of such terms as mass communication.

—Eric Rothenbuhler

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See also Advertising; Americanization; Audience Research; Cable Networks; Market; Narrowcasting; Political Processes and Television; Public Interest, Convenience, and Necessity; Satellite; United States: Cable Television



## MAUDE

### U.S. Situation Comedy

**M**aude, the socially controversial, sometimes radical sitcom featuring a strong female lead character played by Bea Arthur, ran on CBS from 1972 to 1978. Like its predecessor *All in the Family*, *Maude* was created by Norman Lear's Tandem Productions. Maude Findlay was first introduced as Edith's liberal, outspoken cousin from suburban Tucahoe, New York on an episode of *All in the Family* in 1972 before spinning off later that year to her own series set in upper middle-class Tucahoe where she lived with her fourth husband, Walter Findlay, her divorced daughter Carol, and Carol's young son Phillip. The Findlays also went through three housekeepers during the run of the series, the first of whom, Florida Evans, left in 1974 to her own spin-off, *Good Times*. These three shows, among others, comprised a cadre of 1970s Norman Lear urban sitcoms that raised social and political issues and dealt with them in a manner as yet unexplored in television sitcom. *Maude* enjoyed a spot in the top ten Nielsen ratings during its first four seasons despite being subjected to day and/or time changes in the CBS schedule that continued throughout the entire run of the program.

Like many of Lear's productions, *Maude* was a character-centered sitcom. Maude Findlay was opinionated like Archie Bunker, but her politics and class position were completely different. Strong-willed, intelligent and articulate, the liberal progressive Maude spoke out on issues raised less openly on Lear's highly successful *All in the Family*. While questions of race, class and gender politics reverberated throughout both, certain specific issues, like menopause, birth control and abortion were more openly confronted on *Maude*. In a two-part episode that ran early in the series, the 47-year-old Maude finds out that she's pregnant and decides, with her husband Walter, that she would have an abortion, which had just been made legal in New York state. Part two of the double episode also dealt with men and birth control as Walter considers getting a vasectomy. Thousands of viewers wrote letters in protest of the episode because of the abortion issue. In other episodes Maude gets a face-lift, Walter's business goes bankrupt, and he deals with the resulting bout with depression; in yet another Walter confronts his own alcoholism. The realism of *Maude*, though conforming to the constraints of the genre, made it one of the first sitcoms to create a televisual space where highly charged, topical issues and sometimes tragic contemporary situations could be discussed.

*Maude* represented a change in television sitcoms during the early 1970s. Many 1960s sitcoms reflected the context and values of white middle America, where gender and family roles were fixed and problems encountered in the program rarely reached beyond the confines of nuclear family relationships. Despite variations on that theme in terms of alternative families (*Family Affair* and *My Three*



Maude

*Sons*) and an added supernatural element (*Bewitched* and *I Dream of Jeannie*), the context was middle to upper-middle class, mostly suburban, and white. However, cultural upheaval in the 1960s, the political climate of the early 1970s, shifting viewer demographics and the maturing of television itself were responsible for a departure from the usual fare. By the early 1970s a growing portion of the viewing audience, baby boomers, were open to new kinds of television, having come of age during the era of Civil Rights, Vietnam protests and various forms of consciousness raising. However, the changing tastes of the audience and the social climate of the early 1970s cannot by themselves account for the rise of socially conscious television during this period. The sitcom had also matured and producers like Norman Lear, familiar generally with American humor and specifically with the rules of television sitcom, decided to make television comedy that was more socially aware. Like *All in the Family*, *Maude* set out to explode the dominant values of the white middle-class domestic sitcom with its traditional gender roles and non-white stereotypes by openly engaging in debates where various political points of view were embodied in the sitcom characters.

Such debates were the staple of *Maude* throughout its six-year run. In an early episode Maude hires Florida Evans, a black woman, to be housekeeper. Maude goes out of her way to prove her progressive attitude to Florida by insisting she become like one of the family. Florida, along with Walter and Carol, points out to Maude the foolishness of her extreme behavior. In the end Maude recognizes her underlying condescension towards Florida who, as witty and outspoken as Maude, retains her dignity and decides to remain as the Findlay housekeeper on her own terms. The interaction between Maude and Florida in this episode was a comment on the issues and attitudes about race that stemmed from the Civil Rights efforts of the 1960s. Maude's attitudes and behavior were indicative of white liberal politics during a time when race relations in the United States were being reconfigured.

Another reconfiguration was taking place within the arena of women's rights. In one of the final episodes of the show, Maude is given the opportunity to run for New York state senate and Walter refuses to consider the possibility. He offers Maude an ultimatum, and after mulling over her decision, she decides to let Walter leave. This episode, like many others, reflected a feminist sensibility emerging within the country, and can be viewed as a platform for discussions about the changing roles of women and the difficulties they encountered as they were faced with new challenges and more choices. Maude's character agonized over the conflict between tradition and her own career aspirations.

The show's ratings began to fall after its fourth season, and by 1978 Bea Arthur announced that she would leave the show. The end of *Maude* marked another shift in the domestic sitcom, away from open political debate and towards a renewal of the safer, more traditional family-centered sitcoms of an earlier period in television history.

—Katherine Fry

#### CAST

*Maude Findlay* . . . . . Beatrice Arthur  
*Walter Findlay* . . . . . Bill Macy  
*Carol* . . . . . Adrienne Barbeau  
*Phillip* (1972–77) . . . . . Brian Morrison  
*Phillip* (1977–78) . . . . . Kraig Metzinger

## MAVERICK

U.S. Western

A subversive Western with a dark sense of humour, *Maverick* soared to sixth place in the Nielsen ratings during its second season with a 30.4 share as well as winning an Emmy Award for Best Western Series in 1959. Starring the then relatively unknown James Garner as footloose frontier gambler Bret Maverick, shortly after joined by Jack Kelly as brother Bart, this hour-long series followed the duplicitous adventures and, more often, mis-

*Dr. Arthur Harmon* . . . . . Conrad Bain  
*Vivian Cavender Harmon* . . . . . Rue McClanahan  
*Florida Evans* (1972–74) . . . . . Esther Rolle  
*Henry Evans* (1973–74) . . . . . John Amos  
*Chris* (1973–1974) . . . . . Fred Grandy  
*Mrs. Nell Naugatuck* (1974–77) . . . . . Hermione Baddeley  
*Bert Beasley* (1975–77) . . . . . J. Pat O'Malley  
*Victoria Butterfield* (1977–78) . . . . . Marlene Warfield

**PRODUCERS** Norman Lear, Rod Parker, Bob Weiskopf, Bob Schiller

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 142 Episodes

#### • CBS

September 1972–September 1974	Tuesday 8:00–8:30
September 1974–September 1975	Monday 9:00–9:30
September 1975–September 1976	Monday 9:30–10:00
September 1976–September 1977	Monday 9:00–9:30
September 1977–November 1977	Monday 9:30–10:00
December 1977–January 1978	Monday 9:00–9:30
January 1978–April 1978	Saturday 9:30–10:00

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Himmelstein, Hal. *Television Myth and the American Mind*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1994.

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See also *All in the Family*; Arthur, Beatrice; Comedy, Domestic Settings; Family on Television; Gender and Television; Lear, Norman

adventures of the Mavericks in their pursuit of money and the easy life.

Starting out as a straight Western drama (the first three episodes, "The War of the Silver Kings", "Point Blank" and "According to Hoyle", were directed by feature Western auteur Budd Boetticher), the series soon developed a comedy streak after writer Marion Hargrove decided to liven up his scriptwriting work by inserting the simple stage direction:

"Maverick looks at him with his beady little eyes." Other scriptwriters then followed suit. Garner, in particular, and Kelly joined in with the less-than-sincere spirit of the stories and *Maverick* took a unique turn away from the other, more formal and traditional Warner Brothers-produced Westerns then on the air (*Lawman*, *Colt .45*, *Cheyenne* and *Sugarfoot*).

The series was created by producer Roy Huggins and developed out of a story (co-written with Howard Browne) in which Huggins tried to see how many TV Western rules he could break and get away with; the script, ironically, was filmed as an episode of the "adult" *Cheyenne* series ("The Dark Rider") and featured guest-star Diane Brewster as a swindler and practiced cheat, a role she was later to take up as a recurring character, gambler Samantha Crawford, during the 1958-59 season of *Maverick*. "*Maverick* is *Cheyenne*, a conventional Western, turned inside out," said Huggins. "But with *Maverick* there was nothing coincidental about the inversion." The *Maverick* brothers were not heroes in the traditional Western sense. They were devious, cowardly card-sharps who exploited easy situations and quickly vanished when faced with potentially violent ones. A popular part of their repertoire for evading difficult moments was the "Pappyisms" that corrupted their speech. Quoting their old Pappy, and mentor, as a suitable excuse they were likely to come out with (when all else failed, for instance): "My old Pappy used to say 'If you can't fight 'em, and they won't let you join 'em, best get out of the county'."

Following the success of *Cheyenne* on ABC (from its premiere in 1955) the network asked Warner Brothers TV division to give them another hour-long Western program for their Sunday evening slot. *Maverick* premiered on 22 September 1957, and pretty soon won over the viewers from the powerful opposition of CBS' *The Ed Sullivan Show* and NBC's *The Steve Allen Show*, two programs that had been Sunday night favourites from the mid-1950s. With Garner alone starring in early episodes, Warner found that it was taking eight days to film a weekly show. They decided to introduce another character, Bret's brother, in order to keep the production on schedule. This strategy resulted in a weekly co-starring series when Jack Kelly's Bart was introduced in the "Hostage" episode (10 November 1957). With separate production units now working simultaneously, Warner managed to supply a steady stream of episodes featuring either Bret or Bart on alternate weeks. Occasionally, both *Maverick* brothers were seen in the same episode, usually when they teamed up to help each other out of some difficult situation or to outwit even more treacherous characters than themselves.

The series also reveled in colourful characters as well as presenting wild parodies of other TV programs of the period. During the early seasons recurring guest characters popped in and out of the plots to foil or assist the brothers: Dandy Jim Buckley (played by Efrem Zimbalist Jr.), Gentleman Jack Darby (Richard Long), Big Mike McComb (Leo Gordon) and Bret's regular antagonist, the artful con-woman Samantha Crawford (Brewster). Among the more amusing episodes:



Maverick

"Gun-Shy" (second season) was a send-up of *Gunsmoke* featuring a hick character called Mort Dooley; "A Cure for Johnny Rain" (third season) spoofed Jack Webb's *Dragnet* with Garner doing a deadpan Joe Friday voice-over; "Hadley's Hunters" (fourth season) had Bart enlist the help of Ty Hardin (*Bronco*), Will Hutchins (*Sugarfoot*), Clint Walker (*Cheyenne*), John Russell and Peter Brown (*Lawman*) all playing their respective characters from the WB stable of Western TV series (and with Edd "Kookie" Byrnes from Warner Brothers *77 Sunset Strip* as a blacksmith); and "Three Queens Full" (fifth season) was a wicked parody of *Bonanza* in which the Subrosa Ranch was run by Joe Wheelwright and his three sons, Moose, Henry and Small Paul. In addition, two other episodes ("The Wrecker" and "A State of Siege") were loose adaptations of Robert Louis Stevenson stories, albeit translated into the *Maverick* vein.

In 1960 actor James Garner and his Warner Brothers studio bosses clashed when Garner took out a lawsuit against the studio for breach of contract arising out of his suspension during the January-June writers' strike of that year. Warner claimed that it was justified in suspending Garner by invoking the force majeure clause in Garner's contract due to the writers' strike; the clause, in other words, meant that if forces beyond the control of the studio prevented it from making films, the studio didn't have to continue paying actors' salaries. It had been no secret at the time that Garner had

wanted to be released from his contract ("Contracts are completely one-sided affairs. If you click, [the studio] owns you," he stated). Finally, in December 1960 the judge decided in favour of Garner. During the course of the testimony it was revealed that during the strike Warner had obtained—under the table—something in the number of 100 TV scripts, and that at one time the studio had as many as 14 writers working under the pseudonym of "W. Hermanos" (Spanish for "brothers").

Garner then went on to a successful feature film career but returned to series television in the 1970s with *Nichols* (1971–72) and the popular *The Rockford Files* (1974–80). He appeared as a guest star along with Jack Kelly in the 1978 TV movie/pilot *The New Maverick*, which produced the short-lived *Young Maverick* (1979–80) series, minus Garner; he also starred in the title role of *Bret Maverick* (1981–82) which he co-produced with Warner. A theatrical film version, *Maverick*, was produced in 1994 with Mel Gibson starring as Bret Maverick and Garner appearing as Bret's father; Richard Donner directed the Warner Brothers release.

As a replacement for Garner in the fourth season of the original series Warner brought on board Roger Moore, as cousin Beauregard, a Texas expatriate who had lived in England (a WB contract player, Moore had been transferred from another Warner Western series, *The Alaskans*, which had run only one season from 1959). When Moore departed after just one season another Maverick brother, Robert Colbert's Brent Maverick, a slight Garner/Bret lookalike, was introduced in the spring of 1961 to alternate adventures with Bart. Colbert stayed only until the end of that season, leaving the final (and longest remaining) Maverick, Jack Kelly, to ride out the last *Maverick* season (1961–62) alone, except for some early seasons' rerun episodes.

The series came to an end after 124 episodes, and with it a small-screen Western legend came to a close. Perhaps the ultimate credit for *Maverick* should go to creator-producer Roy Huggins for the originality to steer the series clear of the trite and the ordinary, and for not only trying something different but executing it with a comic flair.

—Tise Vahimagi

#### CAST

*Bret Maverick* (1957–60) . . . . . James Garner  
*Bart Maverick* . . . . . Jack Kelly

*Samantha Crawford* (1958–59) . . . . . Diane Brewster  
*Cousin Beauregard Maverick* (1960–61) . . . . . Roger Moore  
*Brent Maverick* (1961) . . . . . Robert Colbert

**PRODUCERS** Roy Huggins, William T. Orr, Howie Horwitz

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 124 Episodes

#### • ABC

September 1957–September 1961      Sunday 7:30–8:30  
 September 1961–July 1962      Sunday 6:30–7:30

#### FURTHER READING

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- Robertson, Ed. *Maverick, Legend of the West*. Los Angeles: Pomegranate Press, 1994.
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See also Garner, James; Huggins, Roy; Westerns

## MAX HEADROOM

U.S. Science-Fiction Program

**M***ax Headroom* was one of the most innovative science-fiction series ever produced for American television, an ambitious attempt to build upon the cyberpunk movement in science-fiction literature. The character of Max Headroom, the series' unlikely cybernetic protagonist, was

originally introduced in a 1984 British television movie, produced by Peter Wagg, and starring Canadian actor Matt Frewer. ABC brought the series to American television in March 1987, refilming the original movie as a pilot but recasting most of the secondary roles. The ABC series at-

tracted critical acclaim and a cult following, but only lasted for fourteen episodes. The anarchic and irreverent Max went on to become an advertising spokesman for Coca-Cola and to host his own talk show on the Cinemax cable network.

The original British telefilm appeared just one year after the publication of William Gibson's *Neuromancer*, the novel which brought public attention to the cyberpunk movement and introduced the term "cyberspace" into the English language. Influenced by films, such as *The Road Warrior* and *Bladerunner*, the cyberpunks adopted a taut, intense, and pulpy writing style, based on brisk yet detailed representations of a near future populated by multi-national corporations, colorful youth gangs, and computer hacker protagonists. Their most important theme was the total fusion of human and machine intelligences. Writers like Gibson, Bruce Sterling, Rudy Rucker, and Pat Cadigan, developed a shared set of themes and images, which were freely adopted by *Max Headroom*.

Set "twenty minutes in the future," *Max Headroom* depicted a society of harsh class inequalities where predators roam the street looking for unsuspecting citizens who can be sold for parts to black-market "body banks." Max inhabits a world ruled by Zic-Zac and other powerful corporations locked in a ruthless competition for consumer dollars and television rating points. In the opening episode, Network 22 dominates the airwaves through its use of blipverts, which compress thirty seconds of commercial information into three seconds. Blipverts can cause neural overstimulation and (more rarely) spontaneous combustion in more sedate viewers. Other episodes centered around the high crime of zipping (interrupting a network signal) and neurostim (a cheap burger pak give-away which hypnotizes people into irrational acts of consumption). We encounter blanks, a subversive underground of have-nots, who have somehow dodged incorporation into the massive databanks kept on individual citizens.

At the core of this dizzying and colorful world was Edison Carter, an idealistic Network 24 reporter who takes his portable minicam into the streets and the boardrooms to expose corruption and consumer-exploitation which, in most episodes, led him back to the front offices of his own network. Edison's path is guided by Theora Jones, his computer operator, whose hacker skills allow him to stay one step ahead of the security systems—at least most of the time—and Bryce Lynch, the amoral boy wonder and computer wizard. He is aided in his adventures by Blank Reg, the punked-out head of a pirate television operation, Big-Time Television. Edison's alter-ego, Max Headroom, is a cybernetic imprint of the reporter's memories and personality who comes to "live" within computers, television programs and other electronic environments. There he becomes noted for his sputtering speech style, his disrespect for authority, and his penchant for profound nonsequiters.

Critics admired the series' self-reflexivity, its willingness to pose questions about television networks and their often unethical and cynical exploitation of the ratings game, and its



Max Headroom

parody of game shows, political advertising, tele-evangelism, news coverage, and commercials. Influenced by MTV, the series' quick-paced editing and intense visual style were also viewed as innovative, creating a televisual equivalent of the vivid and intense cyberpunk writing style. This series' self-conscious parody of television conventions and its conception of a "society of spectacle" was considered emblematic of the "postmodern condition," making it a favorite of academic writers as well. Their interest was only intensified by Max's move from science fiction to advertising and to talk television, where this non-human celebrity (commodity) traded barbed comments with other talk-show-made celebrities, such as Doctor Ruth, Robin Leach, Don King, and Paul Shaffer. Subsequent series, such as Oliver Stone's *Wild Palms* or *VR*, have sought to bring aspects of cyberpunk to television, but none have done it with *Max Headroom's* verve, imagination, and faithfulness to core cyberpunk themes.

—Henry Jenkins

#### CAST

<i>Edison Carter/Max Headroom</i>	Matt Frewer
<i>Theora Jones</i>	Amanda Pays
<i>Ben Cheviot</i>	George Coe
<i>Bryce Lynch</i>	Chris Young
<i>Murray</i>	Jeffrey Tambor
<i>Blank Reg</i>	William Morgan Sheppard
<i>Dominique</i>	Concetta Tomei
<i>Ashwell</i>	Hank Garrett
<i>Edwards</i>	Lee Wilkof
<i>Lauren</i>	Sharon Barr
<i>Ms. Formby</i>	Virginia Kiser

**PRODUCERS** Phillip DeGuere, Peter Wagg, Brian Frankish

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

##### • ABC

March 1987–May 1987      Tuesday 10:00–11:00  
August 1987–October 1987      Friday 9:00–10:00

#### FURTHER READING

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*in the Arts*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1992.

Lentz, Harris M. *Science Fiction, Horror and Fantasy Film and Television Credits, Supplement 2, Through 1993*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1994.

Loder, Kurt. "Max Mania: A 'Computer Generated' Talk-show Host, Max Headroom Has Become TV's Latest Overnight Sensation." *Rolling Stone* (New York), 28 August 1986.

Long, Marion. "Paradise Tossed." *Omni* (New York), April 1988.

Roberts, Steve. *Max Headroom: The Picture Book of the Film*. New York: Random House, 1986.

Staiger, Janet. "Future Noir: Contemporary Representations of Visionary Cities." *East-West Film Journal* (Honolulu, Hawaii), December 1988.

Waters, Harry F. "Mad About M-M-Max." *Newsweek* (New York), 20 April 1987.

See also Science-fiction Program

## McDONALD, TREVOR

British Broadcast Journalist

Trevor McDonald is the comforting face of night-time news. As Big Ben chimes 10:00 o'clock, McDonald looks up from his news desk and, with considerable gravitas, reads out the news headlines for ITN (Independent Television News). Although this act is undertaken in newsrooms across Britain, he occupies a very particular position in the media firmament. McDonald is not only one of the most respected elder statesmen of news broadcasting (at 55) irrespective of race, but has been an abidingly positive role model for countless young black Britons growing up in a society where skin colour still matters. He was born in Trinidad and came to Britain in 1969 to work for the BBC World Service, and joined ITN a few years later as its first black reporter. McDonald has quietly got on with doing his job, courting neither controversy nor fame but a settled life doing what he does best. Because of his extreme visibility as, still, one of a few black media professionals who are regularly on television, he has been criticized for not using his privileged position more overtly to combat racism and discrimination. However, as he argued in the *Radio Times*, although he is aware of "racial undercurrents in this country...I have been very lucky and found none at all."

His most important contribution to television is probably his exemplary professionalism as a black newscaster and journalist who manifests a positive role to younger generations, in counterpoint to many of the more stereotyped media portraits of black communities in Western societies. He also offers a professional image to those who know nothing of black people other than their vicarious experi-



Trevor McDonald

Photo courtesy of the British Film Institute

ences of television. As evidence to his illustrious career, he was awarded TRIC's "Newscaster of the Year," and in 1993 Officer of the OBE.

—Karen Ross

TREVOR MCDONALD. Born in San Fernando, Trinidad, 16 August 1939. Attended schools in Trinidad. Married: 1) Josephine (divorced); 2) Sabrina; children: Timothy, Jamie and Joanne. Reporter, local radio, Trinidad, 1959; announcer, sports commentator and assistant programme manager; joined Trinidad Television, 1962; producer for the Caribbean Service and World Service in London, BBC, 1969; reporter, Independent Television News, 1973–78; sports correspondent, ITN, 1978–80; diplomatic correspondent, ITN, 1980–82; diplomatic correspondent and newscaster, *Channel Four News*, 1982–87; diplomatic editor, *Channel Four News*, 1987–89; newscaster, ITN's *News*

at 5.40, 1989–90; newscaster, ITN's *News at Ten* since 1990. Officer of the Order of the British Empire, 1992. Recipient: TRIC Newscaster of the Year, 1993. Address: Independent Television News, 200 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1 8XZ, England.

#### TELEVISION (selection)

1982–89 *Channel Four News*  
1989–90 *News at 5.40*  
1990– *News at Ten*

#### PUBLICATIONS

*Viv Richards—A Biography*. London: Pelham, 1984.  
*Clive Lloyd—A Biography*. London and New York: Granada, 1985.  
*Queen and Commonwealth*. London: Methuen, 1986.  
*Fortunate Circumstances* (autobiography). London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1993.

## McGRATH, JOHN

British Writer/Director

John McGrath has had a career marked by absolute commitment to working-class politics in theatre, film, and television. McGrath's theatrical career spans London's Royal Court and the Liverpool Everyman to his own 7:84 Company ("7% of the population own 84% of the wealth"), while his film credits extend from Ken Russell's *Billion Dollar Brain* to rewrites on 20th Century-Fox's *Adventures of Robin Hood*. His early TV career included Kenneth Tynan's formative arts programme *Tempo*, while his 1963 Granada documentary *The Entertainers* won critical plaudits. With Troy Kennedy-Martin and John Hopkins, McGrath stamped BBC's *Z Cars* as the breakthrough cop drama of the 1960s, fueled by moral uncertainty and Royal Court grittiness. McGrath hallmarked the series with a profound compassion for his protagonists, instituting a concern for real lives among the social problems that were already, however comfortably, addressed by earlier genre offerings. The use of 16mm film allowed for filming on actual locations, and the shift from received pronunciation to the vernacular of his native Merseyside opened the way, notably in Stratford Johns' performance as Inspector Barlow, for subsequent generations of tough cop stories. McGrath took the combination of entertainment formula and social concern, which distinguished much of the best of the BBC's output in the 1960s, to his work as producer and director for BBC2 experimental dramas by, among others, Johnny Speight, Edna O'Brien, and his own adaptation with Ken Russell of *The Diary of a Nobody*, in the style of a silent comedy. Continuing to work in theatre, he eventually amassed over 40 scripts, one of which became a successful movie, *The Bofors Gun*, directed by Jack Gold, a chilling account of class war and military service.

McGrath's contribution to a militant, populist theatre is documented in his first book, *A Good Night Out*, and in the remarkable 1974 *The Cheviot, the Stage and the Black*

*Oil*, documenting 7:84's Scottish tour of a play about the history of British colonialism in Scotland. One of the most surprisingly successful TV dramas of its time, *The Cheviot* uses the stage play's combination of farce, communal singing, and sketches, intercut with location reconstructions of historical episodes of both oppression and resistance to convey the stages of British rule from the clearances of the peasantry to make way for the wool-bearing cheviot seep, through the further depredations made to clear land for hunting, concluding with interviews, documentary footage and more dramatic interludes to draw parallels with the contemporary exploitation of Scottish oil-fields by international interests. The programme, like the stage version, ends with more singing, and an invitation to the on-screen audience to join in traditional dancing, an embrace of community which characterises his work over the last twenty years.

Appalled by bureaucracy and mismanagement in the arts, he resigned from the 7:84 theatre company, which he had founded, in 1981. In 1984, he started Freeway Films, dedicated to producing programmes and features for his adopted homeland in Scotland. Characteristically committed to social causes, to political entertainment, and to the immediacy of live performance (whose decimation with the rise of videotape he has not ceased to mourn), Freeway began to produce, largely for Channel 4, a series of programmes including *Poets and People*, in which leading poets read their work to audiences with whom they felt particular affinities, in housing estates and clubs. *Sweetwater Memories*, based on McGrath's military service in Suez, opened a more personal vein in his writing, expanded upon in the 1986 three-part series *Blood Red Roses*, co-produced with Lorimar and subsequently cut for theatrical release. *Roses* follows the life of Bessie MacGuigan from life in the rural hinterlands with her



disabled father, through unsuccessful marriage to a Communist Party activist, to trades unionism among the women workers of East Kilbride. Played with passionate conviction by two lead actresses, the narrative, typically for McGrath, does not mourn the victim but celebrates the fighter.

The remarkable trilogy on Scottish history and English colonialism comprising *There is a Happy Land*, *Border Warfare* and *John Brown's Body* is a record of the epic productions performed at Glasgow's Tramway Theatre. Like *The Cheviot*, the trilogy transfers startlingly from stage to screen. In the 1974 McTaggart Lecture to the Edinburgh Television Festival, McGrath had attacked naturalism as the mainstay of British television: the constructivist sets, audience interaction, and melodramatic acting styles of the trilogy devoted to "the story of 1,000 years of invasion, suppression, massacre, pillage, attempted annihilation, betrayal and treachery" proves McGrath's case that popular art does not demand realist narration. In 1992, McGrath provided an election broadcast for the Labour Party, some of whose themes are picked up in 1993's *The Long Roads*, a picaresque romance which, like Ozu's *Tokyo Story*, anchors a dissection of contemporary mores in the reviving romance of an elderly couple visiting their children, scattered through Thatcher's Britain. As the parents visit in turn the policeman, the massage-parlour hostess, the technologist without social conscience, the kept wife of a financial wheeler-dealer, and a despairing sociologist, the decency of a world denied by the consumer boom and individualist policies of the 1980s is portrayed in warm colours. Under Tristram Powell's direction, the story centres on the relationship between the old people, giving back to McGrath's small-screen work a personal touch not seen since *Sweetwater* ten years before.

Despite major illness, McGrath completed the feature *Mairi Mhor* in 1994 and remains fiercely active in theatre and film as well as television. Unlike some of his more famous theatrical contemporaries, he has retained a commitment to regionalism, and to nationalism in the case of Scotland, turning to television as the most effective way of bringing the power of drama to the widest audience. Perhaps his career is best summed up in the subtitle to his book *The Bone Won't Break: Theatre and Hope in Hard Times*.

—Sean Cubitt

**JOHN PETER McGRATH.** Born in Birkenhead, Cheshire, England, 1 June 1935. Attended Alun Grammar School, Mold, Wales; St. John's College, Oxford (Open Exhibitioner), 1955–59, Dip. Ed. Served in British army (national service), 1953–55. Married: Elizabeth MacLennan, 1962; two sons and one daughter. Worked on farm in Neston, Cheshire, 1951; play reader, Royal Court Theatre, London, and writer for the theater, 1958–61; writer and director, BBC Television, 1960–65; founder and artistic director, 7:84 Theatre Company, 1971–88; continued to write for stage, television and films; director, Freeway Films, since 1984; director, Channel Four Television, London, since 1989. Judith E. Wilson Fellow, Cambridge University, 1979. Address; Free-

way Films, 67 George Street, Edinburgh EH2 2JG, Scotland.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

- 1961      *Bookstand* (also director)
- 1962–78   *Z Cars* (also director)
- 1963      *Tempo*
- 1964      *Diary of a Young Man* (with Troy Kennedy-Martin)

#### TELEVISION SPECIALS (selection)

- 1961      *The Compartment* (director)
- 1963      *The Fly Sham* (director)
- 1963      *The Wedding Dress* (director)
- 1964      *The Entertainers* (also director)
- 1965      *The Day of Ragnarok* (also director)
- 1965      *Mo* (also director)
- 1966      *Shotgun* (with Christopher Williams; also director)
- 1966      *Diary of a Nobody* (with Ken Russell)
- 1971      *Orkney*
- 1972      *Double Bill* (director)
- 1972      *Bouncing Boy*
- 1977      *Once Upon a Union*
- 1978      *Z Cars: The Final Episode* (director)
- 1979      *The Adventures of Frank* (also director)
- 1983      *Come to Mecca* (director)
- 1984      *Sweetwater Memories*
- 1986      *Blood Red Roses* (also director)
- 1987      *There Is a Happy Land*

#### FILMS

*Billion Dollar Brain*, 1967; *The Bofors Gun*, 1968; *The Virgin Soldiers* (with John Hopkins and Ian La Frenais), 1969; *The Reckoning*, 1970; *Blood Red Roses* (director), 1986; *The Dressmaker*, 1989; *Carrington* (producer), 1995.

#### STAGE

*A Man Has Two Fathers*, 1958; *The Invasion*, with Barbara Cannings, 1958; *The Tent*, 1958; *Why the Chicken*, 1959; *Tell Me Tell Me*, 1960; *Take It*, 1960; *The Seagull*, 1961; *Basement in Bangkok*, 1963; *Events While Guarding the Bofors Gun*, 1966; *Bakke's Night of Fame*, 1968; *Comrade Jacob*, 1969; *Random Happenings in the Hebrides*, 1970; *Sharpeville Crackers*, 1970; *Unruly Elements*, 1971; *Trees in the Wind*, 1971; *Soft or a Girl*, 1971; *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*, 1972; *Prisoners of the War*, 1972; *Underneath* (also director), 1972; *Sergeant Musgrave Dances On*, 1972; *Fish in the Sea*, 1972; *The Cheviot, the Stag, and the Black, Black Oil* (also director), 1973; *The Game's a Bogey* (also director), 1974; *Boom* (also director), 1974; *Lay Off* (also director), 1975; *Little Red Hen* (also director), 1975; *Oranges and Lemons* (also director), 1975; *Yobbo Nowt* (also director), 1975; *The Rat Trap* (also director), 1976; *Out of Our Heads* (also director), 1976; *Trembling Giant*, 1977; *The Life and Times of Joe of England* (also director), 1977; *Big Square*

*Fields*, 1979; *Joe's Drum* (also director), 1979; *Bitter Apples*, 1979; *If You Want to Know the Time*, 1979; *Swings and Roundabouts* (also director), 1980; *Blood Red Roses* (also director), 1980; *Nightclass* (also director), 1981; *The Catch*, 1981; *Rejoice!*, 1982; *On the Pig's Back*, with David MacLennan, 1983; *The Women of the Dunes*, 1983; *Women in Power*, 1983; *Six Men of Dorset*, 1984; *The Baby and the Bathwater: The Imperial Policeman*, 1984; *The Albannach*, 1985; *Behold the Sun*, 1985; *All the Fun of the Fair*, with others, 1986; *Border Warfare*, 1989; *John Brown's Body*, 1990; *Watching for Dolphins*, 1991; *The Wicked Old Man*, 1992; *The Silver Darlings*, 1994.

#### PUBLICATIONS

*Events While Guarding the Bofors Gun*. London: Methuen, 1966.  
*Random Happenings in the Hebrides*. London: Davis Poynter, 1972.  
*Bakke's Night of Fame*. London: Davis Poynter, 1973.  
*The Game's a Bogey*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Student Publications, 1975.  
*Little Red Hen*. London: Pluto Press, 1977.

## McKAY, JIM

### U.S. Sportscaster

There are few commentators with accolades to match those of Jim McKay, or whose career is marked by an equally impressive list of broadcasting "firsts." In 1947, McKay was the first on-air television broadcaster seen and heard on the airwaves of Baltimore, Maryland. Twenty-one years later, in 1968, McKay earned distinction as the first sports commentator honored with an Emmy Award. McKay built on his reputation of excellence and went on to receive a total of thirteen Emmy Awards, and further distinguished himself as the first, and only, broadcaster to win Emmy Awards for both sports and news broadcasting, as well as for writing.

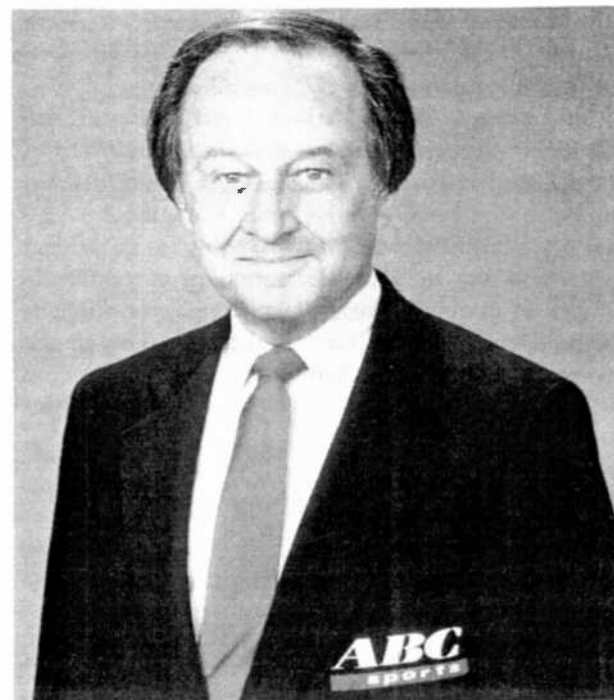
McKay's first reporting job was with the Baltimore *Evening Sun*. In 1947, the *Sun's* leadership invested in Baltimore's first TV station, WMAR-TV, and McKay was chosen as that station's first on-camera personality. McKay did everything but run WMAR-TV—functioning as the station's producer, director, writer, and news and sports reporter. His reputation as a hardworking and skillful journalist earned him an opportunity to host a New York City based CBS variety show and McKay became a strong presence in the largest media market in the world. Although CBS gave McKay his broadcasting break, it was ABC Sports, under the leadership of Roone Arledge, that provided McKay the opportunity to flourish. During the 1950s, McKay covered events ranging from international golf and horse racing events to college football. McKay, and ABC colleague Howard Cosell, gave ABC the most comprehensive sports programming available on television.

*Fish in the Sea*. London: Pluto Press, 1977.  
*Yobbo Nowt*. London: Pluto Press, 1978.  
*Joe's Drum*. Aberdeen: People's Press, 1979.  
*Two Plays for the Eighties*. Aberdeen: People's Press, 1981.  
*The Cheviot, the Stag, and the Black, Black Oil*. London: Eyre Methuen, 1981.  
*A Good Night Out: Popular Theatre: Audience, Class and Form*. London: Eyre Methuen, 1981.  
*The Bone Won't Break: Theatre and Hope in Hard Times*. London: Methuen, 1990.

#### FURTHER READING

Ansorge, Peter. *Disrupting the Spectacle*. London: Pitman, 1975.  
 Bigsby, C.W.E. "The Politics of Anxiety." *Modern Drama* (Toronto), December 1981.  
 Craig, Sandy, editor. *Dreams and Deconstructions*. Ambergate, Derbyshire: Amber Lane Press, 1980.  
 Irzin, Catherine. *Stages in the Revolution*. London: Eyre Methuen, 1980.

See also *Z Cars*



Jim McKay

Photo courtesy of Jim McKay

sonalities throughout the world. His most memorable Olympic games were those at Munich, where his experience as a seasoned reporter was put to the test. While preparing to take a swim on his first day off at the games, McKay received word that gunshots were fired in the Olympic Village. He ran to the ABC studio, threw clothes on over his swimsuit, and for the next sixteen hours delivered to the world award-winning coverage of the Black September terrorists' attack on Israeli athletes in Munich's Olympic Village.

McKay received two Emmy Awards for his work during the 1972 games, one for his coverage of the games and the other for his reporting on the terrorism. He was also the 1972 recipient of the George Polk Memorial Award, given annually to the one journalist whose work represents the most significant and finest reporting of the year. The Munich coverage was also recognized with his receipt of the Officer's Cross Order of Merit, bestowed by the former West German Federal Republic.

McKay is perhaps best known for his role as host for ABC's *Wide World of Sports*, which began with McKay as its host in 1961. Now, some 35 years later, ABC's *Wide World* is the most successful and longest running sports program in the history of television. Through his work with ABC's *Wide World*, McKay became the first American television sports reporter to enter the People's Republic of China during China's policy of isolationism.

His pioneering work in the field has not gone unrecognized. His multiple Emmy Awards are a tribute not only to his excellence, but also to his versatility. In fact, among his most impressive Emmys is one from 1988, given for his opening commentary scripts of ABC Sports' coverage of the 1987 Indianapolis "500," the British Open and the Kentucky Derby; a 1990 Emmy; another first, for Lifetime Achievement in Sports; and a 1992 Emmy for his sports special, *Athletes and Addiction: It's not a Game*.

In addition to his role on *Wide World*, McKay anchors most major horse-racing events such as the Kentucky Derby, the Preakness Stakes, and the Belmont Stakes. In 1987, McKay was chosen as a member of the Jockey Club, horse racing's governing body. McKay and his wife, Margaret, are steadfast supporters of Maryland's horse-racing industry and culture. He is founder of the the "Maryland Million," a million-dollar horse racing spectacular for Maryland thoroughbreds. They are also part owners of the Baltimore Orioles baseball team.

—John C. Tedesco

## McKERN, LEO

### Australian Actor

**T**rained and critically acclaimed in theatre, a successful character actor in movies, Australian performer Leo McKern made his most indelible mark in television. In the mind of many audiences, he became irrevocably intertwined

JIM MCKAY. Born James Kenneth McManus in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., 24 September 1921. Educated at Loyola College, Baltimore, Maryland, B.A. 1943. Married: Margaret Dempsey, 1948; children: Mary Edwina and Sean Joseph. Served in U.S. Navy, 1943–46. Reporter, Baltimore *Evening Sun*, 1946–47; writer-producer-director, Baltimore Sunpapers' WMAR-TV, 1947–50; variety show host, sports commentator, CBS-TV, 1950–61; host, ABC's *Wide World of Sports*, 1961; television commentator, all Olympiads, 1960–88; founder and chair, "Maryland Million" Horse Racing Program, from 1986. H.H.D., Loyola College, 1981. Recipient: thirteen Emmy Awards; George Polk Memorial Award, 1973; Federal Republic of Germany Officer's Cross Order of Merit, 1974; Olympic Medal, Austria, 1977; Thoroughbred Breeders of Kentucky Engelhard Award, 1978, 1990; Maryland Racing Writers Humphrey S. Finney Award, 1985; named to Sportscasters Hall of Fame, 1987; National Turf Writers Award, 1987; Peabody Award, 1989; U.S. Olympic Hall of Fame, 1989. Address: ABC Sports, 47 West 66th Street, New York, New York 10023, U.S.A.

### TELEVISION SERIES

1950	<i>The Real McKay</i>
1951	<i>Sports Spot</i> (host)
1955	<i>Make the Connection</i> (moderator)
1957–60	<i>The Verdict Is Yours</i> (announcer)
1958–59	<i>This Is New York</i>
1961–	<i>ABC's Wide World of Sports</i>

### TELEVISION SPECIAL

1992	<i>Athletes and Addiction: It's not a Game</i>
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### PUBLICATION

*My Wide World*. New York: Macmillan, 1973.

### FURTHER READING

- Considine, T. *The Language of Sport*. New York: World Almanac Publications, 1982.
- Spence, Jim. *Up Close and Personal: The Inside Story of Network Television Sports*. New York: Atheneum, 1988.
- Sugar, Bert Randolph. *"The Thrill of Victory": The Inside Story of ABC Sports*. New York: Hawthorn, 1978.

See also Arledge, Boone; Sports on Television; Sportscasters

with the title character of *Rumpole of the Bailey*, the irascible British barrister created by author John Mortimer. Starring as the wily, overweight, jaded-but-dedicated defense attorney for seven seasons, McKern brought an intelligent, acer-

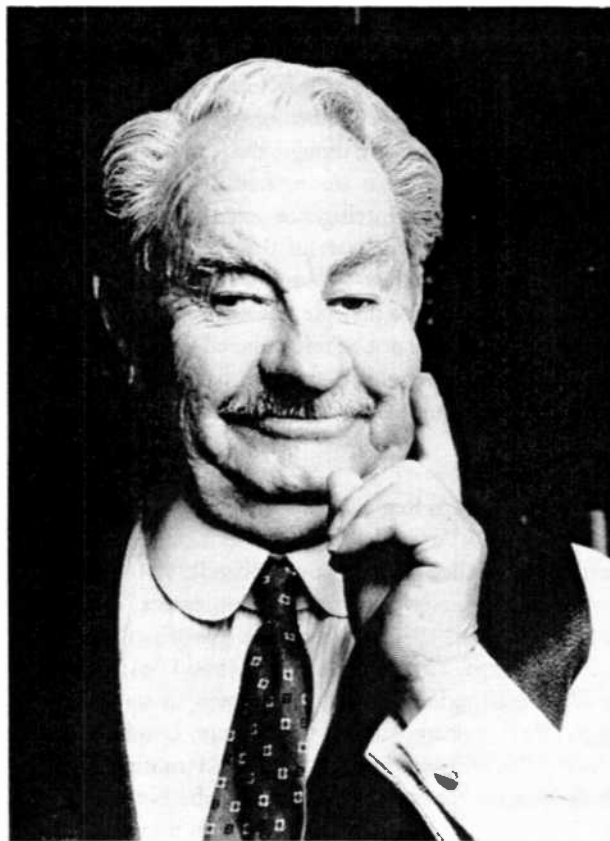
bic style to the character which was applauded by critics, audiences and creator Mortimer and ascribed to the character just as the character was inscribed on McKern's acting persona. More than once McKern vowed he would not return to the series because of the inevitable typecasting. Yet, he was always persuaded otherwise by Mortimer, who himself vowed that no one but McKern would play the role of Horace Rumpole.

The program, which began in 1978 in the United Kingdom and was soon exported to the United States via PBS' *Mystery!* series, featured McKern as an attorney who profoundly believed in a presumption of innocence, the validity of the jury system and the importance of a thorough defense. It was an unabashedly civil liberties position. In the course of each show the character typically dissected the stodgy and inefficient machinations of fellow barristers, judges and the legal system in Britain. His resourcefulness and unorthodoxy matched U.S. television's Perry Mason, but with his askew bow tie and white wig, his sidelong looks and interior monologues, Rumpole was more colorful and complicated.

As the program was shown around the world through 1996 McKern could not escape what he called the "insatiable monster" of television which blotted out memories of earlier performances. But that did not stop the Australian periodical *The Bulletin* from naming McKern one of Australia's top 55 "human assets" in 1990. And in fact television did offer McKern another distinctive, if more transitory, role much earlier than Rumpole. In *The Prisoner*, a British drama aired in the United Kingdom and the United States in the late 1960s, McKern was one of the first authority figures to repress the hero.

*The Prisoner*, still a cult classic dissected on many web sites and Internet chat groups, was created by the then enormously popular actor Patrick McGoohan and was intended as an indictment of authoritarian subjugation of the individual. McGoohan in the title role was kept prisoner in a mysterious village by the state, represented most forcefully by the person in charge of the village called "Number 2." Engaging in a battle of wills and wits with Number 6 (McGoohan), Number 2 typically died at episode's end to be replaced by a new Number 2 the next week. McKern played Number 2 in the series' second program, "The Chimes of Big Ben," and helped set the tone of serious banter and political conflict. Killed at the end of the episode, his character was resurrected at the end of the series the next season in "Once upon a Time and Fallout" to demonstrate a change of position in favor of the hero and opposed to the State. Not completely unlike Rumpole, McKern's Number 2 was a system insider who understood principles better than the rest of the establishment (if only belatedly).

*The Prisoner* was ostensibly a science-fiction program as well in its use of fantastic technology to keep Number 6 from escaping. The science-fiction motif also informed a TV guest appearance McKern made some years later in the U.S. program *Space: 1999*, which aired in 1975. In that episode,



Leo McKern

Photo courtesy of Leo McKern

"The Infernal Machine," McKern is again part of a larger entity, this time not the "state" but a living spacecraft. As the companion of "Gwent," McKern mediates with human beings (notably Martin Landau and Barbara Bain, recent *Mission: Impossible* veterans) on a lunar station. His character is slightly cynical, critical, bantering and attached to the entity he serves, like the later Rumpole. These roles in McKern's decades of television experience are notable on three levels: their connection to general recurring themes, their development of a recognizable, familiar character function and their demonstration of the actor's particular talents. For instance, the "Companion" episode on *Space 1999* evokes both the "Companion" episode on the original 1967 *Star Trek* in which Glenn Corbett's character is kept alive by fusion with an alien presence, and the ongoing Trill character of "a symbiotic fusion of two species" on *Deep Space Nine*. In addition, the threatening power of the state and of technology of *The Prisoner* prefigured a reliable theme of the popular 1990s program *The X-Files*.

The Rumpole role is the one most connected with a number of recurring character functions on television. The deep commitment covered by a veneer of cynicism is a staple of police officers and other investigators throughout U.S. television history. The belief in the civil liberties of the individual is the core of lawyer programs such as *Perry Mason*

of the 1960s and *Matlock* of the 1990s. The rumpled insider, "only by virtue of superior competence," was the essence of *Columbo* of the 1970s. The British Rumpole is a rather more complex example of a U.S. television perennial.

However well written, though, the Rumpole role would not have the cachet it has among fans if not for the actor. Critics cite McKern's intelligence, energy and remarkably flexible baritone as the heart of the character. McKern's varied multi-media career—from movies such as the lightweight Beatles' *Help!* to the epic *Lawrence of Arabia* to plays such as *Othello*—may not be remembered by most fans, but the depth of talent required for such diversity is critically acknowledged in reviews of *Rumpole of the Bailey*.

—Ivy Glennon

**LEO MCKERN.** Born Reginald McKern in Sydney, Australia, 16 March 1920. Attended Sydney Technical High School. Married: Joan Alice Southa (Jane Holland), 1946; children: Abigail and Harriet. Engineering apprentice, 1935–37; commercial artist, 1937–40; served in Australian Army Engineering Corps, 1940–42; debut as actor, 1944; settled in the United Kingdom, 1946; participated in tour of Germany, 1947; appeared at Old Vic Theatre, London, 1949–52 and 1962–63, at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, 1952–54, and at the New Nottingham Playhouse, 1963–64; has appeared in numerous films and television productions, including the popular *Rumpole of the Bailey* series, 1978–92. Officer of the Order of Australia, 1983. Address: Richard Hatton Ltd, 29 Roehampton Gate, London SW15 5JR, England.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1967–68	<i>The Prisoner</i>
1978–92	<i>Rumpole of the Bailey</i>
1983	<i>Reilly—Ace of Spies</i>

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

1967	<i>Alice in Wonderland</i>
1979	<i>The House on Garibaldi Street</i>

1980	<i>Rumpole's Return</i>
1985	<i>Murder with Mirrors</i>
1992	<i>The Last Romantics</i>

#### TELEVISION SPECIALS (selection)

1965	<i>The Tea Party</i>
1968	<i>On the Eve of Publication</i>
1983	<i>King Lear</i>
1985	<i>Monsignor Quixote</i>
1988	<i>The Master Builder</i>
1993	<i>A Foreign Field</i>

#### FILMS (selection)

*All for Mary*, 1955; *X—the Unknown*, 1956; *Time Without Pity*, 1957; *The Mouse That Roared*, 1959; *Mr. Topaze*, 1961; *The Day the Earth Caught Fire*, 1962; *Lawrence of Arabia*, 1962; *Hot Enough for June*, 1963; *A Jolly Bad Fellow*, 1964; *King and Country*, 1964; *The Amorous Adventures of Moll Flanders*, 1965; *Help!*, 1965; *A Man for All Seasons*, 1966; *Nobody Runs Forever*, 1968; *Decline and Fall... of a Birdwatcher!*, 1968; *Ryan's Daughter*, 1971; *Massacre in Rome*, 1973; *The Adventure of Sherlock Holmes' Smarter Brother*, 1976; *The Omen*, 1976; *Candlehoe*, 1977; *Damien—Omen II*, 1978; *The Blue Lagoon*, 1980; *The French Lieutenant's Woman*, 1983; *Ladyhawke*, 1984; *The Chain*, 1985; *Travelling North*, 1986; *On Our Selection*, 1995.

#### STAGE (selection)

*Toad of Toad Hall*, 1954; *Queen of the Rebels*, 1955; *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, 1958; *Brouhaha*, 1958; *Rollo*, 1959; *A Man for All Seasons*, 1960; *The Thwarting of Baron Bolligrew*, 1965; *Volpone*, 1967; *The Wolf*, 1973; *The Housekeeper*, 1982; *Number One*, 1984; *Boswell for the Defence*, 1989; 1991; *Hobson's Choice*, 1995.

#### PUBLICATION

*Just Resting*, 1983.

See also *Rumpole of the Bailey*

## McLUHAN, MARSHALL

Canadian Media Theorist

**M**arshall McLuhan is perhaps one of the best known media theorists and critics of this era. A literary scholar from Canada, McLuhan became entrenched in American popular culture when he decided this was the only way to understand his students at the University of Wisconsin. Until the publication of his best known and most popular works, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (1962) and *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (1964), McLuhan led a very ordinary academic life. His polemic prose (a style frequently compared to James Joyce) irritated many and inspired some. However cryptic,

McLuhan's outspoken and often outrageous philosophies of the "electric media" roused a popular discourse about the mass media, society, and culture. The pop culture mottos "the medium is the message (and the massage)" and "the global village" are pieces of what is affectionately (and otherwise) known as McLuhanism.

McLuhan was a technological determinist who credited the electronic media with the ability to exact profound social, cultural, and political influences. Instead of a thoughtful discourse regarding the positive or negative consequences of electric media, McLuhan preferred instead to

pontificate about its inevitability, which was neither good nor bad, but simply was. McLuhan was more concerned that people acknowledge and prepare for the technological transformation. He felt people subscribed to a "rear-view mirror" understanding of their environment, a mode of thinking in which they did not foresee the arrival of a new social milieu until it was already in place. In McLuhan's view, instead of "looking ahead," society tended to cling to the past. He wrote that "we are always one step behind in our view of the world" and we do not recognize the technology which is responsible for the shift.

McLuhan first began to grapple with the relationship between technology and culture in *The Mechanical Bride: Folklore of Industrial Man* (1951). However, he did not elaborate upon their historical origins until the publication of *The Gutenberg Galaxy* (1962), which traces the social evolution of modern humanity from tribal society. In his theory, this process encompasses four stages.

McLuhan defines tribal society as dependent upon the harmonious balance of all senses. Tribal society was an oral culture; members used speech (an emotionally laden medium) to communicate. As a result, nonliterate societies were passionate, involved, interdependent, and unified. The "acoustic space" that enveloped tribal society was eroded by the invention of the phonetic alphabet. McLuhan credits phonetic literacy for the dissolution of tribal society and the creation of "Western Man."

Literacy inspired a more detached, linear perspective; the eye replaced the ear as the dominant sensory organ. Western Man evolved into "Gutenberg Man" with the arrival of the printing press in the 16th century. According to McLuhan, the printing press was responsible for such phenomena as the Industrial Revolution, nationalism, and perspectivity in art. The printing press eventually informed a "Mechanical Culture."

The linearity and individualization characteristic of Mechanical Culture has been usurped by electric media. This process began with the invention of the telegraph. McLuhan considers the electric media as extensions of the entire nervous system. Television is perhaps the most significant of the electric media because of its ability to invoke multiple senses. Television, as well as future technologies, have the ability to retribalize, that is, to recreate the sensory unification characteristic of tribal society.

In perhaps his most popular work, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, McLuhan elaborates upon the sensory manipulation of the electric media. Like most of his writing, *Understanding Media* was criticized for its indigestible content and often paradoxical ideas. Ironically, it was this work which captured the minds of the American public and triggered McLuhan's metamorphosis from literary scholar into pop culture guru.

*Understanding Media* contains the quintessential McLuhanism: "the medium is the message." McLuhan explains that the content of all electric media is insignificant; it is instead the medium itself which has the greatest impact



Marshall McLuhan

Photo courtesy of Nelson Thall

Marshall McLuhan Center on Global Communications

upon the socio-cultural environment. This perspective was contested by various factions in mass communication—empirical researchers rejected McLuhan's grand theorizing; critical cultural theorists felt McLuhan undermined their agenda by discounting the power relationships inherent in and perpetuated by media content.

His thesis is judged to be not without merit, however. The "televisual experience" and the role of the medium within contemporary life has inspired much popular culture research. Within this same framework, theorists will ponder the impact of newer technologies, such as the internet and high-definition television.

In *Understanding Media*, McLuhan proposes a more controversial frame for judging media: "hot" and "cool." These categorizations are puzzling, and contemporary technology may render them obsolete. In simplest terms, "hot" is exclusive and "cool" is inclusive. Hot media are highly defined; there is little information to be filled in by the user. Radio is a hot medium; it requires minimal participation. Cool media, by contrast, are less defined and thus highly participatory because the user must "fill in the blanks." Television is the ultimate "cool" medium because it is highly participatory. This categorization is extremely problematic to those who consider television viewing a passive activity.

To illustrate this concept, McLuhan analyzed the Kennedy-Nixon debate of 1960. Kennedy's televisual victory

was due to the fact that he exuded an objective, disinterested, "cool" persona. Nixon, better suited for the "hot" medium of radio, was considered victorious by those who had listened to the debates on radio.

The McLuhanism with the loudest echo in contemporary popular culture is the concept of the "global village." It is a metaphor most invoked by the telecommunications industry to suggest the ability of new technologies to electronically link the world. McLuhan's once outrageous vision of a post-literate society, one in which global consciousness was shaped by technology instead of verbalization, has been partially realized by the Internet. For McLuhan, television begins the process of retribalization through its ability to transcend time and space, enabling the person in New York, for example, to "experience" a foreign culture across the globe.

McLuhan contemplated the profound impact of electronic technology upon society. Loved or loathed, his opinions penetrated academic, popular, and corporate spheres. Within the context of popular-culture theorizing, McLuhan's commentaries will remain part of history. Mass communication researchers continue to explore the relationship between media and society. In doing so they delineate the significance of television in global culture and amplify the ideas Herbert Marshall McLuhan contributed to this discourse.

—Sharon Zechowski

**MARSHALL MCLUHAN.** Born Herbert Marshall McLuhan in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, 21 July 1911. University of Manitoba, B.A. 1933, M.A. 1934; Trinity Hall, Cambridge, B.A. 1936, M.A. 1939, Ph.D. 1942. Married: Corinne Keller Lewis, 1939; children: Eric, Mary Colton, Teresa, Stephanie, Elizabeth O'Sullivan, Michael. Instructor, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1936–37; instructor of English, St. Louis University, 1937–44; associate professor of English, Assumption College, Windsor, Ontario, 1944–46; instructor, 1946–52, professor of English, St. Michael's College, University of Toronto, 1952–79; chair, Ford Foundation seminar on culture and communications, 1953–60; co-founder, *Explorations* magazine, 1954, co-editor, 1954–59, editor, 1964–79; director, media studies for U.S. Office of Education and the National Association of Education Broadcasters, 1959–60; director, Toronto University's McLuhan Centre for Culture and Technology, 1963–66, 1969–79; editor, *Patterns of Literary Criticism* series, 1965–69; consultant, Johnson, McCormick and Johnson, public relations, Toronto, 1966–80; Albert Schweitzer Professor in the Humanities, Fordham University, New York City, 1967–68; consultant, Responsive Environments Corporation, New York, 1968–80; consultant, Vatican Pontifical Commission for Social Communications, 1973; Eugene McDermott Professor, University of Dallas, 1975; Pound Lecturer, 1978; fellow, Royal Society of Canada, 1964. D.Litt.: University of Windsor, 1965; Assumption University, 1966; University of Manitoba, 1967; Simon Fraser University, 1967; Grinnel College, 1967; St. John Fisher College, 1969; University of Western Ontario, 1971; Uni-

versity of Toronto, 1977; LL.D.: University of Alberta, 1971; University of Toronto, 1977. Recipient: Canadian Governor-General's Prize, 1963; Niagara University Award in culture and communications, 1967; Young German Artists Carl Einstein Prize, West Germany, 1967; Companion, Order of Canada, 1970; President's Award, Institute of Public Relations, Great Britain, 1970; Assumption University Christian Culture Award, 1971; University of Detroit President's Cabinet Award, 1972. Died in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 31 December 1980.

#### FILMS

*This Is Marshall McLuhan*, 1968; *Annie Hall* (cameo as himself), 1977.

#### RECORDING

*The Medium Is the Message*, 1967.

#### PUBLICATIONS

*The Mechanical Bride: Folklore of Industrial Man*. New York: Vanguard Press, 1951; London: Routledge, 1967.

*Selected Poetry of Tennyson*, editor. New York: Rhinehart, 1956.

*Explorations In Communications*, editor with Edmund Carpenter. Boston: Beacon Press, 1960; London: Cape, 1970.

*The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, and London: Routledge, 1962.

*Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. New York: McGraw Hill, and London: Routledge, 1964.

*Voices of Literature, Vols. I-IV*, editor with R.J. Schoeck. New York: Holt, 1964–70.

*The Medium Is the Message: An Inventory of Effects*, with Quentin Fiore. New York: Bantam, and London: Allen Lane, 1967.

*Through the Vanishing Point: Space in Poetry and Painting*, with Harley Parker. New York: Harper, 1968.

*War and Peace in the Global Village: An Inventory of Some of the Current Spastic Situations that Could Be Eliminated by More Feedforward*, with Quentin Fiore. New York: McGraw Hill, 1968.

*Counterblast*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, and New York: Harcourt Brace, 1969; London: Rapp and Whiting, 1970.

*The Interior Landscape: Selected Literary Criticism of Marshall McLuhan, 1943–1962*, editor E. McNamara. New York: McGraw Hill, 1969.

*Culture Is Our Business*. New York: McGraw Hill, 1970.

*From Cliché to Archetype*, with Wilfred Watson. New York: Viking Press, 1970.

*Take Today: The Executive as Dropout*, with Barrington Nevitt. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1972.

*The City as Classroom*, with Eric McLuhan and Kathy Hutchon. Agincourt, Ontario: Book Society of Canada, 1977.



## FURTHER READING

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- Curtis, James M. *Culture as Polyphony: An Essay on the Nature of Paradigms*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1978.
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- Duffy, Dennis. *Marshall McLuhan*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969.
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- Kroker, Arthur. *Technology and the Canadian Mind: Innis/McLuhan/Grant*. New York: St. Martin's, 1985.

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- Stearns, Gerald Emanuel, editor. *McLuhan: Hot and Cool*. New York: Dial Press, 1967; London: Penguin, 1968.
- Theall, Donald F. *The Medium Is the Rear View Mirror: Understanding McLuhan*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1971.

## McQUEEN, TRINA

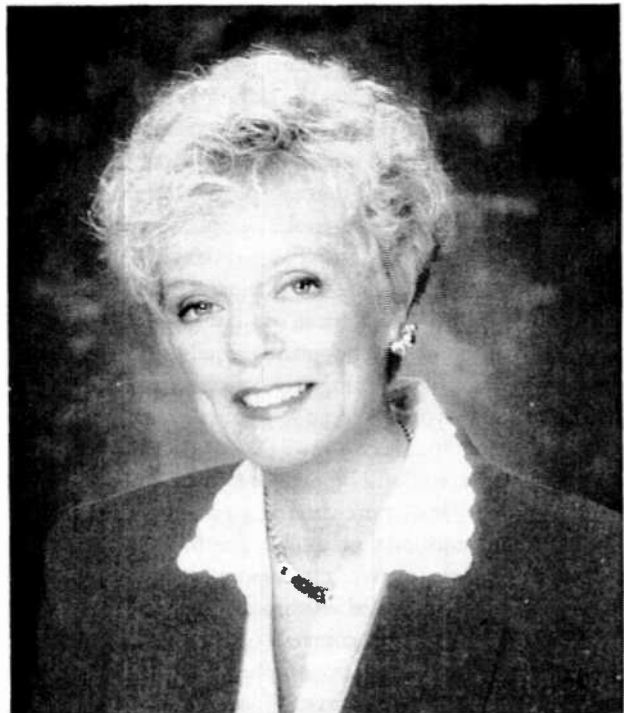
Canadian Broadcast Journalist and News Executive

In her twenty-seven years with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), Trina McQueen's singularly successful career has constituted a series of "firsts" for women. In 1991, she became vice president of English Television News and Current Affairs and of CBC Newsworld (the all-news cable channel), the first and only woman to hold such a high-ranking position at the Canadian network.

The following year McQueen was made vice president of regional broadcasting operations, which included equity in portrayals across all broadcast services and foreign bureaus. This move was widely regarded as a demotion, as well as a backward step for the future of high-level female broadcast executives. The network, however, denied that charge and McQueen remained uncomplaining even after her departure. The only other female vice president, however, Donna Logan, who was head of English-language CBC Radio, was also demoted, leaving the executive suite all male. McQueen had been opposed to the changes being initiated by the head office to move the successful flagship nightly 10:00 P.M. news *The National*, to the all-news cable channel, Newsworld. The switch also involved canceling the acclaimed in-depth nightly documentary news series that followed, *The Journal*, and launching *Prime Time News* at 9:00 P.M. CBC brass brought in news head Tim Kotcheff from the rival network, CTV, to implement the changes, which proved to be disastrous.

McQueen's quiet, soft-spoken and tactful negotiating manner combines with a toughness attested to by long-time colleagues. She has been called "something of a Patton in Pollyanna's clothing." It was reported that McQueen lost a power struggle for the position of senior vice president of TV services to fast-rising wunderkind Ivan Fecan, in a management arrangement in which their duties, previously carried out by vice president Denis Harvey, were split into two vice president jobs. McQueen oversaw a thousand people and more than 200 hours of information programming per week in her position.

McQueen began in journalism at the entry level, parlaying student jobs on newspapers to a stint with the Ottawa *Journal*. From there she became the first female reporter for CTV's local Toronto station CFTO and co-host for CTV's current affairs magazine show, *W5*. When CTV execs indicated that a woman would not be hired as a national reporter, McQueen quit and joined the public network, CBC, in 1967. There she became the first female on-camera reporter for *The National* news. After nine years as reporter, producer and assignment editor, she



Trina McQueen

Photo courtesy of the Discovery Channel

became the first female executive producer of *The National* in 1976 when she was 33.

Having grown up watching *The National* in Belleville, Ontario, she has said that it was a glorious dream job for her. She presided over a virtual revolution of the news, replacing the old guard with the then-new faces of Hike Duffy, Peter Mansbridge and Knowlton Nash. She guided the new management through the 1980 Quebec referendum and two federal elections, in addition to daily news stories. She also stood up to the chauvinists' stereotypes of women in news and won respect and success.

McQueen returned to news, after nine years in CBC administration, as director of news and current affairs. It was a time of huge budget cuts which decimated jobs, regional CBC stations and employee morale. Then as vice president, she also became manager of the CBC broadcast centre, the new downtown facility which gathered together the disparate TV and radio production entities which had inhabited various spaces throughout Toronto. In addition, she was head of English network finances and human resources.

In 1993, when the federal government handed down more budget cuts for CBC, as it had every year since 1985, McQueen decamped for a job in the private sector. She became vice president and general manager of the newly

created Discovery Channel, Canada, largely owned by Labatt Communications, Inc., the entertainment arm of the giant beer conglomerate. The Canadian specialty network produces shows on science, technology, nature, the environment and world cultures. Both a journalistic pioneer and an active senior broadcast executive, Trina McQueen has already devoted three decades to national and regional Canadian programming.

—Janice Kaye

TRINA MCQUEEN. Born Catherine Janitch in Canada, 1943. Educated at Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. Summer relief reporter for CBC National News, 1967; Reporter, *Journal*, Ottawa; reporter, CFTO-CTV, Toronto; co-host, *W5* magazine show, CTV; reporter, producer, editor, *The National*, from 1967, executive producer, 1976; vice president, news and current affairs and Newsworld cable news service, CBC, 1991, vice president of regional broadcasting, 1992; general manager and vice president, Discovery Channel, from 1993. Address: Discovery Channel Canada, 2225 Sheppard Avenue E, Suite 100, Willowdale, Ontario, Canada M2J 5C2.

See also *National/The Journal*

## MEDIA EVENTS

In contrast to the routine array of genres that characterizes everyday television, media events have a disruptive quality. They have the power of interrupting social life by canceling all other programs. But while always characterized by live broadcasting, media events evoke at least three different realities. In some cases the notion is used in connection with major news events (televised wars, assassinations). In other cases the notion is used in reference to what Victor Turner would call social dramas: protracted crises whose escalation progressively monopolizes public attention. Thus, the Simpson Trial or the Hill-Thomas controversy are television equivalents of a genre whose most famous example—the Dreyfus affair—had immense consequences for the nature of the French public sphere. Finally, one may speak of media events concerning expressive events; television ceremonies that typically last a few hours or, at most, a few days. This essay focuses on media events of the third sort, events that are consciously integrative and deliberately constructed with a view of orchestrating a consensus. They are public rituals, emotional occasions. The broadcast does not include the assassinations but the ensuing funerals; not social dramas but their ritualized outcomes.

Forming a relatively coherent television "genre", these ceremonial events share semantic features. They celebrate consensus, "history-in the-making", acts of will, charismatic leaders. Formally they disrupt television syntax. They cancel the rule of "schedules," interrupt the flows of programming,

monopolize many (if not all) channels while they themselves are broadcast "live" from remote locations. In terms of their pragmatics they are viewed by festive communities. Audiences prepare themselves for the event, gather, dress up, display their emotions.

Like all "genres," but more explicitly than most, media events can be considered contracts. Thus, each particular event results from negotiations between three major partners: (1) Organizers propose that a given situation be given ceremonial treatment. (2) Broadcasters will transmit, but also restructure the event. (3) Audiences will validate the event's ceremonial ambition, or denounce it as a joke. In order for a media event to trigger a collective experience, each of these partners must actively endorse it. No broadcasting organization can unilaterally decide to mount a ceremonial event. This decision is generally that of national, supranational or religious institutions. The authority invested in such institutions is what turns events that are essentially gestures, into more than gesticulations. It is what makes them media events and not, as Boorstin would put it "pseudo events".

Yet, television is not infeodated to these institutions. In the ceremonial politics of modern democracies, it stands as a powerful partner whose mediation is necessary, given the scale of audiences. It is also a partner whose performance is controlled by professional standards. As opposed to earlier "information ceremonies" media events can hardly dispense with the pres-



*The coronation of Elizabeth II*  
 Photo courtesy of AP/ World Wide Photos

ence of journalists. They cannot be confined to what Habermas calls a "public sphere of representation". Thus, negotiations on the pertinence of an event, discussions on the nature of the script, the option of mocking or ignoring it distinguish democratic ceremonies from those of regimes where organizers control broadcasters and audiences.

Beyond the generic features they all share, media events vary in terms of (1) the institutionalization or improvisation of the ceremonial event, (2) the temporal orientation of the ceremony, and (3) the nature of the chosen script. This last point is essential, given the organizational complexity of media events, the multiplicity of simultaneous performance involved. Coordination is facilitated by the existence of major dramaturgical models or scripts. Three such scripts can be identified.

The script of Coronations is by no means exclusive to monarchic contexts. It characterizes all the rites of passage of the great: inaugurations, funerals, acception (or resignation) speeches. Coronations are celebrations of norms; reiterations of founding myths. They invite ceremonial au-

diences to manifest their loyalty to these norms, and to the institutions that uphold them.

Contests stress the turning points of the democratic curriculum. They celebrate the very existence of a forum open to public debate. Regularly scheduled (presidential debates) or mounted in response to political crises, contests are characterized by their dialogic structure, by their focus on argumentation, by their insistence on procedure. They point to the necessity of interpreting and debating the norms. They are celebrations of pluralism, of the diversity of legitimate positions. Contests call for reflexivity. They invite their audiences to an attitude of deliberation.

Conquests are probably the most consequential of media events. They are also the rarest. They take the form of political or diplomatic initiatives aiming at a swift change in public opinion on a given subject. Rendered possible by the very stature of their protagonists—Sadat going to Jerusalem; John Paul II visiting Poland—conquests reactivate forgotten aspirations. They are attempts at rephrasing a society's history, at redefining the identity of its members.

They call on their audiences to be "conquered" by the paradigm change that the ceremonial actor is trying to implement, to suspend skepticism. Conquests celebrate the redefinition of norms.

Expectably, all three major ceremonial scripts address the question of authority, and of its legitimating principle. In the case of coronations this principle is "traditional." In the case of contests, it belongs to the "rational-legal" order. As to conquests they stress "charismatic" authority. This helps us understand the political distribution of media events. Coronations are to be found everywhere, for there are no societies without traditions. Unless they are faked (and they often are) contests can only emerge in pluralistic societies. The charismatic dynamics of conquests is always subversive, making them hardly affordable to those societies that are afraid of change.

Compared to the types of public events that used to be prevalent before their emergence, media events introduce at least two major transformations. These transformations affect both the nature of the events and that of ceremonial participation.

Televised ceremonies are examples of events that exist but do not need to "take place." These events have been remodeled in order not to need a territorial inscription any longer. The scenography of former public events was characterized by the actual encounter, on a specifiable site, of ceremonial actors and their audiences. It has been replaced by a new mode of "publicness" inspired by cinema and based on the potential separation (a) between actors; (b) of actors and audiences.

A second transformation affects ceremonial participation. This transformation turns the effervescent crowds of mass ceremonies into domestic audiences. Instead of mobilizing expressive publics, the event is celebrated by small groups. A monumental but distant celebration triggers a multitude of micro-celebrations. Leading to a typically "diasporic ceremoniality," the immensity of television audiences translates collective events into intimate occasions.

Television ceremonies or media events are necessary, in as much as they are among the few means available to individuals that assist and enable them to imagine the societies in which they live. Dismissing them as "political spectacles" would lead to two errors: (1) that of presupposing that the mediation they offer is superfluous; (2) that of believing that the absence of political spectacle is an ideal and a distinctive sign of modern democracies.

Democracies are distinct from authoritarian or totalitarian regimes, but not in terms of the presence or absence of a political ceremoniality. Democracies differ from other regimes by the nature—not the existence—of the ceremo-

nies staged in their midst. In contemporary life, television is central to the nature of both.

—Daniel Dayan

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## MEDIC

### U.S. Medical Drama

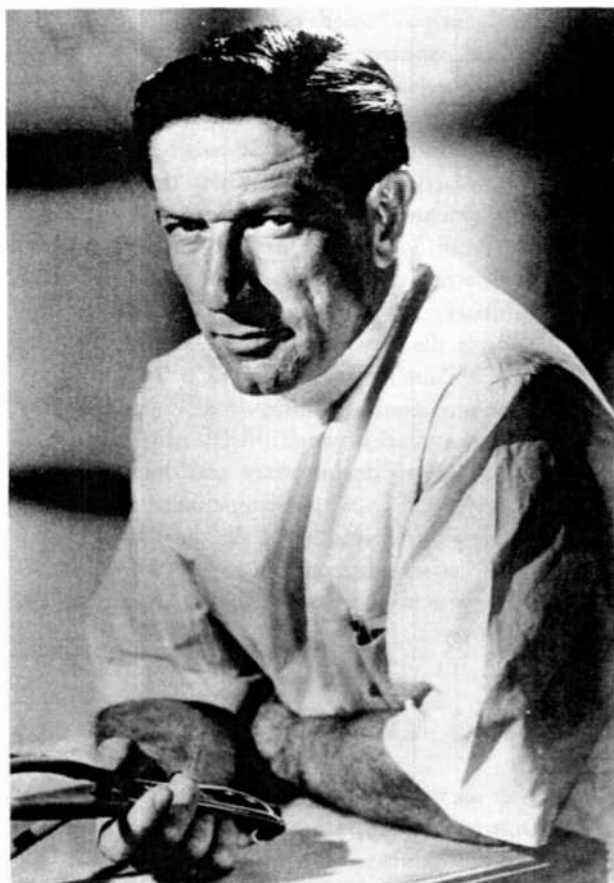
**M***edic*, U.S. television's first doctor drama to center on the skills and technology of medicine, aired at 9:00 P.M. on NBC from mid-September 1954 through mid-November 1956. The half-hour drama became known for an emphasis on medical realism that its creator and principal writer, James Moser, brought to the episodes. Advertisements for the series asserted that it "made no compromise with truth," and journalistic articles about the show repeated that theme. A *Look* magazine article in 1954 discussed Moser's "well-documented scripts," and emphasized that "details are checked, then double-checked." *TV Guide* called the program "a new kind of TV shocker," and added that it was "telling the story of the medical profession without pulling any punches."

*Medic* was not the first television series about medicine or physicians. Both *The Doctor* and *City Hospital* had aired, on NBC and CBS respectively, during the 1952-53 television season. *Medic* is important because, much more than those two, it helped shape the approach producers and networks took to doctor shows for the next few decades. The program was in large part an anthology of medical cases. They were introduced by Dr. Konrad Styner, played by Richard Boone, who narrated the case and often participated in it.

James Moser had picked up his interest in the details of professions as a writer on Jack Webb's hit *Dragnet* radio series, which prided itself on presenting the facts of police cases straightforwardly. Moser's interest in a TV series about medicine had been stirred through a stint writing the *Doctor Kildare* radio show; through his creation of an NBC radio pilot about medicine with Jack Webb that did not go to series; and through watching his best friend, an intern at LA County Hospital, make rounds on a wide array of complex problems. He was aware of the strong popularity that medical dramas such as *Dr. Kildare* and *Doctor Christian* had enjoyed in the movies and on radio during the 1940s. He felt, however, that those and other previous stories about medicine had not gone deeply enough into the actual ways modern medicine healed.

Consequently, the emphasis in *Medic* was on portraying physicians' approaches to their patients accurately; subplots and nuances of characterization were minimal. Because Moser wanted accuracy, and because the program's first sponsor, Dow Chemical, gave the show a relatively small budget that precluded fancy sets, he sought permission from the Los Angeles County Medical Association (LACMA) to film in actual hospitals and clinics. In return for their commitment to open doors for the show, LACMA physicians required that Moser and his executive producer sign a contract that gave the Association control over the medical accuracy of every script.

As it turned out, Moser's positive attitude toward modern medicine meant that LACMA did not have to worry about *Medic*'s treatment of health care's basic setting, characters and



Richard Boone as Dr. Konrad Styner

patterns of action. Nevertheless, at a time of growing anxiety about physicians' power in the larger society, the LACMA committee members insisted that the physician's image in the show fit organized medicine's ideal image. They even considered what a doctor drove and how he spoke (the physician was almost always a man). Cars that were too expensive and language with slang or contractions were ruled out. This close involvement by organized medicine in the creation of doctor shows was the beginning of a relationship between organized medicine and doctor-show producers that lasted with few exceptions through the 1960s.

*Medic*'s first episode revolved around a difficult birth in which the mother died and the child lived; an actual birth was filmed and televised. Other stories dealt with such subjects as manic depression and corneal transplants. Critics generally received the programs enthusiastically, but the series got mediocre ratings against the hit *I Love Lucy*. Two controversies in the second year, along with those mediocre ratings, seem to have persuaded NBC executives to cancel the series. The first controversy revolved around an episode that showed a cesarean birth, incision and all. Learning

about the episode before it was broadcast Cardinal Spellman of the New York Archdiocese argued that such subjects were not for exposure on television. He persuaded NBC to delete the operation, much to Moser's public anger.

The second controversy did not become public but further soured the relationship between Moser and network officials. It centered on a *Medic* episode about a black doctor choosing between staying in the big city where he trained or going home to practice in a small Southern town. In an era still steaming with anti-black prejudice and crackling with tension over a recent Supreme Court decision that mandated integration in schools and other places, executives from Southern affiliates considered the *Medic* episode was a fire-brand. They told the network that they would not air the episode, and NBC decided to shelve it.

Such flare-ups notwithstanding, *Medic* impressed many television producers and network officials of its day for its innovative blending of documentary and dramatic traditions. Its legacy would be the stress on clinical realism that medical series following it adopted. In the 1960s, doctor shows melded that emphasis on realism with a greater concern than *Medic* showed regarding the personality of the

physicians, the predicaments of their patients, and even some social issues. James Moser's next show after *Medic*, *Ben Casey*, contributed strongly to this evolution in television's dramatic portrayal of medicine.

—Joseph Turow

#### CAST

*Dr. Konrad Styner* . . . . . Richard Boone

**PRODUCERS** Frank LaTourette, Worthington Miner

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 59 Episodes

• NBC

September 1954–November 1956      Monday 9:00-9:30

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See also Boone, Richard; Workplace Programs

## MEDICAL VIDEO

Soon after television was introduced to the public and used primarily for entertainment, it began to be used in the medical professions and throughout the health care industries. Most hospitals now have a video division, and advances in video technology are regularly incorporated into medical video. In some instances, as with the practice of endoscopy, video equipment first developed for medicine later finds additional use in the television industry. The use of video in health care falls into four general categories: medical training, telemedicine, patient care and education, and public information.

The first regular instructional use of television in medicine came in 1949, when television equipment was installed at the University of Kansas Medical Center to teach surgery. Using a mirror and a camera mounted above the patient, the incision area could be viewed in detail by many more students than could otherwise be accommodated, and without affecting the sterile environment. With the introduction of videotape recording, procedures could be recorded and reviewed later. This allowed for notable or exceptional cases to be archived, and no longer restricted observation to physical presence at the time of surgery. Television is especially important for training in situations where the field of operation is small, such as in dentistry or microsurgery. In these instances, television provides a view otherwise visible only to the doctor.

Beyond formal training in schools, television is also important in the continuing education of health care providers. By the early 1960s, broadcast stations (sometimes

with the signal scrambled) were being used along with closed-circuit networks to distribute programs to physicians in broad geographic areas. This application has continued to take advantage of available technologies, and medical programs are provided to health care providers through video cassettes or via a variety of wired and wireless networks.

Telemedicine refers to the use of telecommunication systems to practice medicine when geographic distance sep-



Surgeon performing laparoscopic surgery  
using laparoscopic television camera  
Photo courtesy of Warren Paris/  
University of Iowa Hospitals and Clinics



arates doctor and patient. In these situations, a nurse practitioner or physician assistant typically examines the patient, but remains in contact with a physician in another location; essentially this is the idea of the extended clinic. During the 1970s, several programs made use of NASA's Applied Technology Satellites (ATSS) to improve health care availability in Alaska, Appalachia, and Rocky Mountain states, where access to physicians and health care facilities was extremely limited. Currently satellites, fiber optic and coaxial cables, and microwave links are used to connect medical facilities across towns or around the world. Examination rooms specially equipped with television cameras and monitors allow for remote diagnostics and consultations between physicians. Although designed primarily for patient care, once these links are established, they are also used for administrative aspects of medicine, such as for teleconferences or other meetings.

The use of television for patient care and education is practiced in many hospitals to improve both categories. This includes use of educational videos that explain such matters as surgical procedures before they are performed, and proper post-hospital home care. Television is also used in patient surveillance, for example in intensive care units, so that several areas can be monitored from a central nurses' station. Video can also contribute to psychiatric examinations, by allowing behavior to be observed without intruding or introducing outside stimuli.

Public information applications of television have enabled hospitals and other health care providers to aim programs at broader communities. The same equipment used for education and training can also be used in preparing materials for public outreach. Not only do hospitals produce video news releases (VNRs) that are provided to local tele-

vision outlets, some also syndicate their own "health segments" to national or regional broadcast stations. There are even examples of hospitals that produce their own telethons to raise research funds, often for diseases that afflict children.

The convergence of video and computers will also have an impact in medicine, in areas such as picture archival and communication systems (PACS). Many medical technologies such as magnetic resonance and ultrasound imagers, filmless radiology, and CT scanners generate digital images and PACS, then integrate the images with other clinical information so that all relevant patient data are available through the computer network. The use of video, then, in conjunction with computers and as a technology in its own right, will continue to be an important part of the health care field.

—J.C. Turner

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## MEET THE PRESS

### U.S. Public Affairs/Interview

**M**et the Press, America's longest-running television series, premiered on NBC-TV 6 November 1947. This exceptionally successful program was the first to bring Washington politics into American living-rooms.

Lawrence E. Spivak debuted the program in 1945 as a radio program to promote his magazine *American Mercury*. After *Meet the Press* moved to television, Spivak continued to serve as producer, regular panelist, and later, as moderator. He retired from the series in November 1975.

Originally, *Meet the Press* aired in a 30-minute, live-press conference format. In this format, a political newsmaker essentially was interviewed by a panel of newspaper journalists. Currently, *Meet the Press* is presented as a one-hour interview program. According to Kathleen Hall Jamieson, interview programs are far more successful than press conferences or debates because neither the follow-up by the reporter, nor the length of the candidates' answers, is arti-

ficially constrained. *Meet the Press'* contemporary format consists of three interview segments with guests of national and international importance, followed by a roundtable discussion. The host, Tim Russert, is joined by two other journalists during the initial questioning periods and by three other journalists during the roundtable discussion.

Russert joined *Meet the Press* as moderator 8 December 1991. He came to the program with a thorough understanding of Capitol Hill politics, having previously served as counselor to New York Governor Mario Cuomo and as special counsel and chief of staff to U.S. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan. He also is well aware of how journalists cover politics. He has served as senior vice president and Washington, D.C., bureau chief for NBC since December 1988.

According to a former NBC producer, "Tim has an enormous amount of power right now to make and influ-





Meet the Press

ence [government] policy on *Meet the Press*." On *Meet the Press*, questions are asked of political personalities in hopes of moving the political process forward or, at least, moving it along. Indeed, as Jamieson points out, key political confrontations have occurred on this forum:

**20 September 1964:** The only serious confrontation between the press and a member of the Democratic ticket over Johnson's 1964 "Daisy Girl" ad.  
**20 January 1980:** David Broder asked President Carter, "[W]e still have 5.8% unemployment; inflation has risen from 4.8% to 13%. We still don't have a viable energy policy. Russian troops are in Cuba and Afghanistan. The dollar is falling; gold is rising, and the hostages after 78 days are still in Tehran. Just what have you done sir, to deserve renomination?"

**14 January 1984:** Vice presidential nominee Geraldine Ferraro is asked and complains about being asked if she "could push the nuclear button."

**3 May 1992:** Independent presidential contender H. Ross Perot disclaimed his assertion that the government could "easily" save \$100 billion by

cutting Social Security and Medicare benefits for "folks just like" him.

Although *Meet the Press* produces high levels of candidate accountability, traditionally it has attracted small audience shares. When the show premiered, it aired on Wednesday nights after 10:00 P.M. Later, it was moved to Monday, then to Saturday. In the mid-1960s, *Meet the Press* found its niche on Sunday afternoons. Today, it airs via network feed on Sundays from 9:30 to 10:30 A.M.

The senior producer of *Meet the Press* is Betty Cole Dukert, and Colette Rhoney serves as the show's producer. The program originates from Washington D.C. Yet, the show travels when world events necessitate major news. Cites have included: the 1988 and 1992 Republican and Democratic conventions, the 1993 Clinton-Yeltsin Summit in Vancouver, the 1990 Helsinki Summit, the 1989 United States-Soviet Summit on the island of Malta, and the 1989 Economic Summit of Industrialized Nations in Paris.

Whether in Washington D.C., or on location at an event of political importance, the discussions aired on *Meet the Press* often generate headlines in the mainstream media.

Today, *Meet the Press* continues to engage viewers in the political process.

—Lorie Melton McKinnon

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See also News, Network

## MELODRAMA

One of television's most diverse program types, the melodramatic genre encompasses an extensive variety of aesthetic formats, settings, and character types. Melodramatic formats include the series, consisting of self-contained episodes, each with a classic dramatic structure of conflict/complication/resolution in which central and supporting characters return week after week; the serial, which features a continuing story line, carried forward from program to program (this is typical of soap opera, both daytime and prime-time); the anthology—a non-episodic program series constituting an omnibus of different self-contained programs, related only by sub-genre, and featuring different actors and characters each week (important examples include *The Twilight Zone*, a science fiction anthology, and *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*, a mystery anthology); and repertory, a non-episodic series consisting of different programs featuring a group of actors who appear each week, but in different roles (very rare on television, the repertory is best represented by *The Richard Boone Show*). Settings include the hostile western frontier of *Guns, Smoke and Have Gun, Will Travel* and its urban analogue—the mean streets of *East Side/West Side* and, more recently, *Hill Street Blues*; the gleaming corporate office towers of *Dallas* and *L.A. Law*; the quiet suburban enclaves in which *Marcus Welby, M.D.* made house calls in the 1970s; the ostentatious exurban chateaus of *Falcon Crest* and the numerous wealthy criminals outsmarted by the proletarian cop Columbo; and the high-pressure, teeming workplace peopled by dedicated professionals such as the newspaper reporters in *Lou Grant*. The seemingly endless variety of "heroic" and "villainous" character types in television melodrama, whose weekly travails and romantic interests ground the dramaturgy, are drawn from the rich store of historical legend, the front pages of today's broadsheets and tabloids, and the future projections of science fiction and science fantasy: cowboys, sheriffs, bounty hunters, outlaws, pioneers/settlers, police, mobsters, sleuths, science fiction adventurers and other epic wanderers, spies, corrupt entrepreneurs, doctors, lawyers, and intrepid journalists.

Television melodrama has its direct roots in the early-nineteenth-century stage play in which romantic, sensational plots and incidents were mixed with songs and orchestral music. The word melodrama evolved from the Greek *melos*, meaning song or music, and *drama*, a deed, action, or play, especially tragedy. In tragedy the hero is isolated from society so that he or she may better understand his or her own and the society's moral weakness; but once enlightened, the hero cannot stave off the disaster embedded in the social structure beyond the hero's control. In contrast, the melodramatic hero is a normative character representing incorporation into society. Northrop Frye, in *Anatomy of Criticism* (1957), described a central theme in melodrama as "the triumph of moral virtue over villainy, and the consequent idealizing of the moral views assumed to be held by the audience." Since melodrama exists within a mass-cultural framework, it could, according to Frye, easily become "advance propaganda for the police state" if it were taken seriously. Frye sidesteps this fear by positing that the audience does not take such work seriously.

Peter Brooks, in *The Melodramatic Imagination* (1976), finds melodrama acting powerfully in society, reflecting the socialization of the deeply personal. Brooks sees in the melodramatic aesthetic unremitting conflict, possibly disabling, excessive enactment, and ultimately clarification and cure. It is, according to Brooks, akin to our experience of nightmare, where virtue is seemingly helpless in the face of menace. "The end of the nightmare is an awakening brought about by confrontation and expulsion of the villain, the person in whom evil is seen to be concentrated, and a reaffirmation of the society of 'decent people'."

Melodrama demands strong justice, while tragedy, in contrast, often includes the ambivalence of mercy in its code. Melodrama provides us with models of clear resolution for highly personalized, intensely enacted conflict. Television melodrama may be considered a contemporary substitute for traditional forms of social control—the rituals of organized religion and, before that, of "primitive mythologies"—that provided easily understandable models of "primal, intense, polarized forces." It is thus a powerfully conservative social

artifact—a public ceremonial ritual, repositioned in politics and economics, drawing us into both the prescriptions and proscriptions of mainstream cultural values.

The hero is central to melodrama. In classical Greek dramaturgy, the term applied to an individual of superhuman strength, courage, or ability who was favored by the gods. In antiquity, the hero was regarded as an immortal intermediary between the gods and ordinary people—a demigod who was the offspring of a god or goddess and a human being. Later, the heroic class came to include mortals of renown who were deified because of great and noble deeds, or for firmness or greatness of soul in any course of action they undertook. The hero was distinguished by extraordinary bravery and martial achievement. Many heroes were boldly experimental or resourceful in their actions. Punishment of those who violated social codes was harsh.

The world in which the classic hero operated was a world of heightened emotional intensity—a harsh world in which the norm included unending tests of both physical and moral strength, and the constant threat of death. The hero represented a carefully defined value system in which good triumphed over evil in the end, and in which the actions of the hero, with the assistance of the gods, produced order and stability out of chaos.

Heroes are “social types.” As Orrin Klapp notes in *Heroes, Villains, and Fools* (1962), heroes offer “roles which, though informal, have become rather well conceptualized and in which there is a comparatively high degree of consensus.” Drawn from a cultural stock of images and symbols, heroes provide models people try to approximate. As such, Klapp argues, heroes represent “basic dimensions of social control in any society.”

Reflecting the increasingly technocratic nature of contemporary American society, many “workplace” melodramas on television have featured what Gary Edgerton (1980) has termed the “corporate hero”—a team of specialists which acts as a unit. The corporate hero derives his or her identity from the group. He or she is more a distinct “talent” than a distinct personality. Heroism by committee emphasizes the individual’s need to belong to a group and to interact. The composite corporate hero tends to reinforce the importance of social institutions in maintaining social order. When violence is employed to this end, as in police or spy melodrama, it is corporatized, becoming less a personal expression for the corporate hero than for the traditional individual hero. Major examples of the corporate hero in television melodrama include *Mission: Impossible*, *Charlie’s Angels*, *Hill Street Blues*, and *L.A. Law*.

Heroes could not exist on the melodramatic stage without their dramaturgical counterparts—villains and fools. While heroes exceed societal norms, villains, in contrast, are negative models of evil to be feared, hated, and ultimately eradicated or reformed by the actions of the hero; villains threaten societal norms. Fools, on the other hand, are models of absurdity, to be ridiculed; they fall far short of societal norms.

Within the television melodrama, these social types operate as images or signs, constructed according to our society’s dominant values, reinforcing commonly held beliefs regarding the proper ordering of social relations.

The aesthetic structure of television melodrama, as a form of popular storytelling, is clearly linked to its dramaturgical predecessors. It employs rhythmic patterns in its scene and act progression analogous to the metrical positions in the poetic line of the mnemonically composed classical Greek epic poetry. As in the grand opera of the nineteenth century, television melodrama is organized into a series of distinct acts, each generally signifying a change either in time or place, and linked by orchestral transitions. Superfluous exposition is eliminated. The spectator is offered a series of intense highlights of the lives of the protagonists and antagonists. Orchestral music introduces actions, provides a background for plot movement, and reinforces moments of heightened dramatic intensity. Television melodrama, like grand opera, is generally constructed to formula. Plot dominates, initiating excitement and suspense by raising for its protagonists explicit questions of self-preservation, and implicit questions of preservation of the existing social order.

In nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature, melodrama came to signify “democratic drama.” Critics condemned the form as sensational, sentimental entertainment for the “masses.” Rural-type melodrama—with its beautiful, virtuous, impoverished heroine, its pure hero, its despicable villain who ties the heroine to the railroad tracks, and the rustic clown who aids the hero (wonderfully satirized in the television cartoon “Dudley Do-Right of the Royal Canadian Mounties,” originally a segment of *The Bullwinkle Show*), gave way to city melodrama focusing on the seamy underworld, and to suspenseful crime-dramas such as those of Agatha Christie.

Television melodrama has drawn freely from all these precursors, both structurally and conceptually. Highly-segmented plots developed in four 12-minute acts, each with a climax, and a happy ending usually encompassed in an epilogue in which moral lessons are conveyed to the audience (a function assumed by the “chorus” in classical Greek drama), are carried along by background music and stress peaks of action and emotional involvement. Suspense and excitement are heightened by a sense of realism created through sophisticated, if formulaic visualizations (car chases being obvious examples). Characterizations are generally unidimensional, employing eccentric protagonists and antagonists made credible by good acting. Ideologically, the plot elements reinforce conventional morality.

The rhythm of the commercial television melodrama depends on a predictable structure motivated by the flow of the program segment-music-commercial sequence. As suspense builds and the plot thickens, viewers are carried forward at various crucial junctures by a combination of rapid visual cutting and an intense buildup of the orchestral background music and ambient sound that create a smooth transition to the often frenetic, high-pitched commercials. This rhythm produces a flow which the audience implicitly

understands and accepts as a genre convention in the context of the pecuniary mechanisms that define the regime of commercial television.

David Thorburn, in "Television Melodrama" (1976), described the structure of television melodrama according to what he termed a "multiplicity principle" by which a particular television melodrama will "draw . . . many times upon the immense store of stories and situations created by the genre's . . . crowded history. . . . By minimizing the need for long establishing or expository sequences, the multiplicity principle allows the story to leave aside the question of how these emotional entanglements were arrived at and to concentrate its energies on their credible and powerful present enactment."

Taking Thorburn's interpretation of melodramatic structure one step further, Raymond Williams, in *Television: Technology and Cultural Form* argues that more than dramatic power is involved here. Williams refers to this melodramatic structuration as commodified "planned flow." By cutting down on exposition or establishing sequences that tend toward lengthy and deliberate characterizations, the purveyors of melodrama are able to break their tales into shortened, fast-paced, and often unconnected simple sequences that make the commercial breaks feel natural to viewers.

The production imperatives of television-series melodrama reinforce Williams's concept of the commodification of flow. Noted producer/writers Richard Levinson and William Link (*Columbo*, *Mannix*, *Murder, She Wrote*, and made-for-television movies "The Execution of Private Slovik," "The Storyteller," "That Certain Summer") described these production procedures in *Stay Tuned*. The network commits itself to a new television series in mid-April. The series premieres in early September, leaving four-and-one-half months lead time for producers to hire staff, including writers and directors, prepare scripts, and begin shooting and editing. It takes four weeks, under the best conditions, to complete an episode of a melodrama; with luck, four shows will be "in the can" by the season's premiere, with others in varying stages of development (at any time during the process, many series episodes will be in development simultaneously, one being edited, another shot, and another scripted). By October, the initial four episodes will have been aired, and the fifth will be nearly ready. If the show is renewed at midseason, the producer will need as many as 22 episodes for the entire season. By December, there will be but a matter of days between the final edit and the airing of an episode, as inevitable delays shorten the turnaround time. In addition to normal time problems, there are problems with staff. Levinson and Link cite the frequent problem of having a good free-lance writer in demand who agrees to write for one producer's shows as well as those of other producers. The writer with a track record will be juggling an outline for one show, a first draft for another, and a "notion" for a third.

In the frenzied world of the daytime soap opera, actors get their scripts the night before the taping, begin run-through rehearsals at 7:30 the next morning, do three rehearsals before taping, and tape between 3:30 and 6:00 that afternoon. This hectic ritual is repeated five days a week.

The prime-time-melodrama production process is driven by short-cuts, scattered attention, and occasional network interference in content, created by the fear of viewer response to potentially controversial material that may range from questionable street language, however dramatically appropriate, to sexual taboos (proscriptions change over time as standards of appropriateness change in the wider culture). Simplicity, predictability, and safety become the norms that frame the creation and production of television melodrama.

Planned flow, the melodrama's highly symbolic heroic ideal, its formal conventions, and its reinforcement of the society's dominant values at any given cultural moment render the genre highly significant as a centrist cultural mechanism stressing order and stasis.

—Hal Himmelstein

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See also *Beverly Hills, 90210*; *Brideshead Revisited*; *Brookside*; *Coronation Street*; *Dallas*; *Dark Shadows*; *Dynasty*; *EastEnders*; *Family on Television*; *Forsythe Saga*; *Fugitive*; *Genre*; *Jewel in the Crown*; *Mama*; *Miniseries*; *Peyton Place*; *Poldark*; *Rich Man, Poor Man*; *Road to Avonlea*; *Soap Opera*; *thirtysomething*; *Thorn Birds*; *Upstairs, Downstairs*

## MERCER, DAVID

British Writer

David Mercer, an innovative and controversial writer for television, stage, and film, was a key figure in the development of television drama in Britain during the 1960s and 1970s. Although he often said he got into television by accident, his television plays first established his reputation, and offered a powerful and personal exploration of the possibilities of the medium. Published soon after transmission, Mercer's screenplays sparked lively critical and political debates.

Mercer came from a northern working-class family, but his interest in the arts and in politics began after World War II when he was able to take advantage of the extension of new educational opportunities. This experience was central to his first television play, *Where the Difference Begins* (1961), originally written for the stage but accepted for broadcast by the BBC. The "difference" in the title referred to the younger generation's break with traditional Socialist values. Mercer followed up with two more plays, *A Climate of Fear* (1962) and *The Birth of a Private Man* (1963), which dealt with characters struggling to sustain a left-wing political vision in the new "affluent" society.

Although Mercer's early work showed the influence of the "kitchen sink" realism that had swept through British theater, literature, and cinema in the late 1950s, he soon joined other BBC writers and producers to challenge what Troy Kennedy-Martin called the prevailing "naturalism" of television drama. In Mercer's case, the result was a new verbal and visual freedom: instead of talking heads and colloquial speech patterns, the plays used condensed, witty, articulate dialogue, with striking, often subjective or allegorical, images. An example of such imagery occurs at the end of *The Birth of a Private Man*, when Colin Waring, whose private life had disintegrated in the face of his political uncertainties, dies at the Berlin Wall in a hail of bullets from both sides.

This anti-naturalist style was recognized as an imaginative use of the medium, but disturbed critics of all political persuasions. Conservatives objected to Mercer's self-professed Marxist position, liberals found the plays too explicit and lacking in subtlety, while orthodox left-wing critics questioned the emphasis on the problems of Socialism: the compromises of the British post-war Labour governments, the revelations about Stalin's atrocities, and the failures of Communism in Eastern Europe. The plays may be Marxist in their stress on the need for a political revolution, but the revolutionary impulse is usually blocked and becomes internalized as psychological breakdown. However, it also emerges in Mercer's pleasure in breaking the rules of television drama, as he did emphatically in *A Suitable Case for Treatment* (1962), a broad farce in which the main character indulged in "mad" visions of a retreat to the jungle away from the complexities of his political and personal life. Mercer later wrote the screenplay for the successful film

version of this play, *Morgan: A Suitable Case for Treatment* (1966), directed by Karel Reisz.

The motif of "madness" in Mercer's plays had much in common with the anti-psychiatry philosophy of R.D. Laing, who claimed that schizophrenia is an essentially sane response to a mad society. Laing was extremely influential in the 1960s and he expressed great interest in Mercer's work and acted as consultant on one of his most powerful television plays, *In Two Minds* (1967), a documentary-style drama which traced the causes of a young woman's schizophrenia to her oppressive family life. The play was directed by Ken Loach, who later directed a 1971 film version *Family Life* (*Wednesday's Child* in the United States), based on Mercer's screenplay.

Mercer himself likened his plays to rituals exploring the tensions and contradictions of fragmented personalities and ambiguous truths. They explore the relationships of the political and the personal in a society which encourages conformity, inhibiting individual expression. He felt that television gave him greater freedom of expression than was possible in the commercial theater or cinema, but he did continue to work in other media. His influence can be seen in the work of a younger generation of writers such as Trevor Griffiths, David Hare, and Stephen Poliakoff, who have also drawn on the resources of television, theater, and film to produce a powerful body of work dealing with the intersection of personal and political pressures in contemporary Britain.

—Jim Leach

DAVID MERCER. Born in Wakefield, Yorkshire, England, 27 June 1928. Educated at King's College, Newcastle upon Tyne; Durham University, B.A. with honors, 1953. Married twice; one daughter. Served in Royal Navy, 1945–48. Laboratory technician, 1942–45; lived in Paris, 1953–54; supply teacher, 1955–59; teacher, Barrett Street Technical College, 1959–61; television dramatist, from 1961; screenwriter, from 1965. Recipient: Writers Guild Award for Television Play, 1962, 1967, 1968; *Evening Standard* Award, 1965; BAFTA Award, 1966; French Film Academy César Award, for screenplay, 1977; Emmy Award, 1980. Died 8 August 1980.

### TELEVISION PLAYS

1961	<i>Where the Difference Begins</i>
1962	<i>A Climate of Fear</i>
1962	<i>A Suitable Case for Treatment</i>
1963	<i>The Buried Man</i>
1963	<i>The Birth of a Private Man</i>
1963	<i>For Tea on Sunday</i>
1963	<i>A Way of Living</i>
1965	<i>And Did Those Feet?</i>
1967	<i>In Two Minds</i>

1968	<i>The Parachute</i>
1968	<i>Let's Murder Vivaldi</i>
1968	<i>On the Eve of Publication</i>
1970	<i>The Cellar and the Almond Tree</i>
1970	<i>Emma's Time</i>
1972	<i>The Bankrupt</i>
1973	<i>You and Me and Him</i>
1973	<i>An Afternoon at the Festival</i>
1973	<i>Barbara of the House of Grebe</i>
1974	<i>The Arcata Promise</i>
1974	<i>Find Me</i>
1976	<i>Huggy Bear</i>
1977	<i>A Superstition</i>
1977	<i>Shooting the Chandelier</i>
1978	<i>The Ragazza</i>
1980	<i>A Rod of Iron</i>

# FILMS

*90 Degrees in the Shade* (English dialogue), 1965; *Morgan: A Suitable Case for Treatment* (film version of *In Two Minds*), 1966; *Family Life* (film version of *In Two Minds*), 1972; *A Doll's House* (with Michael Meyer), 1973; *Providence*, 1978.

# RADIO

*The Governor's Lady*, 1960; *Folie a Deux*, 1974.

# STAGE

*The Governor's Lady*, 1960; *The Buried Man*, 1962; *Ride a Cock Horse*, 1965; *Belcher's Luck*, 1966; *White Poem*, 1970; *Flint*, 1970; *After Haggerty*, 1970; *Blood On the Table*, 1971; *Let's Murder Vivaldi*, 1972; *In Two Minds*, 1973; *Duck Song*, 1974; *The Arcata Promise*, 1974; *Cousin Vladimir*, 1978; *Then and Now*, 1979; *No Limits to Love*, 1980.

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See also British Programming

## MERGERS AND ACQUISITIONS

Mergers and acquisitions have been a constant theme in the U.S. television business since its commercial beginnings. The vast majority of the dominant companies have been built by taking over other enterprises. All four of the original television networks, for example, developed as products of mergers.

Indeed, no better example can be found than the complex formation of ABC television. During World War II, when the federal government forced NBC to divest itself of one of its two radio networks, Edward Nobel's Lifesavers company acquired the NBC Blue network and renamed it ABC. For nearly a decade ABC struggled and would probably have not made a major impact in television had not it been acquired by another company, United Paramount Theaters, in 1952. Leonard Goldenson, then head of United Paramount, took control of the merged units and sold movie theaters to finance the creation of ABC.

During this same early period another television company, DuMont, was able to mount a TV network largely because it had been acquired by Hollywood's Paramount Pictures, Inc., and even the NBC and CBS television networks, usually thought of as stable corporate entities, relied on merger to increase their stable of owned and operated television stations. As the three-network oligopoly solidified its position in the American news and entertainment contexts, and in the wake of specific Federal Communications Commission (FCC) rulings on the allocation of spectrum space, the television industry appeared to be in something of a established situation. Through the 1960s and 1970s the "Big Three" TV networks acquired few TV properties and the only big news in the late 1960s was an "almost merger" as ITT tried and failed to take control of ABC. The FCC carefully investigated that proposed deal and the delay

caused the parties to abandon the merger. CBS and NBC were satisfied to acquire ancillary entertainment units, from baseball teams to book publishers.

This stability of the three major TV network empires was shattered in the mid-1980s. The television business was changing rapidly. Cable and home video made major inroads into the landscape dominated by terrestrially based broadcasters. Longtime owners, such as William Paley of CBS, began to ponder retirement, and, perhaps most significantly, the FCC lowered the level of its threatened opposition to proposed deals.

In 1986 General Electric, Inc. (GE), purchased RCA for in excess of \$6 billion, and thus acquired NBC. GE, one of the biggest corporations in the world, immediately sold off the NBC radio network and stations, as well as RCA manufacturing. GE's stripped down NBC then began to expand into cable television, a move most strongly exemplified by its acquisition of shares of the CNBC, Bravo, American Movie Classics, and Arts and Entertainment cable television networks.

Also in 1986 Lawrence Tisch and his Loew's, Inc., investment company took over CBS. Earlier as Ted Turner attempted a hostile bid for CBS, longtime CBS chieftain William S. Paley looked for a "white knight" to save his beloved company and in October 1985 asked Tisch to join the CBS' board of directors to thwart the Atlanta-based broadcaster. The following year Tisch took full control and, to no one's surprise, systematically began to sell everything CBS owned in order to concentrate on television. First to go was CBS Educational and Professional Publishing, which included Holt, Rinehart and Winston, one of the country's leading publishers of textbooks, and W.B. Saunders, a major publisher of medical tomes. Next Tisch picked up \$2 billion



from the Sony Corporation of Japan for CBS' Music Group, one of the world's dominant sellers of popular music.

ABC was the third of the big three to be merged into another company. By the early 1980s Leonard Goldenson had transformed ABC into the top TV network, but had passed his 80th birthday and wanted out of the day-to-day grind of running a billion dollar corporation. In 1986 Capital Cities, Inc., backed by Warren Buffett's Berkshire Hathaway investment group, bought ABC for \$3.5 billion. Capital Cities, Inc., had long ranked as a top group owner of television stations and through the late 1980s and into the 1990s the new "CapCities," led by chief executive officer Thomas Murphy, moved ABC into cable television, most notably by taking control of the cable sports network, ESPN.

At this same time the cable television industry was also in the process of consolidating. Giant companies were created through acquisitions and mergers based on the core of the cable television operation—the local franchise. To take advantage of economies of operation, corporations merged cable franchises under single corporate umbrellas, creating MSOs, "multiple system operators." No two corporations did this better than Time Warner and Telecommunications, Inc. (TCI).

Time Warner was formed by the merger of two communications giants in 1989; assets approached \$20 billion and yearly revenues topped \$10 billion. While the colossus covered all phases of the mass media, its heart was a vast nation-wide collection of cable franchises. But this merger to end all mergers also included Warner Brothers, one of Hollywood's major studios, a leading home video distributor, one of the world's top six major music labels, and Time's vast array of publishing interests from magazines as well known as *Time*, *Fortune*, and *Sports Illustrated* to Time-Life Books. In 1995 Time Warner acquired Turner Broadcasting—which had itself acquired other film libraries, production companies, and cable entities—making an already vast empire ever larger.

The other huge cable player, also created through an array of mergers, was TCI. In the mid-1990s John Malone had acquired so many MSOs that TCI controlled cable supply to almost one in three households in the United States with cable. To ensure that TCI could feed these tens of millions of households top programming, Malone acquired significant interests in a vast array of different programming operations including BET (Black Entertainment Television), the sole national channel aimed at the largest minority group in the United States, the Discovery Channel, programming documentaries, and the Family Channel, formerly a religious channel, which in the early 1990s re-invented itself into a programming haven for safe family viewing.

From the outside, to challenge the "Big Three" networks and these vast cable corporations, came Rupert Murdoch and his News Corp., Inc. From a confederation of independent stations around the United States, Murdoch fashioned the FOX TV network. He began by taking over the Twentieth Century-Fox Hollywood studio and thus obtaining a steady source of programming. Next he took the

most powerful non-network collection of television stations, Metromedia, for well in excess of \$1 billion. These six over-the-air television stations, plus a score more in smaller markets Murdoch would later acquire as legal ownership maximums increased, could reach nearly one-third of homes in the United States. As a capstone Murdoch spent well in excess of \$1 billion for *TV Guide*, the magazine that was best able to promote his new TV empire.

In 1990, with the Time Warner merger settled, Rupert Murdoch on scene as a new player, and the new owners for each of the "Big Three" TV networks, it seemed it would be well into the next century before the television industry in the United States would experience another important wave of mergers. Instead, a frenzy of acquisition came in 1995, far sooner than anyone expected.

That summer Disney acquired Capital Cities/ABC, adding not only a famous TV network but also a score of FM and AM radio stations, and two dozen newspapers to the entertainment and theme park company. Within a month Lawrence Tisch sold CBS to Westinghouse. At the time Westinghouse stood as a major manufacturer of industrial equipment in the United States, with but a single division owning and operating television and radio stations. (Later in 1995 came the aforementioned acquisition of Turner Broadcasting by Time Warner.)

A cornerstone event in the history of mergers and acquisitions in the television business had taken place. Critics stood up and asserted that this takeover wave had created a very real threat, a few corporations controlling television, the most important communications medium of the late 20th century. Before 1995 we had associated TV networks with one part of the business (distribution run from New York) and Hollywood with another (production of prime-time entertainment). The 1995 merger movement changed all that, consolidating all economic functions into single corporations. Indeed, critics went still farther, and argued that the television industry seemed on the verge of domination by one unit: "The ABC - CBS - NBC - Fox - Disney - Westinghouse - News Corp. - Entertainment and Appliance Group."

A core concern for critics of such alliances is the reduction in forms of social and cultural expression. They cite various form of vertical integration—the unification of production, distribution, and presentation of mediated material—as serious threats to experimentation, variation, and diversity among social and cultural groups. Profit margins, rather than the needs and aspirations of groups and individuals, determine what is produced and exhibited. Moreover, because most of the major participants in the giant new merged media corporations also have international interests, critics point to the possibility of a reduction in cultural diversity, forms of expression, and dissemination of information on a global scale. And the model of consolidation and merger outlined here in the context of the United States is equally significant among a shrinking handful of European and Asian media conglomerates. Control of communication- and media-based corporations throughout the

world, then, is scrutinized as a form of extraordinary political, economic, social, and cultural power.

But the future will surely bring new alliances, as mergers and acquisitions continue, as corporate players try to anticipate what it means to operate in the new world of 500 channels and the World Wide Web. Future media mergers will come in three forms.

First, outsiders will want in. This was exemplified by the Westinghouse takeover of CBS, continuing a trend that started in the mid-1980s with GE taking over NBC, and the Japanese moves into Hollywood. More often than not (and surely in the case with Westinghouse), the outsider acquires the media company because it is struggling, seeking to re-invent itself. Thus, the fact that Westinghouse borrowed extensively to buy CBS because its own core businesses were languishing becomes the central point to be taken from this case.

Second, there will be increased vertical integration. Disney, a "software producer," for example, acquires ABC, a top distributor of video, in part to enable Disney to gain a guaranteed market for its future products. Vertical alliances will continue to signal attempts by the rich to protect what they have.

The third merger strategy will be corporate diversification. Corporate CEOs will seek to spread risk over as many media enterprises as possible in order to hedge bets in an ever changing media marketplace. With divisions devoted to all forms of the mass media, the diversified corporation can ride through future recessions and catch the technological wave of the future—wherever it goes.

Mergers and acquisitions will always be a central activity in the television business as oligopolists (few owners) maneuver to become the dominant player in one segment, be it television or music or movies or magazines. Television, whether defined by networks (distributors) or Hollywood studios (producers), has long been comprised of small exclusive clubs. All club members make money—but some make more than others. As long as television remains a major industry, outsiders will attempt to buy in, current players will struggle to protect what they have, and all will strive to minimize risk. Simply put, it is cheaper to play these games of oligopolistic merger and acquisition than to start new companies from scratch, a fact as true in the days of Sarnoff, Paley, and Goldenson as it is today.

—Douglas Gomery

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See also American Broadcasting Company; Columbia Broadcasting System; FOX Broadcasting Company; Hollywood and Television; National Broadcasting Company; Time Warner; Turner Broadcasting Systems; United States: Networks

## MESSER, DON

Canadian Musician/Television Performer

Don Messer was the star of his own music variety program, *Don Messer's Jubilee*, which ran on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), Canada's public broadcaster from 1958 to 1969. The program featured the "Down-East" fiddling style of Messer and his band, as well as a medley of old-time favorite folk songs sung by the show's two lead singers, Marge Osborne and Charlie Chamberlain. During its run, it was one of the most popular television programs in Canada, and in the mid-1960s ranked second only to *Hockey Night in Canada* in national ratings.

*Don Messer's Jubilee*, like many early television programs, had its roots in radio. In 1934, Messer formed a band, the Lumberjacks, in his native province of New Brunswick; along with lead singer Charlie Chamberlain, he developed the musical format and style which he would later translate to television. In 1939, he moved to Prince Edward Island, where the band was joined by Marge Osborne. They changed the band's name to the Islanders. His television career began locally in the Maritimes in 1957. One year later, the show was broadcast nationally as a summer replacement for the country and western music show *Country Hoedown*. It was an instant success and remained consistently in the top ten throughout its run. The show's popularity was so strong that its ratings in 1961 were even higher than the formidable *Ed Sullivan Show*.

The show's success, according to Messer himself, lay in its sincerity and simplicity. The show's style contrasted sharply with the more "showbiz" variety programs which were being made in Canada's larger urban centers which more often than not emulated the more appealing American programs. *Jubilee* offered its Canadian viewers a "made-in-Canada" variety show. It reflected what one commentator called "an echo of our country and people as they used to be in simpler days."

Don Messer was shy and retiring and rarely spoke in front of the cameras, preferring to let the show's announcer introduce the songs. The two lead singers appeared more ordinary and down-home than glamorous and glitzy. The show's set, format and staging was simple, straight-forward and inexpensive to produce. Settings were often fixed and a "book" (two flats hinged together) was often used to provide variety. Its appeal was largely among Canada's far-flung rural population, reaching nearly one-half of Canadian farm

homes, and its greatest appeal was among the fishing population of the Maritimes.

The decision to cancel the show in 1969 in favor of a "younger look" brought such a storm of protest that the CBC board of directors decreed that in the future, such popular shows were not to be canceled without justifiable reasons. Attempts were quickly made to revive the show on Hamilton's local television station CHCH; but without its national timeslot it quickly lost its magic. Don Messer passed away three years later on 26 March 1973.

The appeal of *Don Messer's Jubilee* has survived to this day. Since the 1970s, it has come to symbolize the "made-in-Canada" music variety show. Many artists have had successful television careers using the formula and sincere style that Don Messer pioneered. Shows such as *The Tommy Hunter Show*, a country-western music program, *The Irish Rovers*, featuring Irish folk music and *Rita MacNeill and Friends*, another Maritime musician, have carved out successful programs based on Messer's own conviction that musicians wished only to be judged on their ability to make music rather than the glitz and glamour of their programming. In the mid-1980s, John Gray, composer and songwriter of the stage play *Billy Bishop Goes to War*, revived a stage play based on the television show as a celebration of a Canadian cultural treasure.

—Manon Lamontagne

DON MESSER. Born in Tweedside, New Brunswick, Canada, 1910. Fiddler since age of seven; formed group, the New Brunswick Lumberjacks with Charlie Chamberlain, and made first radio appearance, 1934; regular radio and television appearances on CBC; host, maritime regional musical variety program. Died 26 March 1973.

### TELEVISION SERIES

1958–69 *Don Messer's Jubilee* (host/performer)

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See also Canadian Programming in English

## MEXICO

The first experimental television transmission in Mexico—from Cuernavaca to Mexico City—was arranged by Francisco Javier Stavoli in 1931. Stavoli purchased a Nipkow system from Western Television in Chicago with

funding from the ruling party, which was then called Partido Revolucionario Mexicano (Mexican Revolutionary Party) and became the current Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI, Institutional Revolutionary Party). In 1934

Guillermo Gonzalez Camarena built his own monochromatic camera; by 1939, Gonzalez Camarena had developed a Trichromatic system, and in 1940 he obtained the first patent for color television in the world. In 1942, after Lee deForest traveled to meet with him in order to buy the rights, he secured the U.S. patent under description of the Chromoscopic Adaptors for Television Equipment. In 1946 Gonzalez Camarena also created XE1GGC-Channel 5, Mexico's first experimental television station, and started weekly transmissions to a couple of receivers, built by Gonzalez Camarena himself, installed at the radio stations XEW and XEQ, and at the Liga Mexicana de Radio Experimentadores (Mexican League of Radio Experimentors). The first on-air presenter was Luis M. Farias and the group of actors and actresses performing in those transmissions were Rita Rey, Emma Telmo, Amparo Guerra Margain, and Carlos Ortiz Sanchez. Gonzalez Camarena also built the studio Gon-Cam in 1948, which was considered the best television system in the world in a survey done by Columbia College of Chicago.

In 1949 another broadcasting pioneer, Romulo O'Farrill, obtained the concession for XHTV-Chanel 4, the first commercial station in Mexico, which was equipped with an RCA system. XHTV made the first remote control transmission in July 1950 from the Auditorium of the National Lottery—a program televising a raffle for the subscribers of O'Farrill's newspaper, *Novedades*. The first televised sports event, a bullfight, was transmitted the following day. In September 1950, with the firm Omega and the automobile-tire manufacturer Goodrich Euzkadi as the first advertisers, XHTV made the first commercial broadcast, the State of the Union Address of President Miguel Aleman Valdes.

By the late 1980s, the entire telecommunications infrastructure in Mexico consisted of 10,000 miles of microwaves with 224 retransmitting stations and 110 terminal stations; the Morelos Satellite System with two satellites and 232 terrestrial links; 665 AM radio stations and 200 FM radio stations; 192 television stations; and 72 cable systems.

From the time of the earliest experiments the television system in Mexico has been regulated by article 42 of the Mexican Constitution, which stipulates state ownership of electromagnetic waves transmitted over Mexican territory. This law is supplemented by article 7 of the 1857 Constitution, which deals with freedom of the press, a perspective that became more restrictive as article 20 of the 1917 Constitution. In 1926 the Calles administration produced the Law of Electrical Communications. And the first document which specifically addresses the television industry, the "Decree which sets the norms for the installation and operation of television broadcasting stations," was drafted by the Aleman administration in 1950. The current Federal Law of Radio and Television was originally formulated in 1960 during the Lopez Mateos administration, introducing limits to advertising.

Even within the structure of these regulations, television in Mexico has been dominated by a handful of powerful

individuals and family groups. The most significant of these is the Azcarraga family. Television station XEW began operations in 1951 under the direction of Emilio Azcarraga Vidaurreta, who already owned the radio station with the same call letters, one of thirteen radio stations under his ownership in the northern part of the country. Azcarraga had strong links with the U.S. conglomerate RCA, and had been the founding president of the Chamber of the Radiobroadcast Industry in 1941. He was also influential in the creation of the Interamerican Radiobroadcasting Association and, with Goar Mestre of Cuba, was considered one of the two most powerful media barons in Latin America. XHGC was founded in 1952 by Gonzalez Camarena, who was considered a protégé of Azcarraga and had worked as a studio engineer in his radio stations. Telesistema Mexicano was born in 1954 with the integration of XEW-TV, XHGC-TV and, a year later, XHTV.

Although these stations and systems operated under the laws requiring state ownership of the airwaves, in 1950 Mexico adopted a commercial model of financial support. This decision came two years after, and despite the conclusions, of the report issued by the Television Committee of the Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes (National Fine Arts Institute). The report criticized the commercial model of the American television industry, favoring instead the public television system of the United Kingdom. The Television Committee had been formed at the request of President Aleman and was chaired by Salvador Novo, who was assisted by Gonzalez Camarena. In the judgment of the committee, commercial programming was the "simple packaging of commodities with no other aspiration." Later, Novo would characterize Mexican radio as "spiritual tequila" and television as the "monstrous daughter of the hidden intercourse between radio and cinema."

In 1973, 23 years after having committed to this model of commercial support, Televisa (Television Via Satellite, S. A.) was created as a result of the fusion of Telesistema Mexicano and Television Independiente de Mexico (TIM). TIM was the media outlet of the Monterrey Group, the most powerful industrial group in the country, and consisted of XHTM-TV, which started in 1968, two more stations in the interior, and the additional fifteen television stations of Telecadena Mexicana, S. A. This network was founded by film producer Manuel Barbachano Ponce in 1965 and was purchased by TIM in 1970. The fusion of Telesistema and TIM was preceded by strong criticisms of programming and advertising by several public officials, including President Luis Echeverria, in 1972.

Emilio Azcarraga Milmo, son of Emilio Azcarraga Vidaurreta, has been president of Televisa since the beginning, except for a short period in 1986 and 1987, when Miguel Aleman Velasco—son of the president who opted for the commercial model—replaced him. In addition to its dominant role in the television industry, Televisa has operations in sectors as diverse as the recording industry, soccer teams (America, the winningest team in the country's his-

tory; and Necaxa, the national champion in 1995 and 1996), a sports stadium with a capacity for 114,000 spectators, a publishing house, newspapers, billboard advertising companies, Cablevision, a cable television system, film studios, video stores, and direct broadcast satellite among others. Moreover, the Televisa empire extends beyond the boundaries of Mexico.

The first experience of Televisa outside its home country was the creation of what is known today as Univision, a system of Spanish-language television operations in the United States. The move of Azcarraga to the United States coincided with a new strategy to grow internationally while diversifying in the national market. The original operation started in 1960 as Spanish International Network Sales (SIN) with stations in San Antonio and Los Angeles, and three more besides the affiliates. The link between Televisa and SIN/SICC was in a hiatus for some time after a lawsuit focused on Azcarraga's potential violation of U.S. regulations preventing foreign citizens from holding controlling interests in U.S. media industries. Within a matter of years, however, Televisa not only recovered Univision, but added Panamsat in 1985 and made substantial investments in Chile, Peru, Spain, and Venezuela.

After being dominated by Televisa for 23 years, however, and despite the giant company's financial successes, Mexican television is in a stage of transition. A duopoly is emerging in which TV Azteca is the competitor. The quasi-monopoly of Televisa in the Mexican television industry was broken in 1994, when the Salinas administration privatized a media package that included channels 7 and 13, as well as a chain of film theaters. The winning bid was presented by Ricardo Salinas Pliego, president of the electronics manufacturer, Elektra, and the furniture chain, Salinas y Rocha. Salinas Pliego won the bid despite having no experience in the broadcast industry, a qualification required by rules issued by the federal government. Among those who lost the bid were families with a long history in the broadcast industry like the Sernas and the Vargas. Some of these irregularities were coupled with the revelation by Raul Salinas de Gortari—brother of Carlos Salinas de Gortari and main suspect in the assassination of Jose Francisco Ruiz Massieu—that he had engaged in financial transactions with Salinas Pliego shortly before and after the privatization. The revelation of this information by Televisa (quoting U.S. newspapers and newscasts) caused a war of accusations between Televisa and the Salinas Pliego group, a war that calmed down after the intervention of the secretary of the interior and President Ernesto Zedillo himself.

Televisa had experienced a similar conflict in 1995 with Multivision, the wireless cable firm owned by the Vargas family. Multivision asked for the nullification of several dozens of new concessions of stations given to Televisa at the end of the Salinas administration. Televisa counterattacked by accusing Multivision of receiving concessions for wireless cable and other services without following correct procedures. After initiating mutual lawsuits, Televisa and

Multivision reached a truce with the mediation of the secretary of the interior.

In addition to these private, commercially-supported television systems, a smaller public system is also in place. The first public television station was Channel 11, started in 1958 by the Instituto Politecnico Nacional (National Polytechnical Institute). In 1972 the Echeverria administration created Television Rural del Gobierno Federal, which later became Television de la Republica Mexicana, and purchased 72% of the stock ofXHDF-Channel 13 through SOMEX. It later added channels 7 and 22 and became Instituto Mexicano de Television (Imevision). Although Imevision was owned and operated by the government, it emulated the programming of Televisa. The Salinas administration privatized Imevision, which became TV Azteca, and handed Channel 22 to a group of scholars, artists, and intellectuals.

Although there were some cable television operation in the northern state of Sonora by the late 1950s, the industry has been dominated by Televisa through Cablevision since its creation in 1970. This operation has had its main competitor from direct broadcast satellite delivery, primarily from Multivision, owned by the Vargas family. Multivision has greater market penetration and offers more channels than their counterparts in countries such as the United States. In 1996 Televisa created a joint venture with Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, Rede Globo (Brazil), and the U.S. firm Telecommunications, Inc. (TCI), to create a direct broadcast satellite service for Latin America. Multivision became part of a rival operation.

Much of Televisa's dominance in Mexican television comes from its role as a production and distribution company. It provides over 12,000 hours of television programming each year, of which only 13% are imports. Media scholar Florence Toussaint says that the soul of the Televisa resides in its programming. She points out that the organization offers an apparent diversity through the four channels (channels 2, 4, 5, and 9 in Mexico City), with 118 titles in 455 hours each week. Toussaint argues, however, that among and within all these programs, a singular discourse is being elaborated, a discourse which propagates a determinate view of the world. Plurality, she suggests, is not its goal, and all the different shows in the various genres are, in fact, similar. This is especially true of the soap operas (*telenovelas*), the main programming form of Mexican television. (The production and distribution of melodramatic *telenovelas* places Televisa among the top five exporters of television programming in the world; the programs are exported not only to the Americas, but to countries that include China and Russia.) This particular genre can be seen to prescribe the gender roles and the aspirations that the social classes should have. Bourgeois values and symbols are the ideal, the goal, and the measure of failure or success.

Different critical perspectives move away from this analysis, which assumes a passive audience. The alternative points of view, influenced by British and American Cultural

Studies and the works of Jesus Martin-Barbero and Nestor Garcia Canclini, point out specificities of Latin American popular culture found in the form. *Telenovelas*, for example, were modeled after *radionovelas*, the primary of example of which, *El Derecho de Nacer* (*The Right to be Born*) was broadcast at the beginning of the television era in the 1950s. Although the first *telenovela* in its current format was *Senda Prohibida* (*Forbidden Road*), other forms of television drama appeared as early as 1951, starting with the detective program *Un muerto en su tumba* (*A Dead Man in His Tomb*). The first serial drama was *Los Angeles de la Calle* (*Street Angels*) which ran from 1952 to 1955.

*Telenovelas* expanded to prime time and included male viewers as part of the target audience in 1981 with *Colorina*. Besides the melodrama, there are other subgenres in the *telenovela*—the historical, the educational and the political—that, despite the explicit differences, all have a melodramatic subtext. The first antecedent to this strategy of subgenres was *Maximiliano y Carlota* (1956) and was fully initiated with *La Tormenta* (*The Storm*) in 1967. Educational *telenovelas* began in 1956 with a story focused on adult education, *Ven conmigo* (*Come with Me*). For the new television network, TV Azteca, one of the most successful programs among audiences and critics has been the political *telenovela* *Nada Personal* (*Nothing Personal*).

Before the privatization of TV Azteca, channel 2, with a programming based around *telenovelas*, had the highest ratings in prime time at 26.8 (a 47% audience share); followed by channels 5 and 4, with a younger target audience, with 17.3 (30.3% share) and 8.7 rating (15.2% share) respectively. TV Azteca, then Imevision, had a rating of 2.5 (4.3% share) and 1.8 (3.1% share) for channels 13 and 7 respectively. By the fall of 1995 the privatized broadcaster had increased its share by about 30 points.

These historical developments and the complex structures of the Mexican television system have been the subject of considerable critical analysis. Most examinations of the

Mexican television industry adopt a liberal pluralist approach. They claim that the relation between the authorities and the television monopoly has been fruitful for both parties, especially for the latter. They also stress that in this relation, the interests of the masses have been overlooked. Few critics have taken the simple view that the government and broadcasting have identical objectives, but most do argue that the different administrations have been tolerant and weak, allowing the monopoly greater benefits than its contributions to Mexican society. These analyses focus on several central themes. They cite ownership of media industries and management of news and information, criticizing the historical quasi-monopoly and the pro-government bias of Televisa's newscasts lead by Jacobo Zabludovsky for over a quarter of a century.

The Mexican system of broadcasting has developed out of the shifting balance between the state, private investors, and outside interests, originating in the post-revolutionary period (1920–1940) when foreign capital and entrepreneurs alike were looking for new investment opportunities. Whether the situation remains the same, whether the same groups remain in control of media industries in Mexico in the face of new technological developments, remains to be seen.

—Eduardo Barrera

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## MIAMI VICE

### U.S. Police Drama

*Miami Vice* earned its nickname of "MTV cops" through its liberal use of popular rock songs and a pulsating, synthesized music track created by Jan Hammer. Segments of it closely resembled music videos—as quickly edited images, without dialogue, were often accompanied by contemporary hits such as Tina Turner's "What's Love Got to Do With It?" As with music-oriented films such as *Flashdance* (1983) and *Footloose* (1984), *Miami Vice* was a program that could not have existed before MTV began popularizing the music video in 1981.

Originally aired from 1984 to 1989, *Miami Vice* incorporated both current music and musicians (e.g., Phil Collins, Ted Nugent, Glenn Frey, Sheena Easton), dressed its under-

cover police officers in stylish fashions, and imbued every frame with an aura of moral decay. It succeeded in making previous police programs, such as *Dragnet*, look stodgy and old-fashioned.

In *Miami Vice*, the city of Miami was virtually a character in its own right. Each week's episode began with a catalogue of Miami iconography: sun-baked beach houses, Cuban-American festivals, women in bikinis, and post-modern, pastel-colored cityscapes. Executive producer Michael Mann insisted that significant portions of the program be shot in Miami, which helped to give *Miami Vice* its distinctive look. In this tropical environment, two vice detectives combated drug traffickers, broke up prostitution

and gambling rings, solved vice-related murders, and cruised the city's underground in expensive automobiles.

Don Johnson and Philip Michael Thomas played the program's protagonists: James "Sonny" Crockett and Ricardo "Rico" Tubbs, respectively. They were supported by Edward James Olmos as their tough, taciturn lieutenant, and Michael Talbott, John Diehl, Saundra Santiago, and Olivia Brown as their colleagues on the squad. The program's narratives circulated among these characters, but Crockett was at its center and Johnson received the lion's share of the press about *Miami Vice*.

*Miami Vice* was less about the solving of mysteries than it was a contemporary morality play. Indeed, Crockett and Tubbs were often inept detectives—mistakenly arresting the wrong person for a crime. Instead of Columbo-like problem-solving, the program stressed the detectives' ethical dilemmas. Each week these temptable men were situated in a world of temptations. They were conversant in the language of the underworld, skilled in its practices, and prepared to use both for their own ends. It wouldn't take much for them to cross the thin line between their actions and those of the drug lords and gangsters. One such ethical dilemma frequently posed on the show was the issue of vigilante justice. Were the detectives pursuing the evil-doers out of commitment to law and order, or to exact personal revenge? Often it was very hard to distinguish the law breakers from the law enforcers. Indeed, one *Miami Vice* season ended with Crockett actually becoming a bona fide gangster—his ties to law enforcement neatly severed by a case of amnesia.

The *Miami Vice* world's moral ambiguity linked it to the hard-boiled detective stories of Raymond Chandler and Dashiell Hammett, and characters such as Sam Spade and Philip Marlowe; and the film noir genre of the theatrical cinema. Television, with its demand for a repeatable narrative format, could not match the arch fatalism of these antecedents (a protagonist could not die at the end of a episode, as they often do in hard-boiled fiction), but *Miami Vice* adapted the cynical tone and world-weary attitude of hard-boiled fiction to 1980s television. Moreover, one of the most striking aspects of *Miami Vice* was its visual style, which borrowed heavily from the film noir.

As *Film Comment* critic Richard T. Jameson commented, "It's hard to forbear saying, every five minutes or so, 'I can't believe this was shot for television!'" *Miami Vice* was one of the most visually stylized programs of the 1980s and it drew its stylistic inspiration from the cinema's film noir. It incorporated unconventional camera angles, high contrast lighting, stark black-and-white sets, and striking deep focus to generate unusually dynamic, imbalanced, noir compositions that could have been lifted from *Double Indemnity* (1944) or *Touch of Evil* (1958). *Miami Vice* looked quite unlike anything else on television at the time.

*Miami Vice* (along with *Hill Street Blues* and *Cagney and Lacey*) was one of the ground breaking police programs of the 1980s. Its influence can be tracked in the moral ambi-



Miami Vice

guity of *NYPD Blue* and the visual experimentation of *Homicide*. Moreover, its incorporation of music video components has become a standard component of youth-oriented television and cinema.

—Jeremy G. Butler

#### CAST

Detective James "Sonny" Crockett . . . . . Don Johnson  
 Detective Ricardo Tubbs . . . . . Philip Michael Thomas  
 Lieutenant Martin Castillo . . . . . Edward James Olmos  
 Detective Gina Navarro Calabrese . . . . . Saundra Santiago  
 Detective Trudy Joplin . . . . . Olivia Brown  
 Detective Stan Switek . . . . . Michael Talbott  
 Detective Larry Zito (1984–87) . . . . . John Diehl  
 Izzy Moreno . . . . . Martin Ferrero  
 Caitlin Davies (1987–88) . . . . . Sheena Easton

**PRODUCERS** Michael Mann, Anthony Yerkovich, Mel Swope

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 108 Episodes; 32-Hour Episodes

• NBC

September 1984  
 September 1984–May 1986

Sunday 9:00–11:00  
 Friday 10:00–11:00



June 1986–March 1988	Friday 9:00-10:00
April 1988–January 1989	Friday 10:00-11:00
February 1989–May 1989	Friday 9:00-10:00
June 1989–July 1989	Wednesday 10:00-11:00

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See also Police Programs

## MICROWAVE

Microwave technology has been used extensively by the broadcast and cable television industries, as well as in other telecommunications applications, since the early 1950s. Today, microwaves are employed by telecommunications industries in the form of both terrestrial relays and satellite communications.

Microwaves are a form of electromagnetic radiation with frequencies ranging from several hundred MHz to several hundred GHz and wavelengths ranging from approximately 1 to 20 centimeters. Because of their high frequencies, microwaves have the advantage of being able to carry more information than ordinary radio waves and are capable of being beamed directly from one point to another. In addition to their telecommunications applications (which include telephony and computer networking, as well as television), microwaves are used in cooking, police radar, and certain military applications.

Since microwave is a "line-of-sight" technology (i.e., because a microwave transmission cannot penetrate the earth's surface, it will not extend beyond the horizon), long-distance terrestrial transmission of messages is accomplished via a series of relay points known as "hops." Each hop consists of a tower (often atop a mountain) with one antenna (typically a parabolic antenna) for receiving and another for retransmitting. Hops typically are spaced at 25-mile intervals.

Prior to the widespread use of communications satellites in television industries, terrestrial microwave relays frequently were used to deliver programming from broadcast networks to their affiliates, or to deliver special event programming, such as sports, to local stations. Beginning in the 1950s, terrestrial microwave relays were employed to supplement expensive telephone land lines for long distance transmission of programming. Microwave mobile units

(vans with microwave transmitters attached) have also been used in television news reporting since the late 1950s.

Microwave technology was critical to the development of the community antenna television (CATV) industry. Before microwave technology became available in the early 1950s, local CATV systems were limited in channel selection to those stations that could be received over-the-air via tall "master" antennas. In such situations, a CATV system could flourish only within 100-150 miles of the nearest broadcast television markets. Microwave relays, however, made it possible for CATV systems to operate many hundreds of miles from television stations. The new technology thus was a boon to remote communities, especially in the American West, which could not have had television otherwise.

Microwave also introduced the possibility for CATV operators to select which broadcast signals they would carry, sometimes allowing them to bypass closer signals in order to provide their customers with more desirable programming—perhaps from well-funded stations in large cities. For this reason, it was microwave technology above all that prompted the earliest efforts by the Federal Communications Commission to regulate CATV. By the late 1950s, some concern had been voiced by broadcasters as to the legality of the retransmission—and, in effect, sale—of their signals by CATV systems and CATV-serving microwave outfits. The most notable of these complaints resulted in the Supreme Court case, *Carter Mountain Transmission Co. v. FCC* (1962). In 1965 and 1966 respectively, the FCC issued two bodies of regulation to govern the rapidly growing CATV industry. Both of these focused primarily on the legalities of microwave-delivered CATV programming.

The rules did very little to curtail the growth of CATV (more widely known as "cable television" by the late 1960s),

however, and microwave continued to play a key role. Throughout the U.S., the signals of several independent television stations, some of which have become cable "super-stations," were delivered to cable systems by microwave. Also, in late 1972 and early 1973, Home Box Office began serving customers in the Northeast via two existing microwave relay networks.

Historically, then, terrestrial microwave technology accomplished many of the television programming tasks for which communication satellites are used today. Terrestrial relays still exist and serve many important functions for television. In recent years, they have also been enlisted for non-television applications such as computer networking

and the relaying of long distance telephone messages. Some companies that began as terrestrial microwave outfits have also diversified into satellite program delivery.

—Megan Mullen

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See also Distant Signal; Low Power Television; Translators; United States: Cable

## MIDWEST VIDEO CASE

### U.S. Legal Decisions, Cable Television

In the 1979 case of *FCC v. Midwest Video Corp.*, the United States Supreme Court held that the Federal Communications Commission did not have the statutory authority to regulate public access to cable television. The legal decision, known more simply as the Midwest Video Case, marks the first time the Supreme Court refused to extend the FCC's regulatory power to the cable industry. In May of 1976, the FCC used its rule-making authority to regulate the public's access to cable television "air" time and production facilities. Under the rules, cable television systems with 3,500 or more subscribers were required to upgrade to at least twenty channels by 1986 and set aside up to four of those channels exclusively for low-cost access by community, educational, local governmental and leased-access users. Cable operators would have had to make channel time and studios available on a first-come, first-served basis to virtually anyone who applied and without discretion or control over programming content.

At an FCC hearing, and, later, before the D.C. Court of Appeals, Midwest Video and other cable systems objected to the FCC's regulatory intervention into their operations, arguing, among other claims, that the Commission's cable access rules were beyond the scope of the agency's jurisdiction as set forth in the Communications Act of 1934. Citing more than a decade of favorable legal precedent, the FCC rejected the cable industry's position as an overly narrow interpretation of its jurisdiction.

Although the Communications Act does not explicitly grant cable television jurisdiction to the FCC, the Supreme Court had previously held in 1968 that FCC regulations which are "reasonably ancillary to the effective performance of the Commission's various responsibilities for the regulation of television broadcasting" fell within the Commission's mandate. In that case, *United States v. Southwestern Cable Co.*, the Court upheld FCC rules that required cable systems to retransmit the signals of local broadcast stations and seek prior FCC approval before making certain programming decisions. Similarly, in a 1972 case known as

*United States v. Midwest Video Corp.*, America's highest court upheld FCC rules that required cable systems with 3,500 or more subscribers to create original programming and provide studio facilities for the production and dissemination of local cable programs.

Arguing specifically that the intent of the 1976 public access rules was no different from the programming rules at issue in the 1972 Midwest Video Case, the FCC maintained that controlling public access to cable was just a logical extension of its broadcasting authority. The Supreme Court, however, disagreed. Although the Court suggested that the public access rules might violate cable operators' first amendment rights to free speech and fifth amendment protections against the "taking" of property without due process of law, the justices declined to make a broad constitutional ruling. Instead, the Court distinguished the public access rules from the FCC's previous cable rules by declaring them in violation of Section 3 (h) of the Communications Act of 1934 which limits the FCC's authority to regulate "common carriers."

Unlike broadcasters, common carriers are communication systems that permit indiscriminate and unlimited public access. Although the FCC has authority to regulate common carriers such as telephone networks and CB radio, it is expressly prohibited from subjecting broadcasters to common carrier rules under Section 3 (h). Because the Court felt that public control of local cable access would have, in effect, turned cable systems into common carriers, Midwest Video Corp.—and the cable industry—prevailed.

—Michael Epstein

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See also Federal Communications Commission; Distant Signal; United States: Cable

## THE MILTON BERLE SHOW

### U.S. Comedy Variety Show

During his multi-faceted rise as a performer, Milton Berle first appeared on television in a 1929 experimental broadcast in Chicago, when he emceed a closed-circuit telecast before 129 people. In the commercial TV era, he appeared in 1947 on DuMont station WABD (in Wanamaker's New York City department store) as an auctioneer to raise money for the Heart Fund. In the following year he would come to television in a far more prominent manner, and through the new medium become a national icon. He would become known as "Mr. Television," the first star the medium could call its own. Skyrocketing to national prominence in the late 1940s, he was also the first TV personality to suffer over-exposure and burn-out.

Berle had begun his professional career at age five, working in motion pictures at Biograph Studios in Fort Lee, New Jersey. He appeared as the child on Marie Dressler's lap in Charlie Chaplin's *Tillie's Punctured Romance* (1914), was tossed from a train by Pearl White in *The Perils of Pauline* (1914), and appeared in some 50 films with stars such as Douglas Fairbanks, Mabel Normand, and Marion Davies. Berle's first stage role was in Shubert's 1920 revival of *Floradora* in Atlantic City, which eventually moved to Broadway. Soon after, a vaudeville sketch with Jack Duffy launched his career as a comedian. Signed as a replacement for Jack Haley at the Palace, Berle was a smash hit and was held over 10 weeks. He then headlined in top nightclubs and theaters across the country, returning to Broadway in 1932 to star in *Earl Carroll's Vanities*, the first of several musical shows in which he appeared.

Berle's reputation for stealing material from other comedians was already part of his persona by this time, engineered in part as a publicity ploy; Walter Winchell labeled him "The Thief of Bad Gags." Berle debuted on radio in 1934, and during the 1940s hosted several shows, including the comedy-variety show the *Texaco Star Theater*. He remained on radio (including the radio version of *Texaco*) until the 1948-49 season, and was also very successful as a writer of Tin Pan Alley fare. His many songs include "Sam, You Made the Pants Too Long."

On 8 June 1948 Berle reprised his role from radio, serving as host for the premiere episode of the TV version of *The Texaco Star Theater*. But the show as yet had no set format, and rotated several emcees during the summer of 1948. Originally signed to a four-week contract, Berle was

finally named permanent host for the season premiere that fall. He and the show were an immediate smash, with ratings as high as 80 the first season. Ad-libbing at the end of a 1949 episode, Berle called himself "Uncle Miltie," endearing himself to kids and creating a permanent moniker. The show received a 1949 Emmy for "Best Kinescope Show" (the Television Academy was then a West Coast entity, in the era before coast-to-coast link-up), and Berle won as "Most Outstanding Kinescoped Personality." For the next eight years the nation seemingly shut down on Tuesday evenings during Berle's timeslot. The name changed in 1953 to the *Buick-Berle Show*, and from 1954 to *The Milton Berle Show*.



Milton Berle

These shows were pitched at an aggressive level, anything-for-a-laugh, which perfectly suited Berle's comic style and profile. This also tended to make his programs very visual. Slapstick routines, outrageous costumes (Berle often appeared in drag), and various ludicrous skits became trademarks of his television humor. Audiences across the country wanted to see what Berle would do next, and he quite obviously thrived on this anticipation. From his malaprop greetings (e.g., "Hello, ladies and germs") to the frenetic, relentless pacing of his jokes and rejoinders, and even in his reputation for stealing and recycling material, Berle presented himself as one part buffoon and one part consummate, professional entertainer—a kind of veteran of the Borscht Belt trenches. Yet even within his shows' sanctioned exhibitionism, some of Berle's behavior could cross the line from affability to effrontery. At its worst, the underlying tone of the Berle programs can appear to be one of contempt should the audience not respond approvingly. In some cases, this led to a surprising degree of self-consciousness about TV itself—Texaco's original commercial spokesman, Sid Stone, would sometimes hawk his products until driven from the stage by a cop. But the uneven balance of excess and decorum proved wildly successful.

Featuring such broad and noisy comedy, but also multiple guest stars and (for the time) lavish variety show production values, Berle's shows are credited with spurring the sale of TV sets nationwide, especially to working class homes. When he first went on the air, less than 500,000 sets had been sold nationwide; when he left *The Milton Berle Show* in 1956, after nearly 500 live shows, that number had increased to nearly 30 million. Berle was signed to an unprecedented \$6 million, 30-year exclusive contract with NBC in 1951, guaranteed \$200,000 per year in addition to the salaries from his sponsors. Renegotiated in 1966, his annual payments were reduced to \$120,000, though Berle could work on other networks.

After his Tuesday night run ended in 1956, Berle hosted three subsequent series and made many appearances on other comedy and variety shows. He has received numerous tributes as a television pioneer. In dramatic roles, he received an Emmy nomination for "Doyle Against the House," an episode of *The Dick Powell Show* (1961), and was notable in his role as a blind aircrash survivor in the first ABC movie of the week, *Seven in Darkness* (1969). He has guest-starred on many television series, including *The Big Valley*. Doyen of the famous comedians' fraternity, the Friars Club, Berle also sporadically appears on stage. Recently, he was an energetic interview guest for shock-DJ Howard Stern on the E! Channel. But it is the early Berle shows that remain the expression

of Mr. Television, the expression of a medium that had not yet set its boundaries in such rigid fashion. In those earlier moments huge portions of the nation could settle themselves before the screen, welcome their outrageous "Uncle" into the living room, leave him behind for a week, and know he would return once again when asked.

—Mark Williams

#### REGULAR PERFORMERS

Milton Berle  
 Fatso Marco (1948–52)  
 Ruth Gilbert (1952–55)  
 Bobby Sherwood (1952–53)  
 Arnold Stang (1953–55)  
 Jack Collins (1953–55)  
 Milton Frome (1953–55)  
 Irving Benson (1966–67)

#### ORCHESTRAS

Alan Roth (1948–55)  
 Victor Young (1955–56)  
 Billy May (1958–59)  
 Mitchell Ayres (1966–67)

**PRODUCERS** Ed Cashman, Milton Berle, Edward Sobol, Arthur Knorp, Ford Henry, William O. Harbach, Nick Vanoff, Bill Dana

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

##### • NBC

June 1948–June 1956	Tuesday 8:00-9:00
October 1958–May 1959	Wednesday 9:00-9:30

##### • ABC

September 1966–January 1967	Friday 9:00-10:00
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See also Berle, Milton; Variety Programs

## MINDER

### British Crime Comedy/Drama

A long-running and perennially popular comedy-drama series focusing on the exploits of a wheeler-dealer and his long suffering bodyguard and right-hand man, *Minder* was the brainchild of veteran TV scriptwriter Leon Griffiths. Griffiths, who had been active in television since the 1950s, also wrote for the cinema, including the screenplays for the hard-hitting crime dramas *The Grissom Gang* and *The Squeeze*. It was one of his film scripts, also called *Minder*, that gave rise to the series. Griffiths' screenplay was a humourless and tough gangland story which his agent felt would be difficult to sell in Britain, so Griffiths shelved the project.

Later, however, that same agent suggested that two of the characters from the script; a wily, small-time London crook and his uneducated but streetwise "minder" (East London slang for bodyguard), would work well for a television series. Griffiths wrote a treatment for the series featuring the two characters, and took the idea to Euston Films (a division of Thames Television), a group he knew was looking for a follow-up to their successful, tough, London-based police series *The Sweeney*. (Sweeney was also London slang, actually cockney rhyming slang, "Sweeney Todd: Flying Squad," a special quick response unit of the Metropolitan Police.) At Euston, script consultant Linda Agran, and producers Verity Lambert, Lloyd Shirley and George Taylor quickly decided that the series had all the ingredients they were looking for—and there was a general consensus that *Sweeney* star Dennis Waterman would be right for the character of the minder, Terry McCann.

Waterman, however, had his reservations and was worried about immediately going on to another London-based crime series after *The Sweeney*, but after reading the treatment and the initial scripts he was persuaded by the difference and the humour of the piece. But the true potential of the project was only fully realised with the casting of George Cole as Terry McCann's employer Arthur Daley. Cole had been active in film and television for many years and in his early days had specialised in playing "spivs" (shady characters specialising in black marketeering, and other illegal activities). He had become a respected actor over the years, with a wide repertoire, but the character of Arthur Daley was like one of his earlier spiv incarnations grown up.

Although the production may have initially been perceived as a vehicle for Dennis Waterman, the casting of Cole and the rapport between them insured that the series became more balanced. Cole fitted the roguish persona perfectly, and, as the series progressed, with generous support from Waterman, he turned Arthur Daley into a TV icon.

Originally the series was to have been located in the East End of London but it was found to be more convenient to shoot in South London. The location changed, but the patois remained that of the cockney-influenced East End. Arthur was always known as "Arfur," due to the cockney habit of pronouncing "th" as "f", and much of the flavour of the series came



*Minder*

*Photo courtesy of the British Film Institute*

from the colourful slang, some traditional and some invented. Although some cockney rhyming slang was widely known throughout Britain, *Minder* (along with other shows set in the area, such as the BBC's *Only Fools and Horses*) introduced many lesser-known examples to the population as a whole. Soon every *Minder* aficionado knew that "getting a Ruby down your Gregory" meant going out for an Indian meal (popular 1950s singing star Ruby Murray providing a rhyme for curry, Gregory Peck: Neck), and that "trouble on the dog" meant your spouse was calling (Trouble and Strife: Wife, Dog and Bone: Phone). As the series went from strength to strength and the character of Arthur Daley captured the imagination of a generation, East London slang became trendy and cod cockneys (or mockneys) could be found throughout the country.

The early episodes of *Minder* have the emphasis firmly on drama, although there is humour in the dialogue and from the character of Arthur Daley, who seems to haunt the fringes of the plot while Terry McCann gets involved at the sharp end. Daley is devious, cowardly and exploitative as opposed to McCann's straightforwardness, courage and loyalty. Most plots hinge round a problem, created by Daley's greed, that is solved by McCann. But McCann almost always suffers in some way: losing a girlfriend, being involved in a fight, not getting paid. Daley usually thrives, managing somehow to emerge from the scrape with body unscathed and bank account intact, or, more often than not, somewhat inflated. Brushes with the law are commonplace, as are confrontations with "nastier" villains. The local police are endlessly trying to "feel Arfur's collar" (arrest him), but Terry is the only one who actually goes to prison.

Later in the show's run, reacting to the positive feedback from the public, the show shifted slightly but noticeably more towards humour. Scripts tapped the comedic potential of

Arthur Daley and his schemes became wilder and more outrageous, while the regular policemen who dogged him became more caricatured and less threatening. Recurring characters in the series included Patrick Malahide as the long-suffering Detective Sergeant Chisholm and Glynn Edwards as Dave the barman at Arthur's private drinking club, the Winchester.

Finally, in 1991, Dennis Waterman had had enough of *Minder* and left to head a new series. He was replaced by Gary Webster as Arthur's nephew Ray. Ray was a different character from Terry, well educated and well dressed. But he could handle himself well in a fight and was perfectly suited to the role of assistant and bodyguard to his uncle. Initially, he was in awe of Arthur and Daley takes full advantage of this. Soon Ray saw the light and became much more difficult to manipulate. Arthur, however, rose to the challenge and still seemed to get his own way. Webster's involvement gave the series a new lease of life and the scripts for his episodes seemed as sharp and as witty as when the programme had first begun.

Through the run of the series jokey episode titles were used, usually a pun on a film or other TV series ("The Beer Hunter," "On the Autofront" and "Guess Who's Coming to Pinner," an area to the north of London.)

*Minder* was yet another example of a television programme bringing forth a character that seemed bigger than the show. The name "Arthur Daley" is used in Britain as an example of a wheeler-dealer in the same way that Archie Bunker's name came to be synonymous with bigotry in the United States. Daley may be a villain but he is very much perceived as a hero, someone getting away with foiling the system. In the show's rare satirical moments Daley would align himself with Margaret Thatcher, seeing himself as the prime example of the help-yourself society that Thatcher advocated, a man of the 1980s.

—Dick Fiddy

#### CAST

<i>Arthur Daley</i>	George Cole
<i>Terry McCann</i>	Dennis Waterman
<i>Dave</i>	Glynn Edwards
<i>Des</i>	George Layton
<i>Det. Sgt. Chisholm</i>	Patrick Malahide

*Sgt. Rycott*  
*Maurice*  
*Det. Insp. Melsip*  
*Ray Daley*  
*Det. Sgt. Morley*  
*DC Park*

Peter Chi  
 Anthony Valentine  
 Michael Troughton  
 Gary Webster  
 Nicholas Day  
 Stephen Tompkinson

**PRODUCERS** Verity Lambert, Johnny Goodman, Lloyd Shirley, George Taylor, Ian Toynton

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 96 60-minute episodes; 1 120-minute special; 1 90-minute special

#### • ITV

29 October 1979–21 January 1980	11 Episodes
11 September 1980–18 December 1980	13 Episodes
13 January 1982–7 April 1982	13 Episodes
11 January 1984–21 March 1984	11 Episodes
5 September 1984–26 December 1984	10 Episodes
4 September 1985–9 October 1985	6 Episodes
25 December 1985	Christmas Special
26 December 1988	Christmas Special
2 January 1989–6 February 1989	6 Episodes
5 September 1991–21 November 1991	12 Episodes
25 December 1991	Christmas Special
7 January 1993–1 April 1993	13 Episodes

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See also British Programming; Cole, George; Lambert, Verity; Waterman, Dennis

## MINER, WORTHINGTON

U.S. Producer/Director

Worthington Miner had an outstanding career in both the theater and television, as well as working for a brief period as a producer of feature films. At the age of thirty-nine, Miner abandoned his successful career as a theater director to enter the fledgling television industry, becoming general director of television at CBS on 28 August 1939. His work in television has been recognized by his contemporaries and followers as crucial in creating the foundations of modern television.

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) allowed limited commercial television broadcasting to begin in July 1941, despite the outbreak of war and legal battles over technical issues which had delayed the introduction of television in the United States. For the first ten weeks, Miner produced and directed the entire fifteen-hour weekly schedule at CBS, and eight to ten hours a week thereafter, until the war forced live television off the air in late 1942.

It was not until the regular schedule returned in 1948 that Miner developed his first major success, *The Toast of the Town*, emceed by Ed Sullivan. This program, later under the title *The Ed Sullivan Show*, went on to run for twenty-three seasons. It was followed closely by the much-acclaimed *Studio One*, which Miner produced and often scripted for and directed as well. He also produced *The Goldbergs* and the award-winning children's program *Mr. I. Magination*, both well-known examples from the "golden age" of television.

It has been said by insiders that the real "Mr. Television" was not Milton Berle (as he was called in the 1950s), but Worthington Miner. This judgment stems primarily from Miner's development of the basic techniques used in television. In addition to being a major creative force as a writer, producer, and director, Miner is credited with establishing the crew positions and production responsibilities for those positions that are still in use today. Working in an untried medium, and drawing on his technical and operational experience in the theater, Miner developed new staging practices and created camera techniques that exploited the limited technical and financial resources available to television during its earliest stages of growth.

In contrast to his famed counterpart, producer Fred Coe at NBC, who developed a stable of television writers, Miner concentrated on the technical and aesthetic problems of mounting and broadcasting a production, particularly from a directorial point of view. In the process, he discovered what became known as "Miner's Laws," which were adopted by directors throughout the television industry. He fostered the directing talents of such luminaries as Franklin Schaffner, George Roy Hill, Sidney Lumet, and Arthur Penn, all of whom went on to fame in television and other media.

In 1952, as a result of a contract dispute, Miner left CBS for NBC. His hopes for achievements there were dashed with the firing of creative head Pat Weaver; Miner languished under NBC's employ. Despite producing two series, *Medic* and *Frontier*, and a few stunning successes with the drama anthology *Play of the Week* (most notably Eugene O'Neill's *The Iceman Cometh*), Miner left television in 1959. He was disappointed with the direction the medium had taken.

Miner's achievements in television cannot be overestimated. He did not change the face of television; he created it. No one in his time had an equal grasp of both the creative

and technical dimensions of the television medium. Many, if not all, of his ideas remain in use today, warranting the statement that Miner was a true television pioneer.

—Kevin Dowler

**WORTHINGTON MINER.** Born in Buffalo, New York, U.S.A., 13 November 1900. Educated at Kent School in Connecticut; Yale University, 1922; Cambridge, 1922–24. Married: Frances Fuller; children: Peter, Margaret, and Mary Elizabeth. Served in U.S. Army with the 16th Field Artillery, 4th Division, during World War I; served in army in occupied Germany, 1918–19. Faculty of English department, Yale University, New Haven Connecticut, 1924; acted in stage plays, 1925; assistant to producers of Broadway plays, 1925–29; directed plays, 1929–39; writer and director, RKO Radio Pictures, 1933–34; program development department, CBS, 1939–42; manager, CBS television department, 1942–52; worked for NBC, from 1952; left NBC to become a freelance producer; worked in motion pictures. Died in New York City, 11 December 1982.

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See also Anthology Drama; *Ed Sullivan Show*; *Goldbergs*; Golden Age of Television; *Medic*; Schaffner, Franklin

## MINISERIES

A miniseries is a narrative drama designed to be broadcast in a limited number of episodes. If the distinction is maintained between "series" (describing a group of self-contained episodes) and "serial" (a group of interconnected episodes), the term "miniseries" is an acknowledged misnomer, for the majority of broadcast material presented in

the genre is in fact produced in serial form. There are, of course, exceptions. *Boys from the Blackstuff* (1982), for example, consisted of five narratively independent, but interlocking, episodes which culminate in a final resolution. The miniseries may also be seen as an extended telefilm divided into episodes. David Shipman provides a useful analysis of





The Winds of War

Photo courtesy of Dan Curtis Productions

this approach and its central question, "When is a movie not a movie?" in his discussion of *The Far Pavillions*.

Whatever the overall approach, the miniseries, at its best, offers a unique televisual experience, often dealing with harrowing and difficult material structured into an often transformatory narrative. The time lapse between episodes allows occasion for the audience to assimilate, discuss and come to terms with the difficulties of the narrative. The extended narrative time offered by serialisation makes possible the in-depth exploration of characters, their motivations and development, the analysis of situations and events. But the conclusive narrative resolution of the series also allows for evaluation and reflection. Francis Wheen argues that, "Both soap operas and primetime series (whether *Starsky and Hutch* or *Marcus Welby, M.D.*) cannot afford to allow their leading characters to develop, since the shows are made with the intention of running indefinitely. In a miniseries on the other hand, there is a clearly defined beginning, a middle and an end (as in a conventional play or novel), enabling characters to change, mature or die as the serial proceeds. It is for this reason that some television

writers who lament the passing of the Golden Age are excited by the possibilities of the miniseries, even if they believe that its potential has not yet been properly exploited."

The actual number of episodes which differentiate a miniseries from a "regular" series or serial is a matter of dispute. Leslie Halliwell and Philip Purser argue in *Halliwell's Television Companion* that miniseries tend to "appear in four to six episodes of various lengths." whilst Stuart Cunningham defines them as, "a limited run program of more than two and less than the thirteen part season or half season block associated with serial or series programming." From a British perspective the majority of home produced drama would, in the post de-regulation era, now fit into Cunningham's definition. Very few drama productions, apart from continuous serials (soap operas) extend beyond seven episodes.

The term "miniseries" covers a broad generic range of subjects and styles of narration, which seem to differ from one national broadcast culture to another. Australia produces a large number of historical miniseries, for example, *Bodyline* (1984) and *Cowra Breakout* (1985), which dramat-

ically document aspects of Australian history. The United States has produced both historical miniseries such as *Holocaust* (1978) and serialisations of "blockbuster" novels such as *The Thorn Birds* (1983). Britain tends towards literary classics *Pride and Prejudice* (1995) and serialisations of "blockbusters," *The Dwelling Place* (1994).

Francis Wheen suggests that the form developed in the United States due to the success of the imported *The Forsyte Saga* (1967) which was an expensive adaptation of John Galsworthy's historical epic novel. The success of this serialisation demonstrated that finite stories were popular, that they could provide a boost to weekly viewing figures, and a reputation for exciting programming to the network/channel. The potential of the miniseries was significantly promoted, Wheen suggests, by *Roots*, which built up an exclusive culture over its eight consecutive nights in January 1977. People who didn't watch the programme felt excluded from the dominant topic of conversation, and from one of the major cultural interventions of the era.

The popularity of such miniseries works against the received wisdom of programming as described by Raymond Williams: "It is clear that both serials and series have advantages for programme planners: a time slot, as it is significantly called, can be filled for a run of weeks, and in their elements of continuity the serial and series encourage attachments to a given station or channel." It is significant that miniseries are generally part of late evening primetime viewing, the space made available for the privileged viewing of "irregular" material, whether it be contemporary feature films, miniseries, or other forms. This scheduling is important because the high production costs of miniseries can only be recovered through exposure to the largest, most lucrative, and attentive audiences and the material dealt with is often of either difficult and potentially upsetting, or of a sexually explicit nature not deemed suitable for children.

Miniseries are usually high capital investment ventures, Stuart Cunningham states that "the Australian historical mini-series is 'quality', 'event' television. Its status is analogous to that of the 'art cinema', albeit without the financial and promotional marginalisation typically experienced by art cinema. Historical mini-series are produced on regularly record-breaking budgets for television, are accompanied by major promotional campaigns, often as flag carriers leading into new ratings periods, and in turn attract lavish spin-off campaigns and ratings successes, all of which contribute to their placement as 'exceptional' television." It is interesting to note here that in the United States, the ABC network's introduction of the miniseries in 1976 coincided with the arrival of programmer Fred Silverman from CBS and was part of his strategy to revive ailing audience figures. Similarly, Granada's investment in *Prime Suspect* coincided with the franchise bids in British commercial broadcasting.

The miniseries is invariably based upon the work of an established writer, whether this is a classic literary source (the BBC's 1995 adaptation of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*), a popular blockbuster, (Shirley Conran's *Lace*, 1985),

or a renowned television writer (Lynda La Plante's *Prime Suspect*, 1991). Institutionally the author's name is seen as a valuable investment, and is often an attempt to guarantee a prestige audience in the "desirable social categories". For the audience the author's name provides a set of expectations of potential pleasures and an indication of production quality. The writer's name, then, is an important part of the packaging of the series. Given the condensed period of broadcasting it is important to attract viewers at the first opportunity, for unlike a continuous serial or seasonal series, the miniseries cannot accrue an audience over an extended period. Authorial identity thus distinguishes the miniseries from the unattributed flow of soap operas, crime series and situation comedies.

Charlotte Brunsdon, discussing the literary sources of television fictions, argues that "British culture having a predominantly literary bias, middlebrow literature legitimates the 'vulgar' medium of television (whereas high literature might offend as being too good for TV). Adaptations gain prestige for their literariness." Whilst recognising that producers and broadcasting institutions do intentionally exploit the prestige lent by literary sources, it is difficult to support the term "middlebrow", which is central to this statement, in relation to the miniseries. The authors of miniseries range from the Whitbread Prize winner Jeanette Winterson (*Oranges Are Not the Only Fruit*, 1990) to Jackie Collins (*Hollywood Wives*, 1985), neither of which seem to fit the "middlebrow" category.

One clear link between these two adaptations, however, is their implied autobiographical character. Indeed, the representation of actual lives and experiences is central to a range of miniseries. The approach taken may be autobiographical, as in Dennis Potter's *The Singing Detective*. It may be biographical, as in Jane Campion's *An Angel at my Table* (1991), depicting the early life experiences of Janet Frame, or in Central Television's *Kennedy* (1983) focusing on the life and impact of the U.S. president on the 20th anniversary of his death. Or the approach may present dramatizations enacting significant moments in history, as in the Australian miniseries *Vietnam* (1987), depicting the resettlement of Vietnamese refugees from the Vietnamese and Australian perspectives or in Alan Bleasdale's *Boys from the Blackstuff* (1982), exploring the experience of working class life in recession hit Liverpool. This relation to "real life" seems to be one of the strengths and appeals of the miniseries.

Since 1976 when the U.S. television network ABC broadcast a twelve-hour serialised adaptation of Irwin Shaw's *Rich Man, Poor Man*, miniseries have constituted some of the most popular programs in television history. ABC's broadcast of Alex Haley's *Roots* (1977) over eight consecutive nights in the United States drew an audience of 80 million for the final episode. But miniseries have also provided some of the most derided programming, as evidenced in Richard Corliss's commentary on *Princess Daisy* (1983): "Not even trash can guarantee the happy ending, and, alas, it happened to Jane Doe: *Princess Daisy* proved a

small screen bust." Conversely, miniseries have often been among the most critically acclaimed of television offerings. *The Singing Detective* (1986) "was inspiring," according to Joost Hunniger, "because it showed us the dynamic possibilities of television drama."

—Margaret Montgomerie

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See also *Amerika; Boys from the Blackstuff; Boys of St. Vincent; Brideshead Revisited; Day After; Forsyte Saga; Holocaust; I, Claudius; Jewel in the Crown; Pennies from Heaven; Rich Man, Poor Man; Singing Detective; Six Wives of Henry VIII; Thornbirds; Tinker Tailor Soldier Spy; Upstairs, Downstairs; Women of Brewster Place*

## MINOW, NEWTON

### U.S. Attorney/Media Regulator

Newton Minow was one of the most controversial figures ever to chair the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). Appointed in 1961 by President John F. Kennedy, Minow served only two years, but during that time he stimulated more public debate over television programming than any other chair in the history of the commission.

Trained at Northwestern Law School, Minow's public career began with his involvement in the administration of Illinois Governor Adlai Stevenson during the 1950s. At a very young age Minow became a leading figure both on the governor's staff and in his presidential campaigns of 1952 and 1956. During the latter, Minow became acquainted with members of the Kennedy circle and in 1960 worked for the Kennedy presidential bid, becoming close friends with the president's brother, Robert Kennedy. Reportedly, the two men frequently talked at length about the increasing importance of television in the lives of their children. It therefore came as little surprise that after the election Minow eagerly pursued the position of FCC chair. Some observers nevertheless considered the appointment unusual, given his lack of experience with the media industry and with communication law.

Appointed chair at the age of 34, Minow lost little time mapping out his agenda for television reform. In his first public speech at the national convention of broadcasting executives, Minow challenged industry leaders to "sit down in front of your television set when your station goes on the air and stay there without a book, magazine, newspaper,



Newton Minow

Photo courtesy of Newton Minow/Lisa Berg

profit-and-loss sheet or rating book to distract you—and keep your eyes glued to that set until the station signs off. I can assure you that you will observe a vast wasteland.” Sharply critical of excessive violence, frivolity, and commercialism, Minow’s remarks sparked a national debate over the future of television. Although similar criticisms about television and popular culture had circulated widely during the late 1950s, Minow became the first chair of the FCC to specifically challenge the content of television programming and to urge significant reform. His characterization of the medium as a “vast wasteland” quickly became ubiquitous, especially in newsprint headlines and cartoons. During his two years in office, it was estimated that, other than the president, Minow generated more column-inches of news coverage than any other federal official.

In part, Minow’s criticisms of television were linked to broader anxieties about consumerism, child-rearing, and suburban living. Many social critics during this period worried that middle-class Americans had “gone soft” and lost their connection to public life. In an inaugural address that focused exclusively on foreign policy, President Kennedy implored Americans to revive their commitment to the urgent struggle for freedom around the globe. Shortly thereafter, Newton Minow framed his critique of television along similar lines, arguing that the medium had become a form of escapism that threatened the nation’s ability to meet the challenge of global Communism. Moreover, he worried about the increasing export of Hollywood programming overseas and the impact it would have on perceptions of the United States among citizens in other countries. In the months following the speech, Minow advocated the diversification of programming with particular emphasis on educational and informational fare. Confronted by powerful opposition among industry executives, he nevertheless continued to chide network programmers in speeches, interviews, and public appearances.

Although the Minow FCC never drafted specific programming guidelines, some argued that Minow employed a form of “regulation by raised eyebrow,” which helped to stimulate the production of programs favored by the FCC. Indeed, during the early 1960s, network news grew from adolescence to maturity and many credit Minow for helping to foster its growth. He especially was seen as a champion network documentary, a genre of programming that placed particular emphasis on educating the public about Cold War issues. Many critics nevertheless contend that beyond news, little changed in primetime television during the Minow years and some suggested that, overall, the Minow FCC enjoyed few tangible policy accomplishments.

While that may have been true in the short run, the FCC chair played a leading role in the passage of two pieces of legislation that would have important long-term effects. The first was the All Channel Receiver Act of 1962, which required that all television sets sold in the United States be capable of picking up UHF stations in addition to the VHF stations that then dominated the medium. By the end of the

1960s, this law significantly increased the number of television stations, and allowed the ABC network to achieve national coverage, making it truly competitive with NBC and CBS.

Secondly, Minow crafted the passage of legislation that ushered in the era of satellite communications. Under his leadership, various factions within the electronics and communications industries agreed to a pie-sharing arrangement that resulted in the organization of the Communications Satellite Corporation (Comsat) and ultimately the International Telecommunications Satellite Consortium (INTELSAT). Created with an eye toward attaining a strategic advantage over the Soviet Union, these U.S.-controlled organizations dominated the arena of satellite communications throughout the 1960s and much of the 1970s.

Shortly after the passage of these key pieces of legislation, Minow resigned from the FCC and returned to a lucrative private practice, later becoming a partner in one of the most powerful communications law firms in the United States: Sidley and Austin. Through the late 1990s, he remained an influential figure both in the media industry and in policy circles.

—Michael Curtin

NEWTON (NORMAN) MINOW. Born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, U.S.A., 17 January 1926. Northwestern University, B.S. 1949; J.D. 1950. Married: Josephine Baskin, 1949; children: Nell, Martha and Mary. Served in U.S. Army, 1944–46. Admitted to Wisconsin Bar, 1950; Illinois Bar, 1950; worked with firm of Mayer, Brown and Platt, Chicago, 1950–51 and 1953–55; law clerk to Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson, 1951–52; administrative assistant to Illinois Governor Adlai Stevenson, 1952–53, special assistant to Stevenson in U.S. presidential campaigns, 1952, 1956; partner, Stevenson, Rifkind and Wirtz, Chicago, New York City and Washington, D.C., 1955–61; chair, the Federal Communications Commission, 1961–63; executive vice president, general counsel and director, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Chicago, 1963–65; partner, Sidley and Austin, Chicago, 1965–91; of counsel, from 1991; board of governors, Public Broadcasting Service, 1973–80, chair of the board, 1978–80; past chair, Chicago Educational TV, now honorary chair; chair, publications review board, Arthur Andersen and Company, 1974–83; chair of the board of overseers, Jewish Theological Seminary, 1974–77; co-chair, presidential debates, League of Women Voters, 1976, 1980; professor of communications policy and law, Annenberg Program, Northwestern University, from 1987. Board of directors: Foote, Cone and Belding Communications Inc.; Tribune Company; Sara Lee Corporation; AON Corporation; Manpower, Inc. Trustee: Notre Dame University, 1964–77, from 1983; Mayo Foundation, 1973–81; trustee, past chair of board, Rand Corporation; chair, board of trustees, Carnegie Corp. of New York; Chicago Orchestral Association, 1975–87, life trustee from 1987; Northwestern University, 1975–87, life trustee, from 1987. Honorary degrees: LL.D., University of Wisconsin,

and Brandeis University, 1963; LL.D., Northwestern University, 1965; LL.D., Columbia College, 1972; LL.D., Governors State University, 1984; LL.D., DePaul University, 1989; LL.D., RAND Graduate School, 1993. Member: Fellow, American Bar Foundation; American Academy of Arts and Sciences; American Bar Association; Illinois Bar Association; Chicago Bar Association. Recipient: Peabody Award, 1961; Northwestern University Alumni Association Medal, 1978; Ralph Lowell Award, 1982. Address: Sidley and Austin, 1 First National Plaza, Chicago, Illinois 60603, U.S.A.

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## MIRREN, HELEN

British Actor

Helen Mirren is probably best known to American television audiences as Detective Chief Inspector Jane Tennison, the complicated and obsessive homicide and vice detective of *Prime Suspect*. But Mirren, who began her acting career playing Cleopatra and Lady Macbeth in Royal Shakespeare Company productions of the 1960s and 1970s, has appeared in over thirty productions for British, Australian, and American television. These have included film or taped versions of Royal Shakespeare productions, original television plays and dramatic adaptations of literary classics (e.g., the BBC's serialization of Balzac's *Cousin Bette*, which eventually appeared on American PBS' *Masterpiece Theater*) produced by Granada, Thames, and other companies for the BBC, ITV, and Channel Four in Britain, and such American television series as *Twilight Zone* (the 1980s version) and *The Hidden Room* (Lifetime cable production).

The stage training Mirren received in her teens and twenties encouraged her embracement of diverse roles and risky projects on stage, television, and screen (including a couple of notorious X-rated European art films). As with many such classically-trained British actors, her breath-taking acting range and frequent appearances in every dramatic media made stardom elusive. *Prime Suspect*, first aired on British television in 1991, finally made this 25-year acting veteran an important international star. When it was broadcast on the American PBS series *Mystery!* in 1992, it became that show's highest rated program, won an Emmy, and made Mirren, according to some television journalists and executives, PBS' "pinup woman" of the decade. Four *Prime Suspect* series have followed and the American film company

*Abandoned in the Wasteland: Children, Television, and the First Amendment*, with Craig L. LaMay. New York: Hill and Want, 1995.

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See also All Channel Legislation; Communications Satellite Corporation; Federal Communications Commission; Quiz and Game Shows; Quiz Show Scandals; United States: Networks

Universal is working with Britain's Granada Productions on a theatrical film featuring Inspector Tennison (rumors are that Mirren is considered too old to attract a wide audience to film, so another actress will probably be cast).

Critical consensus attributes the success of the television series to the collaboration of Mirren and writer Lynda La Plante, who created Jane Tennison as a composite of several female police detectives she interviewed. La Plante did not want to compromise their integrity by making Tennison's character too "soft," so she considered casting critical to the



Helen Mirren

Photo courtesy of Helen Mirren

success of her vision of the character and these professional women. La Plante found Mirren had the kind of presence and "great weight" she believed crucial to the character: "[Mirren's] not physically heavy, but she has a strength inside her that is unusual. . . . There's a stillness to her, a great tension and intelligence in her face."

Mirren has claimed that she likes Tennison because she is "unlikeable." The complexity of Mirren's performance resides in how she conveys this unlikeability while still making us sympathetic to Tennison's ideals and vulnerability. The character is clearly discriminated against because of her sex—and she knows it—but her own behavior, especially in personal relationships is not beyond reproach. The tension La Plante admires in Mirren's face also permeates the stiff posture Mirren adopts for the character, the quick pace of her walk, the intense drags she takes on a cigarette, the determination of her gum-chewing. Tennison, that unlikeable yet sympathetic character, is given life in Mirren's world-weary eyes, which do not betray emotion to her colleagues—except when she lashes out in often justifiable anger. But in private, the eyes express the losses suffered by a successful woman in a masculine public sphere. Although American and British television made strides in the 1980s and 1990s in depicting strong, complex women in law enforcement, for many viewers and critics, Mirren's performance finally enabled "a real contemporary woman [to break] through the skin of television's complacency."

—Mary Desjardins

**HELEN MIRREN.** Born Helen Mironoff in Hammersmith, London, England, 26 July 1945. Established reputation as stage actress as Cleopatra with the National Youth Theatre, 1965; subsequently appeared with the Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC), and in Africa with Peter Brook's International Centre of Theatre Research, from 1972; returned to RSC, 1974; has also appeared in numerous films and won acclaim as a television performer, notably in the series *Prime Suspect*, 1991–. Recipient: three British Academy of Film and Television Arts Awards; Cannes Film Festival Best Actress Award, 1984. Address: Ken McReddie Ltd, 91 Regent Street, London W1R 7TB, England.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1991– *Prime Suspect*

## MISS MARPLE

### British Mystery Programme

**M**iss Marple, the spinster detective who is one of the most famous characters created by English crime writer Agatha Christie, has been portrayed by a variety of actresses in films and television. In the cinema, Margaret

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION-MOVIE

1996 *Losing Chase*

#### TELEVISION SPECIALS

1968 *A Midsummer Night's Dream*  
1972 *Cousin Bette*  
1976 *The Collection*  
1978 *As You Like It*  
1979 *Blue Remembered Hills*  
1981 *Mrs. Reinhard*

#### FILMS

*Herostratus*, 1967; *Age of Consent*, 1970; *Savage Messiah*, 1972; *O Lucky Man*, 1973; *Caligula*, 1979; *SOS Titanic*, 1979; *Hussy*, 1979; *The Fiendish Plot of Dr. Fu Manchu*, 1980; *The Long Good Friday*, 1980; *Excalibur*, 1981; *Cal*, 1984; *2010*, 1984; *White Nights*, 1985; *The Mosquito Coast*, 1986; *Heavenly Pursuits*, 1987; *The Cook, The Thief, His Wife and Her Lover*, 1989; *When the Whales Came*, 1989; *People of the Forest* (narrator); *The Comfort of Strangers*, 1990; *The Gift*, 1990; *Bethune: The Making of a Hero*, 1989; *Where Angels Fear to Tread*, 1991; *The Madness of King George*, 1994; *The Hawk*, 1994.

#### STAGE (selection)

*Antony and Cleopatra*, 1965; *Troilus and Cressida*, 1968; *Much Ado About Nothing*, 1968; *Richard III*, 1970; *Hamlet*, 1970; *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, 1970; *Miss Julie*, 1971; *The Conference of Birds*, 1972; *Macbeth*, 1974; *Teeth 'n' Smiles*, 1974; *The Bed Before Yesterday*, 1976; *Henry VI, Parts 1, 2 and 3*, 1977; *Measure for Measure*, 1979; *The Duchess of Malfi*, 1980; *The Faith Healer*, 1981; *Antony and Cleopatra*, 1983; *The Roaring Girl*, 1983; *Extremities*, 1984; *Two Way Mirror*, 1988; *Sex Please, We're Italian*, 1991; *A Month in the Country*, 1994.

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See also La Plante, Lynda; *Prime Suspect*

Rutherford portrayed a rumbustious Miss Marple in the 1960s and Angela Lansbury contributed a performance in *The Mirror Crack'd* before moving on to a similar role in the U.S. television series *Murder, She Wrote*. In Britain,

however, certainly the most famous Miss Marple has been Joan Hickson who starred in a dozen television mysteries over the course of a decade.

Between 1984 ("The Body in the Library") and 1992 ("The Mirror Crack'd"), the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in association with America's Arts and Entertainments network, and Australia's Seven network, produced an irregular series of twelve Miss Marple mysteries. The elderly, deceptively delicate Joan Hickson starred in each of these as the amateur detective from the bucolic village of St. Mary Mead.

By conventional critical judgment, Agatha Christie's stories are often flawed. The plots can hinge on contrived and dated gimmicks—in "A Murder is Announced", it is supposedly a shock that a character called "Pip", for whom everyone is searching, is a woman, Philippa. They often end with an abruptly descending *deus ex machina*, as the heroine makes huge intuitive leaps, based on no clues ("4:50 from Paddington"), or on clues which only she knows, and which have been kept from the audience (the character's marriages in "The Body in the Library"). Despite this, the television programmes have attractive elements which kept them popular over the years of their production.

The BBC's *Miss Marple* is a good example of a "heritage" production, with all the pleasures that implies. The term "heritage television" sums up a certain attitude towards the past which developed in Britain during the 1980s, when a mixture of a new Victorianism in moral standards and an increasingly frenetic late-capitalistic commodification led to two tendencies. The first was an attraction to a particularly sanitised version of England's past. The second capitalized on the first with various moves towards rendering that past easily consumable—in television programmes, films, bed sheets, jams and preserves, and so on. The BBC's *Miss Marple* stories are prime examples of "heritage" production. They are mostly set in a rural past. English architecture is featured, and country mansion houses proliferate. As is typical for BBC programmes, the "production values" are impeccable and the programmes look beautiful—costumes, houses and decor, cars, hairstyles and make-up could all be described as "sumptuous".

As a celebration of English culture, "heritage" also demands that the program be as faithful as possible to their source material. Thus, the BBC's *Miss Marple* does not chase the villains herself as Margaret Rutherford does in her films, nor are the titles of the books altered to make them more sensational (the novel *After the Funeral* had been made into the 1963 film, *Murder at the Gallop*, for example).

Another "heritage" aspect of the program is the morality which structures and underlies the mysteries. Miss Marple is the model of decorum, not only just and good, but also polite and correct. And although Miss Marple herself claims that "in English villages...You turn over a stone, you have no idea what will crawl out", there is in fact very little of a sordid underside in these narratives. There may be murders, but the motives are rarely squalid: mostly greed, sometimes



Miss Marple

true love. There are dance hostesses, but no prostitutes; there is blackmail, but it is never about anything really shameful. Indeed, these murders are themselves peculiarly decorous—always meticulously planned and rarely messy.

In addition to these "heritage" aspects, Hickson's performance is another of the particularly attractive aspects of the series. Her frail physical appearance contrasts with her intensely blue eyes, and the way she dominates the scenes in which she appears. Her apparent scattiness, staring absently over people's shoulders as they talk to her, is delightful. It is believable both that people would ignore her, thinking her to be just "a little old lady", and, simultaneously, that she is very much in control of the situation.

*Miss Marple* offers a female-oriented version of detective mythology. Not only does the programme present a range of roles for older women (unusual enough in television drama), but it also celebrates a non-traditional approach to investigation. In several of the stories, the traditional strong-arm techniques of police investigation advance the plot only very slightly. Miss Marple takes over; her investigative methods involve no violence, threats or intimidation. Rather, gossip forms the most powerful of her tools. The very term "gossip" is a way of denigrating forms of speech which have typically been taken up by women. In these stories, gossip moves the narrative forward. In "4:50", for example, Miss Marple knows that the family are needing a housekeeper;



she says, "They're always needing a housekeeper. The father is particularly difficult to get on with". This enables Miss Marple to send her own agent into the household. It is gossip that unfailingly allows her to solve the mysteries. The character's standard technique is to equate the circumstances of the mystery with representative archetypes she has encountered in the course of her village life. Such a comparison of types provides her with an infallible guide to people's characters, actions, and intentions.

In another departure from more typical detective narratives, at the denouements, Miss Marple is never involved in any physical chase or fight. Although she solves the mystery—through observation, a few polite questions and a bit of knitting—Miss Marple has very little physical impact on the progress of the narrative. She is often peripheral rather than central. In some stories, female aides act as her physical stand-ins: but at the denouement of the stories, when television narrative convention demands some crisis and excitement, Miss Marple herself is little involved. Although she may engineer a denouement, as in "4:50 from Paddington", she is not involved in the chase that follows. Rather, it is policemen and good male characters who become involved in car chases and leap through glass windows.

The particular pleasures of this very British television production ensures its appeal even when new programmes are no longer being produced, and its wide circulation, through syndication on several continents, attests to its continuing popularity.

—Alan McKee

#### CAST

*Miss Marple* . . . . . Joan Hickson

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** Twelve irregularly produced and scheduled episodes

#### • BBC

Episodes and first dates of broadcast:

"The Body in the Library"	26, 27, 28 December 1984
"The Moving Finger"	21 and 22 February 1985
"A Murder is Announced"	28 February and 1, 2 March 1985
"A Pocketful of Rye"	7, 8 March 1985
"The Murder at the Vicarage"	25 December 1986
"Sleeping Murder"	11 and 18 January 1987
"At Bertram's Hotel"	25 January and 2 February 1987
"Nemesis"	8 and 15 February 1987
"4:50 from Paddington"	25 December 1987
"Caribbean Mystery"	25 December 1989
"They Do it with Mirrors"	29 December 1991
"The Mirror Crack'd"	27 December 1992

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See also British Programming

## MISSION: IMPOSSIBLE

U.S. Espionage/Adventure

Bob Johnson's taped words commissioning the Impossible Mission Force (IMF) with another assignment became synonymous with the techno-sophistry of *Mission: Impossible*: "This tape will self-destruct in five seconds." They were as oft-cited as the title itself and the opening visual and aural motifs: a match striking into flame and Lalo Schiffrin's dynamic theme music.

The program ran for 168 episodes between 1966 and 1973 on CBS, returning for a further 35 episodes on ABC between 1988 and 1990 (shot in Australia for financial and location reasons). The original executive producer, Bruce Geller, wanted to deploy "the Everyman-superman" in a "homage to team work and good old Yankee ingenuity." The leader of the force was expected to choose a team to deal with each given task, usually comprised of a technical expert, a strong-man, a female model, and a man-of-disguise. Major actors at different moments in the series included Peter

Graves (head of the IMF after the first season and through the revived series), Barbara Bain (model), Greg Morris (technical expert), Peter Lupus (muscle-bound), and Martin Landau (disguise artist).

By the time the program first began, TV producers were under intense pressure to include black characters in positive roles. *Mission* was held up in the *TV Guide* of the 1960s as a paragon of virtue in the representation of African-Americans, with the character of Barney Collier hailed as one of television's "New Negro figures." This didn't avoid criticism for making the token African American a "backdoor" technical expert, one-dimensional and emotionless.

The instructions to writers of the first series read: "The tape message contains the problem. An enemy or criminal plot is in existence; the IMF must counter it. The situation must be of enough importance and difficulty that only the IMF could do it. The villains (as here and later portrayed)

are so black, and so clever that the intricate means used to defeat them are necessary. Very commonly, but not inevitably, the mission is to retrieve a valuable item or man, and/or to discredit (eliminate) the villain or villains ... avoid names of actual countries as well as mythical Balkan kingdoms by being vague. This is not a concern at early stages of writing: use real names if it's easier." The force would accept its assignment and devise a means to carry out the task in an extremely complex way. Some aspect of the plan would go awry, but the team would improvise and survive.

The IMF was a U.S. espionage group, private-sector but public-spirited, that "assisted" Third World countries, opposed domestic organised crime, and acted as a spy for the government. Because its enemies were great and powerful, the force required intricacy and secrecy ("covertness"). At the very time that the famous words were being intoned in each disembodied, taped assignment ("Should you ... be caught or killed, the Secretary will disavow any knowledge of your actions"), real-life U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester was supporting covert operations. The program's considerable overseas sales (sixty-nine countries and fifteen dubbed versions by its third season) were said to have given many viewers around the world an exaggerated impression of the CIA's abilities.

David Buxton describes *Mission* as an exemplar of the 1960s British/American "pop series." These paeans to the fun of the commodity, to the modernity of design, fashion, and knowingness, leavened the performance of quite serious service to the nation. They had an ideological minimalism, open to a range of interpretations anchored only in the need to preserve everyday Americanness, in the most general sense of the term. The opening tape's "promise" of official disavowal in the event of failure established entrepreneurial initiative as a basis for action and gave an alibi for minimising additional references to politics. Instead, episodes could be devoted to a scientifically managed, technicist private sphere. The IMF represented an efficient allocation of resources because of its anonymously weightless and depersonalised division of labour, and an effective tool of covert activity as a consequence of its distance from the official civilities of diplomacy. This effect was achieved stylistically through a visual quality normally associated with the cinema: numerous changes in diegetic space, lighting that could either trope *film noir* or action-adventure, rapid cutting, and few lengthy reaction shots.

The first *Mission* was valorised by many critics for its plots. It was unusual for American TV drama to have episodes with overlapping and complex story-lines at the expense of characterisation. Following each program's twists became a talisman for the *cognoscenti*. The inversion of heroism, whereby treachery, theft, kidnapping, and destruction were qualities of "good" characters, made the series seem both intellectually and politically subversive. Once new people were introduced in a segment, they immediately underwent bewildering transformations that problematised previous information about their psyches, politics, and con-



Mission: Impossible

duct. Geller's fantasy was that actants be just that: figures performing humanness, infinitely plastic, and ready to be redispersed in a moment. The series lasted much longer than its many spy-theme counterparts on network television through the 1960s, perhaps as a consequence of this decentred, subjectless approach.

Each episode of the original *Mission* cost \$225,000, for which CBS paid \$170,000. Geller was shooting upwards of fifty thousand feet of film per screen hour, more than twice the average, and spent 30% longer than the norm doing so. Special effects and writing costs also went far beyond studio policy, in part to make for the feature-film look that was a key factor in the program's success. Geller instilled a knowing self-reflexivity into the series. He became renowned for the remark that "[n]othing is new except in how it's done."

A 150-day 1988 strike by members of the Writers Guild of America over creative and residual rights payments cast Hollywood's attention towards remakes and towards Australia, where the A\$5000 cost of a TV script compared favourably with the U.S. figure of A\$21,000. Paramount decided to proceed with plans to bring back *Mission*, a reprise that it had attempted intermittently over almost a decade. Four old scripts were recycled, and new ones were written after the industrial action had concluded. *Mission* offered "a built-in baby boomer audience" and the opportunity to avoid California unions. This attitude produced a very formulaic remake.

Consider the IMF's efforts to smuggle dissidents out of eastern Europe ("The Wall"). Posing as a Texan impresario keen to hire a chess player and a magician, Graves is accused by a KGB officer of making "capitalist offers." He replies good-naturedly that "[b]usiness is business the world over." And so it is, when his team is able to grant US citizenship as it pleases whilst supposedly remaining independent of affiliation to any particular state. The IMF (what irony in an acronym shared with a key tool of First-World economic power) establishes a sphere of the "other" that is harsh and repressive compared with its own goodness and light. These spheres represent state socialism and capitalism respectively, as captured by a close-up of the East German Colonel Barty's highly polished boot grinding a little girl's lost doll into the mud as he arrests her defecting family. The shooting script calls for Graves to have a "broad American smile" to contrast him with a "slow, unfriendly" East German. The cut from unpleasantness at the Berlin Wall to Jim playing golf fully achieves the establishment of a lifestyle and polity distinctiveness, illustrating the IMF's efforts to assist elements "behind the Wall" that favour a new political and economic openness. Graves' patriarchal condescension is as much geopolitical as gendered in his remark to a ravaged Ilse Bruck in Act Three: "You're a very brave girl, Ilse. But we're still in East Berlin and you'll have to call on all your reserves to help us get back to the West." Indeed she would.

—Toby Miller

#### CAST (1966–1973)

*Daniel Briggs* (1966–67) . . . . . Steven Hill  
*James Phelps* (1967–73) . . . . . Peter Graves  
*Cinnamon Carter* (1966–69) . . . . . Barbara Bain  
*Rollin Hand* (1966–69) . . . . . Martin Landau  
*Barney Collier* . . . . . Greg Morris  
*Willie Armitage* . . . . . Peter Lupus  
*Paris* (1969–71) . . . . . Leonard Nimoy  
*Doug* (1970–71) . . . . . Sam Elliot  
*Dana Lambert* (1970–71) . . . . . Lesley Ann Warren  
*Lisa Casey* (1971–73) . . . . . Lynda Day George  
*Mimi Davis* (1972–73) . . . . . Barbara Anderson

**PRODUCER** Bruce Geller

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 171 Episodes

#### • CBS

September 1966–January 1967	Saturday 9:00–10:00
January 1967–September 1967	Saturday 8:30–9:30
September 1967–September 1970	Sunday 10:00–11:00

September 1970–September 1971	Saturday 7:30–8:30
September 1971–December 1972	Saturday 10:00–11:00
December 1972–May 1973	Saturday 10:00–11:00

#### CAST (1988–1990)

*Jim Phelps* . . . . . Peter Graves  
*Nicholas Black* . . . . . Thaa Penghis  
*Max Harte* . . . . . Antony Hamilton  
*Grant Collier* . . . . . Phil Morris  
*Casey Randall* (1988–89) . . . . . Terry Markwell  
*Shannon Reed* (1989–90) . . . . . Jane Badler  
*The Voice on the Disk* . . . . . Bob Johnson

**PRODUCERS** Michael Fisher, Walter Brough

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

##### • ABC

October 1988–January 1989	Sunday 8:00–9:00
January 1989–July 1989	Saturday 8:00–9:00
August 1989	Thursday 9:00–10:00
September 1989–December 1989	Thursday 8:00–9:00
January 1990–February 1990	Saturday 8:00–9:00
May 1990–June 1990	Saturday 8:00–9:00

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See also Action Adventure Programs; Spy Programs

## THE MONKEES

U.S. Musical Situation Comedy

**T**he *Monkees*, a situation comedy about a struggling rock-and-roll band of the same name, originally aired on NBC from 1966 to 1968. During its fifty-eight-episode run, the program was awarded an Emmy for Outstanding Comedy Program in 1967. The show's popularity continued and it was broadcast in reruns on CBS from 1969 to 1973 and cablecast on MTV in the 1980s.

Inspired by the success of the two Beatles films directed by Richard Lester, the show was aimed at 1960s American youth culture. Considerable controversy surrounded the show because the band, four young men who "portrayed themselves," was "manufactured" by Raybert Productions. In 1965 an advertisement appeared in *Daily Variety*, a major U.S. trade publication for the film and television industry, requesting responses from "4 insane boys aged 17-21." More than 400 individuals replied.

Though Michael Nesmith and Peter Tork, two of the young men selected for the program, had some previous musical experience, the other two, Davy Jones and Mickey Dolenz, had none. Several recordings, closely tied to the series, were released and became commercial successes. Then it also became widely known that the actors did not play their own musical instruments—on the recordings or in the series. The controversy rising from this "revelation" was further exacerbated when the actors embarked on a concert tour. Despite these issues, the Monkees became teen idols, sold millions of records, and were heavily merchandised.

The show was innovative in both form and content, violating the conventions of realist television. Episodes were characterized by self-reflexive techniques such as distorted focus, direct address of the camera, the incorporation of out-takes and screen tests, fast-and-slow motion effects, and continuity errors. In all, however, the television version of "psychedelic" cinema was tamed for the domestic medium, and the boys generally engaged in wholesome, if quirky, fun.

"Monkee Mania" experienced a renewal in the 1980s when the program was rerun on MTV. The popularity of the show with contemporary youth audiences led to re-issue of recordings, fan conventions, and a concert tour by three of the original members.

—Frances Gateward



The Monkees

### CAST (as themselves)

Davy Jones  
Mike Nesmith  
Peter Tork  
Mickey Dolenz

**PRODUCERS** Robert Rafelson, Ward Sylvester

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 58 Episodes

• NBC

September 1966–August 1968

Monday 7:30-8:00

See also Music on Television

## MONKHOUSE, BOB

British Comedian

**B**ob Monkhouse is one of British television's most prolific performers, indelibly etched on the minds of the public as the smooth, wise-cracking host of countless game shows. Initially a stand-up comic, Monkhouse's early years

were spent writing gags for himself and other performers. He made a number of guest appearances on TV shows before he and then writing partner Denis Goodwin finally landed their own television series in 1953 with *Fast and Loose*, a

comedy sketch show. This was eventually followed by another series, *My Pal Bob*. With the coming of the Britain's commercial channel in 1955, Monkhouse was able to diversify, becoming a game-show host with *For Love or Money* and, with co-producer Jonathan Routh, fooling the public with various scams in the British version of *Candid Camera*.

Always a fan of the great silent comedians, Monkhouse paid tribute to some of the men who had inspired him in 1966 with *Mad Movies*. He also continued a punishing schedule of night-club appearances, before becoming a host of ATV's Sunday night variety show, *The London Palladium Show* in 1967.

However, it was not until late 1967 that Monkhouse became associated with ATV's *The Golden Shot*, the series that made him a truly household name. Initially presented by Canadian Jackie Rae, this game-show featured members of the audience who, to win prizes, guided, via the telephone, a blindfolded marksman to fire a crossbow into a target. In later stages of the game the audience members were firing the crossbows themselves. From the start Monkhouse was determined that he should be the presenter, and even went to the expense of having a telerecording made of the episode in which he made a guest appearance, in order that Lew Grade, head of ATV, should see how he could rescue what was then a fading show. Monkhouse also instigated the show's catchphrase when asking the studio hand to load the bolt: "Bernie, the bolt".

Monkhouse did indeed rescue the programme, not only enlivening it with his wise-cracking comedy, but also changing the format, simplifying it and making it more visually appealing and exciting. Thus began a career as a game- and quiz-show host. In 1975 ATV adapted the American programme *Hollywood Squares*, which was hosted by Monkhouse as *Celebrity Squares*. Once again he was the fast-talking, ad-libbing host *par excellence*. There have been numerous game shows since, including *Family Fortunes*, *\$64,000 Question*, *Bob's Full House* and *Bob Says Opportunity Knocks*. However, while thoroughly professional and able to put contestants at their ease, Monkhouse has gained himself a reputation for being smarmy and oleaginous and has often played on this aspect of his persona.

In 1993 Monkhouse diversified into straight drama with a role in Yorkshire Television's *All or Nothing at All*, which also starred comedian Hugh Laurie. Although it may not have led to Monkhouse being hailed as the next Olivier, it was a proficient performance. All through his television career Monkhouse has continued his stand-up comedy act in nightclubs across England, and in recent years he has had something of a renaissance and made a comeback as a TV comic, having been "re-discovered" by a younger generation of comics along with the likes of Ken Dodd and the late Frankie Howerd. He is now probably deserving of "cult" status. This particular skill was showcased in Channel Four's *An Audience with Bob Monkhouse*, in which he performed before a celebrity audience, taking questions from them as well as cracking jokes and telling stories. This was followed



Bob Monkhouse

Photo courtesy of the British Film Institute

by a less successful series on BBC1 called *Gagtag*, in which he was partnered every week with a different "alternative" comedian while younger comic Frank Skinner was teamed with a more traditional comedian. The culmination of this return to comic form was the 1995 series *Bob Monkhouse on the Spot*, scheduled late Saturday evening on the mainstream BBC1 and billed as a version of his cabaret act. This was a raunchier and racier Monkhouse than the TV public was used to seeing, and as the programmes were recorded close to transmission they were filled with topical gags.

Monkhouse remains a difficult comic to classify. He has invariably aroused strong emotions in the public, and has often been someone they love to hate, largely because of his oily television manner. Perhaps it is fair to say that he is admired rather than loved, but his professionalism and skill are unquestionable. His TV career has spanned over 40 years, and 30 of those have been as a top name on the bill. Obviously, he still has the ability and drive which made him a star and he will no doubt continue to be a major player in British entertainment for some time to come.

—Pamela Logan

BOB MONKHOUSE. Born in Beckenham, Kent, England, 1 June 1928. Attended Dulwich College. Married: 1) Elizabeth, 1949 (divorced, 1972), children: Abigail, Gary and Simon; 2) Jacqueline, 1973. Trained as a cartoon film

animator with Gaumont British; started performing as comedian while member of the Royal Air Force, 1947–49; formed successful writing partnership with Denis Goodwin; became BBC's first contract comedian, performing on the *Work Wonders* radio show, 1949; starred in own radio show, 1949–83; starred in first television series, 1953; built up reputation as major cabaret attraction worldwide; host and guest performer on many BBC and ITV programs. Officer of the Order of the British Empire, 1993. Recipient: Top Comedian in Cabaret, 1981, 1987; After-Dinner Speaker of the Year, 1989. Address: Peter Prichard, Mezzanine Floor, 235 Regent Street, London W1X 8AX, England.

#### TELEVISION SERIES (selection)

1952–56	<i>Fast and Loose</i>
1957	<i>Bury Your Hatchet</i>
1960–67	<i>Candid Camera</i>
1964	<i>The Big Noise</i>
1967–71,	
1974–75	<i>The Golden Shot</i>
1975–79	<i>Celebrity Squares</i>
1978–81	<i>I'm Bob, He's Dickie!</i>
1979–83	<i>Family Fortunes</i>
1983–86	<i>Bob Monkhouse Tonight</i>
1984–90	<i>Bob's Full House</i>
1987–89	<i>Bob Says Opportunity Knocks</i>

1990	<i>The \$64,000 Question</i>
1993–	<i>Celebrity Squares</i>
1995	<i>Bob Monkhouse on the Spot</i>
1996–	<i>The National Lottery Live</i>

#### FILMS

*Secret People*, 1951; *All in Good Fun*, 1956; *Carry on Sergeant*, 1958; *Dentist in the Chair*, 1960; *Dentist on the Job*, 1961; *She'll Have to Go*, 1962; *A Weekend with Lulu*, 1962; *Thunderbirds Are Go*, 1966; *Up the Junction*, 1967; *The Bliss of Mrs. Blossom*, 1968; *Simon Simon*, 1970; *Out of Order*, 1983.

#### RADIO

*Work Wonders*, 1949; *Hello Playmates* (also co-writer), 1954; *Punchline*, *Bob Hope's 80th Anniversary*, *Mr. Rodgers and Mr. Hammerstein*, *Mostly Monkhouse*, *In the Psychiatrist's Chair*.

#### STAGE

*Start Time with Bob*, *Aladdin*, *Boy from Syracuse*, *Come Blow Your Horn*.

#### PUBLICATIONS

*Just a Few Words—The Complete Speakers' Handbook*. New York: M. Evans, 1988.  
*Crying with Laughter* (autobiography). London: Century, 1993.

## MONTY PYTHON'S FLYING CIRCUS

### British Sketch Comedy/Farce/Parody/Satire Series

**M**onty Python's *Flying Circus* first appeared on the British Broadcasting Corporation's BBC-1 on 5 October 1969. It was a new type of program for the national channel and its appearance at the end of the decade seemed fitting. The show was created by six young men (Graham Chapman, John Cleese, Terry Gilliam, Eric Idle, Terry Jones and Michael Palin) whose ideas of comedy and television were clearly non-traditional. *Monty Python's* style—free-form, non-linear, deeply sarcastic, satirical, and anarchic—seemed somehow to reflect the times. It mocked all conventions which preceded it, particularly the conventions of television.

The last episode aired on the BBC on 5 December 1974 after the production of 45 installments. The first 39 were titled *Monty Python's Flying Circus*. The final six episodes, all created without Cleese, who had tired of the show, were called *Monty Python*. In addition, the team produced two shows for German television, each running 50 minutes. The second of these two shows, which consisted mostly of new material, was shown in England on BBC-2 in 1973. The Pythons expanded into other media as the result of their TV success. They created four Python movies (*And Now For Something Completely Different*, *Monty Python and the Holy Grail*, *Monty Python's Life of*

*Brian* and *Monty Python's Meaning of Life*), several audio recordings and several books relating to the programs and films. In England and America the group also performed several live stage shows comprised of various sketches and songs from the television program.

Of the cast, all but Gilliam were Englishmen who developed their interest in comedy while students at university (Palin and Jones at Oxford; Chapman, Cleese and Idle at Cambridge). Gilliam was an American from California via Minnesota. Although he did appear on camera occasionally, Gilliam's primary contribution to the TV shows was his eclectic animation which usually served, in various ways, to link the sketches.

Each of the British members of the troupe had previous television and stage experience as writers and performers. Their pre-Python credits included the satirical *That Was the Week That Was*, *The Frost Report* (with David Frost, a regular target of the group's arrows), *Do Not Adjust Your Set* and *The Complete and Utter History of Britain*. The cross-pollination of talent during these days eventually brought the future Pythons together. They approached the BBC with a program idea and it was accepted, not without some trepidation by the network. When Gilliam was brought into the group to provide animation, Monty Python was formed.



Monty Python's Flying Circus

Photo courtesy of BBC

The programs reflect the influence of several British radio programs from the 1950s, most notably *The Goon Show* which featured, among others, Peter Sellers. The energy and disregard for rules which hallmarked *The Goon Show* are clearly evident in the *Python* TV show. In turn, *Monty Python's Flying Circus* has exercised its own influence on such television programs as *Saturday Night Live*, *SCTV*, *Kids in the Hall* and *The Young Ones*. The essential disrespect for authority which links each of these programs can ultimately be traced through the Pythons back to *The Goon Show*.

The content of *Monty Python's Flying Circus* was designed to be disconcerting to viewers who expected to see typical television fare. This was obvious from the very first episode. The opening "discussion" features a farmer who believes his sheep are birds and that they nest in trees. This bit is followed by a conversation between two Frenchmen who consider the commercial potential of flying sheep. Just as viewers thought they were beginning to understand the flow of the show, it cut to a shot of a man behind a news desk announcing, "And now for something completely different," and the scene shifted to a totally unrelated topic. The thread might return to a previous sketch but, more often, there was no closure, only more fragmented scenes. Interspersed throughout were Gilliam's animations, often

stop-action collages in which skulls opened to reveal dancing women or various body parts were severed. The macabre and disorienting were basic elements of the show.

Opening title sequences were not always found at the beginning of the program, frequently appearing instead midway through the show or even later. In one installment, there were no opening titles. Another element of the opening sequence was the "It's" man, a scruffy old sort who would be seen running, eventually reaching the camera. As he breathlessly croaks, "It's . . .", the scene would shift dramatically. The theme music (Sousa's Liberty Bell March) was chosen because, among other reasons, it was free from copyright fees.

Several of the sketches from the series became favorites of fans but not necessarily of the performers. "The Ministry of Silly Walks" virtually became Cleese's signature much to his displeasure, and "The Dead Parrot Sketch" had to be repeated anytime Cleese and Palin appeared together. The group's portrayal of middle-aged women (known as Peppercorns among the group) was a popular recurring theme as well. "Mr. Nudge," "The Spanish Inquisition," "The Upper-Class Twit of the Year," "The Lumberjack Song" and "Scott of the Antarctic" are among the bits which have remained fan favorites.



*Monty Python's Flying Circus* began appearing in the United States on Public Broadcasting Service stations in 1974. Its popularity grew and it quickly became a cult favorite. Several commercial stations, having noticed it on the public stations, also began to air the program. ABC purchased the rights to the six-episode fourth year of *Monty Python*, but when the show was aired the episodes had been censored and edited to fit the restrictions of American commercial TV. The group went to court to prevent further cuts but ABC was able to air the second show with only a minor disclaimer. As a result of the case, the Pythons gained ownership of the copyright outside Great Britain.

Individual members of the group have gone on to acclaim in film and television. As writers, producers, directors and performers, all carry with them residual elements of *Monty Python*. Graham Chapman died in 1989.

—Geoffrey Hammill

#### CAST

Graham Chapman  
John Cleese  
Terry Gilliam  
Eric Idle  
Terry Jones  
Michael Palin

**PRODUCER** John Howard Davies

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 45 30-minute episodes

• BBC

5 October 1969–11 January 1970

## MOONLIGHTING

U.S. Detective Comedy/Drama

**M**oonlighting, an hour-long episodic series which aired on ABC from 1985 to 1989, signaled the emergence of dramedy as a television genre. Although the series finished its first season in a ratings tie for 20th place, it rose to 9th place in 1986-87 and tied for 12th place the following season (in which only 14 new episodes were made). The innovative qualities of the program, however, were marked by its nomination, for the first time in the 50-year history of the Directors Guild of America, for both Best Drama and Best Comedy.

Produced by Glen Gordon Caron, *Moonlighting* featured high-fashion model, Maddie Hayes (played by real-life former high-fashion model Cybill Shepherd), and fast-talking private eye David Addison (played by then-unknown Bruce Willis). The series' story began after Maddie's business manager embezzled most of her fortune, leaving her with her house and the Blue Moon Detective Agency, designed by the wily accountant as nothing more than a tax write-off and consisting of detective David Addison and

15 September 1970–22 December 1970

19 October 1972–18 January 1973

31 October 1974–5 December 1974

#### FURTHER READING

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McCall, Douglas L. *Monty Python: A Chronological Listing of the Troupe's Creative Output, and Articles and Reviews About Them*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1991.

O'Connor, John J. "Python-a-Thon." *New York Times*, 30 December 1994.

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See also British Programming; Cleese, John; Palin, Michael

secretary Agnes Dipesto (played by Allyce Beasley). The romantic tension between David—the smart, slovenly, party-animal and womanizer, and Maddie—the beautiful, haute couture-attired, snobbish Maddie lasted for two seasons. After this point complications on and off the set led to a plot line in which Maddie juggled relationships with David and another suitor, briefly married a third man, had the marriage annulled, and suffered a miscarriage.

The series' importance, however, lies not so much in its convoluted plots as in its unique and sustained fusion of elements characteristically associated with two distinct genres into the emergent genre, dramedy. *Moonlighting* clearly exhibits the semantic features of television drama: serious subject matter dealing with incidents of sufficient magnitude that it arouses pity and fear; rounded, complex central characters who are neither thoroughly admirable nor despicable; textured lighting—both the hard telenoir and the diffused lighting accompanied by soft camera focus; multiple exterior and inte-

rior settings, single camera shooting on film. But the series combines the "serious" elements with the syntactic features of television comedy. These comedic features include a four-part narrative structure (consisting of the situation, complication, confusion, and resolution), the metatextual practices of verbal self-reflexivity, musical self-reflexivity, and intertextuality, repetition (i.e., the doubling, tripling, and compounding of the same action or incident until the repetition itself becomes humorous), witty repartee, hyperbolic coincidence, and a governing benevolent moral principle within which the violent, confused, often ironic dramas of good and evil, seriousness and silliness were played out.

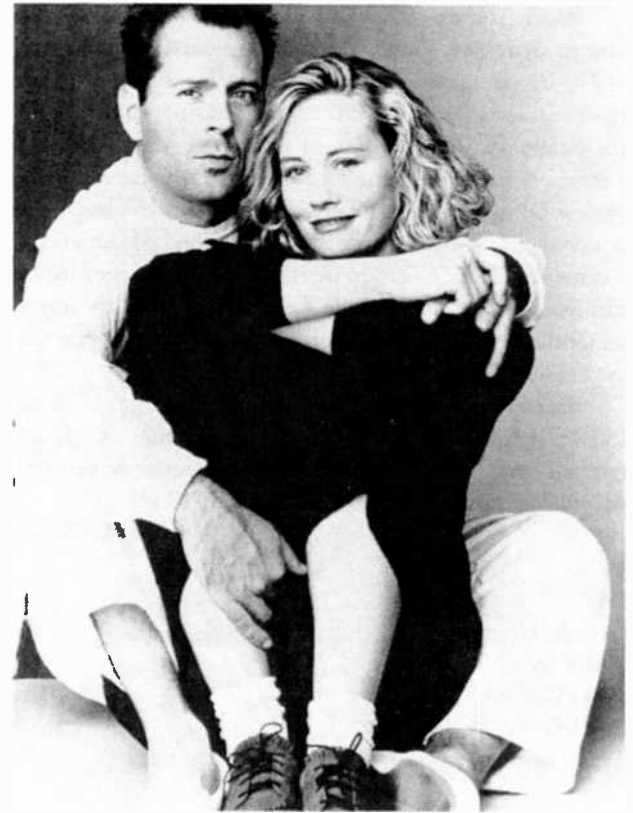
A full appreciation of the sophistication of *Moonlighting* required a level of cultural literacy (both popular and classic) rarely required by prime time television series, which was one reason the series drew accolades from critics early on. Titles of its episodes intertextually referenced the narrative premises as well as titles, authors, and even visual techniques of films, novels, dramas, poems, and plays from the 16th century through the present (e.g., "It's a Wonderful Job," "The Dream Sequence Always Rings Twice," "Atlas Belched," "Brother, Can You Spare a Blonde," "Twas the Episode Before Christmas," and "The Lady in the Iron Mask"). Another episode titled "Atomic Shakespeare" provided a feminist version of "The Taming of the Shrew" performed, except for the bookend scenes, entirely in iambic pentameter. Additionally, in many episodes, protagonists Maddie and David break the theatrical "fourth wall" convention with self-reflexive references to themselves as actors in a television program or to the commercial nature of the television medium. Such metatextual practices are techniques of defamiliarization which, according to certain formalist critical theories, epitomize the experience and purpose of art; they jar viewers out of the complacent, narcotizing pleasure of familiar forms and invite them to question and appreciate the artistic possibilities and limitations of generic forms. *Moonlighting's* use of these metatextual practices signifies its recognition of the traditions that have shaped it and its self-conscious comments on its departure from those traditions—characteristics typically attributed to works regarded as highly artistic.

The series' artistry in fusing the genre features of drama and comedy in such a way that it was both popular and critically acclaimed paved the way for such other innovative dramedic ventures as *Frank's Place*, *Days and Nights of Molly Dodd*, and *Northern Exposure*. *Moonlighting* also led a number of critics to declare that with *Moonlighting* American television had finally come of age as an art form.

—Leah R. Vande Berg

#### CAST

Maddie Hayes . . . . . Cybill Shepherd  
David Addison . . . . . Bruce Willis  
Agnes Dipesto . . . . . Alice Beasley  
Herbert Viola (1986–89) . . . . . Curtis Armstrong  
Virginia Hayes (1987–88) . . . . . Eva Marie Saint  
Alex Hayes (1987–88) . . . . . Robert Webber  
MacGilicuddy (1988–89) . . . . . Jack Blessing



Moonlighting

**PRODUCERS** Glenn Gordon Caron, Jay Daniel

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 65 Episodes

#### • ABC

March 1985	Sunday 9:00-11:00
March 1985–April 1985	Tuesday 10:00-11:00
April 1985–September 1988	Tuesday 9:00-10:00
December 1988–February 1989	Tuesday 9:00-10:00
April 1989–May 1989	Sunday 8:00-9:00

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See also Detective Programs; Dramedy

## MOORE, GARRY

### U.S. Television Personality

Garry Moore, genial host of numerous successful network television programs throughout the 1950s and 1960s, was a major influence on the early acceptance of the medium among American viewers. During his long-running broadcast career Moore appeared regularly during prime time hours and different time periods. Like Arthur Godfrey, Moore hosted prominent daytime and weekly evening shows which contributed to his immense popularity. His programs were frequently among the top ten prime time programs. As a comedian, Garry Moore combined genial humor with a pleasant personality and a relaxed style that made him a favorite with audiences.

Moore originally worked as a network radio comedian and writer known by his real name, Thomas Garrison Morfit. Because Morfit was difficult to pronounce, an on-air contest to select a stage name was conducted. Beginning in 1940 he became known to the listening audience as Garry Moore.

In 1949 CBS Radio originated *The Garry Moore Show*, a daily one-hour variety program produced in Hollywood. Network programmers recognized a successful radio personality in Moore, and given their need for programming talent on its young television network, CBS provided the opportunity for Moore to host a variety television show in New York. When *The Garry Moore Show* was introduced on CBS daytime television in 1950, Moore established a distinctive on-air identity with his crewcut hair and bowtie image. His physical appearance enhanced his casual demeanor and easygoing conversational style that became familiar to home viewers.

Moore's initial telecasts followed a somewhat checkerboard scheduling pattern. Beginning as a 30-minute evening series, the live Monday-through-Friday *Garry Moore Show* made its television debut in June 1950. By August the program changed to one night weekly and expanded to an hour in length. For its fall 1950 lineup, CBS scheduled Moore weekday afternoons, a move that lasted eight years. By 1951 *The Garry Moore Show* reportedly was the second largest revenue source for CBS and, for a time, the network could not accommodate all the potential sponsors awaiting the opportunity to advertise on the program.

Moore's daytime program format was flexible but generally included humorous skits, singing, monologues, and studio audience interaction. Regular performers were featured along with special guests. Supporting Moore with the various program segments were singers Denise Lor and Ken Carson, and announcer and sidekick Durward Kirby. Comedians Don Adams, George Gobel, Carol Burnett, Don Knotts, and Jonathan Winters made their earliest television appearances on Moore's show, contributing to the entertaining tone and boosting their individual careers. *The Garry Moore Show* remained on air until mid-1958 when Moore voluntarily relinquished his hosting duties due to the ex-



Garry Moore

haustive work schedule. By the 1958 fall season, Moore returned to CBS, hosting a weekly evening program, again called *The Garry Moore Show*.

The hour-long evening series followed a format similar to Moore's daytime variety program. During its six-year run, *The Garry Moore Show* introduced comedienne Carol Burnett, who later starred in her own successful CBS show during the 1960s and 1970s. Other comedic and musical talents regularly appearing on the Moore nighttime variety show included Durward Kirby, Marion Lorne, and Dorothy Loudon. Allen Funt's "Candid Camera" became a regular segment on the program. Another popular weekly feature was a lengthy nostalgia segment known as "That Wonderful Year." Given the grueling work required to produce the show, Moore decided to discontinue the program in 1964. Moore reappeared in 1966 as host of yet another weekly *Garry Moore Show* variety series, but after five months of competition with *Bonanza*, CBS canceled the show due to poor ratings.

In addition to hosting several variety shows, Garry Moore moderated two television panel quiz programs, *I've Got a Secret* and *To Tell the Truth*. He began a 12-year reign as moderator of Goodson-Todman Productions' *I've Got a*

*Secret*, in 1952. This popular CBS prime-time program featured celebrity panelists who tried to guess the secret of ordinary and celebrity contestants. Panel members appearing through the years included Bill Cullen, Jayne Meadows, Henry Morgan, Faye Emerson, and Betsy Palmer. *I've Got a Secret* was among the A.C. Nielsen top 20 television programs for 7 years. It remained one of the most popular panel programs ever on television. Goodson-Todman sold *I've Got a Secret* to CBS and Garry Moore in 1959, and he continued to moderate the show until 1964.

*To Tell the Truth*, also from Goodson-Todman, had been moderated for a decade by Bud Collyer. It was taken over by Moore when the program went into syndication in 1969. Another half-hour celebrity panel show, the object of *To Tell the Truth* was to determine which of three contestants was telling the truth. Regular panelists included Orson Bean, Bill Cullen, Kitty Carlisle, and Peggy Cass. Moore left the program and television for good in 1977 when he developed throat cancer. The wit, charm, and personality, so much a part of Garry Moore, influenced numerous television hosts both during and following his long career. He died from emphysema in 1993 at age 78.

—Denis Harp

**GARRY MOORE.** Born Thomas Garrison Morfit in Baltimore, Maryland, U.S.A., 31 January 1915. Married: 1) Eleanor Borum Little, 1939 (died, 1974), children: John Mason Morfit and Thomas Garrison Morfit; 2) Mary Elizabeth De Chant, 1975. Writer and actor, radio station WBAL, Baltimore, 1935–38; news announcer and sports commentator, radio station KWK, St. Louis, 1939; star and writer, NBC Blue Network's *Club Matinee*, 1939–43; New York emcee, NBC's *Everything Goes*, 1942; co-star and writer, *Jimmy Durante-Garry Moore Show*, 1943–48; host,

NBC's *Take It or Leave It*, 1948–50; star, CBS radio show *Garry Moore Show*, 1949–50; star, CBS-TV's *Garry Moore Show*, 1950–58, 1958–64, 1966–67; moderator, *I've Got a Secret*, 1952–64; substitute host, *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts*, 1953; host, syndicated television quiz show *To Tell the Truth*, 1969–77. Member: National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences. Died on Hilton Head Island, South Carolina, 28 November 1993.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1950–58, 1958–64,

1966–67 *The Garry Moore Show*

1952–64 *I've Got a Secret*

1969–77 *To Tell the Truth*

#### RADIO

*Club Matinee*, 1939–43; *Jimmy Durante-Garry Moore Show*, 1943–48; *Godfrey's Talent Scouts*, 1946 *Take It or Leave It*, 1948–50; *The Garry Moore Show*, 1949–50.

#### FURTHER READING

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Graham, Jefferson. *Come on Down!!!: The Game Show Book*. New York: Abbeville, 1988.

Schwartz, David, Steve Ryan, and Fred Wostbrock. *The Encyclopedia of TV Game Shows*. New York: Zoetrope, 1987.

See also *I've Got a Secret*; Talk Shows

## MOORE, MARY TYLER

U.S. Actor

**M**ary Tyler Moore's most enduring contributions to television are in two classic sitcoms, *The Dick Van Dyke Show* (1961–66) and *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* (1970–77), although she has appeared in the medium in a variety of roles both before and after these series. Her first on-camera television work was as a dancer, and it was as "Happy Hotpoint," a singing and dancing fairy, that she first caught the public eye. Her first regular series role as Sam, the receptionist on *Richard Diamond, Private Detective*, was notable primarily because it featured only her dancer's legs and voice.

As Laura Petrie, the beautiful, talented and not-so-typical suburban housewife to comedy writer Rob (Dick Van Dyke) on *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, Moore earned critical praise (and Emmy Awards) as she laid the foundation for the wholesome but spunky identity that would mark her television career.

Though she lacked their experience in television comedy, Moore was no mere "straight woman" to comedians Van Dyke, Carl Reiner, Morey Amsterdam and Rose Marie; she managed to stake out her own comic identity as a lovely and competent housewife who was frequently thrown a curve by her husband's unusual friends and career. Thanks to the show's explorations of the Petries' courtship (they met while he was in the military and she a USO dancer), Moore was able to display her talents as both dancer and singer, as well as comedic actor, on the show. While *The Dick Van Dyke Show* stopped production in 1966, it appeared in reruns on the CBS daytime lineup until 1969, keeping Moore's perky persona in the public eye as she sought film roles and stage work for the remainder of the decade.

On the basis of Moore's popularity in *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, CBS offered her a thirteen-episode contract to develop her own series starting in 1970. Moore and then-

husband Grant Tinker, a production executive at 20th Century-Fox at the time, used the opportunity to set up their own production company, MTM Enterprises, to produce the show. Following the success of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, MTM went on to produce a number of the 1970s and 1980s' most successful and critically-praised series, with Moore's contributions mainly limited to input on her own show(s) and the use of her initials.

On *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, Moore played Mary Richards, a thirty-something single woman "making it on her own" in 1970s Minneapolis. MTM first pitched her character to CBS as a young divorcee, but CBS executives believed her role as Laura Petrie was so firmly etched in the public mind that viewers would think she had divorced Dick Van Dyke (and that the American public would not find a divorced woman likable), so Richards was rewritten as a woman who had moved to the big city after ending a long affair. Richards landed a job working in the news department of fictional WJM-TV, where Moore's all-American spunk played off against the gruff boss Lou Grant (Ed Asner), world-weary writer Murray Slaughter (Gavin MacLeod) and pompous anchorman Ted Baxter (Ted Knight). In early seasons, her all-male work environment was counterbalanced by a primarily female home life, where again her character contrasted with her ditzy landlady Phyllis Lindstrom (Cloris Leachman) and her New York-born neighbor and best friend, Rhoda Morgenstern (Valerie Harper). Both the show and Moore were lauded for their realistic portrayal of "new" women in the 1970s whose lives centered on work rather than family, and for whom men were colleagues rather than just potential mates. While Mary Richards' apologetic manner may have undermined some of the messages of the women's movement, she also put a friendly face on the potentially threatening tenets of feminism, naturalizing some of the decade's changes in the way women were perceived both at home and at work.

After *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* ended its seven-year award-winning run, Moore appeared in several short-running series, including her attempt to revive the musical variety show, *Mary* (1978), which is best remembered for a supporting cast that included the then-unknown David Letterman, Michael Keaton, and Swoosie Kurtz. Moore's later stage, feature film and made-for-television movie efforts have represented successful efforts to break with the perky Laura Petrie/Mary Richards persona. In the Academy Award-winning *Ordinary People* (1980), for example, Moore's performance contrasts the publicly lovable suburban housewife—a Laura Petrie-type facade—with her character's private inability to love and nurture her grief-stricken family. She won a special Tony award for her performance as a quadriplegic who wanted to end her existence in *Whose Life Is It, Anyway?* And on television, she has played everything from a breast cancer survivor in *First, You Cry* to the troubled Mary Todd Lincoln in *Gore Vidal's Lincoln* to a villainous orphanage director in *Stolen Babies*.



Mary Tyler Moore

Photo courtesy of Mary Tyler Moore

In recent years Moore has devoted much of her attention to work for the American Diabetes Association.

—Susan McLeland

MARY TYLER MOORE. Born in Brooklyn, New York, U.S.A., 29 December 1937. Married: 1) Richard Meeker, 1955 (divorced, 1962), child: Richard (deceased); 2) Grant Tinker, 1963 (divorced, 1981); 3) Robert Levine, 1983. Began television career as "Happy Hotpoint," dancing performer in appliance commercials, 1955; co-starred in *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, 1961–66; television guest appearances, 1960s and 1970s; co-founder, with Tinker, of MTM Enterprises; starred in *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, 1970–77. Recipient: numerous Emmy Awards; Golden Globe Award; named to Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Hall of Fame, 1987.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1959	<i>Richard Diamond, Private Detective</i>
1961–66	<i>The Dick Van Dyke Show</i>
1970–77	<i>The Mary Tyler Moore Show</i>
1978	<i>Mary</i>
1979	<i>The Mary Tyler Moore Hour</i>
1985–86	<i>Mary</i>

- 1988      *Annie McGuire*  
 1995      *New York News*

**MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES**

- 1979      *Run a Crooked Mile*  
 1984      *Heartsounds*  
 1985      *Finnegan Begin Again*  
 1988      *Gore Vidal's Lincoln*  
 1990      *Thanksgiving Day*  
 1990      *The Last Best Year*  
 1993      *Stolen Babies*  
 1995      *Stolen Memories: Secrets from the Rose Garden*

**TELEVISION SPECIALS**

- 1969      *Dick Van Dyke and the Other Woman,*  
             *Mary Tyler Moore*  
 1974      *We the Women* (host and narrator)  
 1976      *Mary's Incredible Dream*  
 1978      *CBS: On the Air* (co-host)  
 1978      *How to Survive the 70s and maybe even Bump*  
             *into Happiness* (host)  
 1991      *Funny Women of Television*  
 1991      *The Mary Tyler Moore Show: The 20th*  
             *Anniversary Show*

## MOORE, ROGER

British Actor

Roger Moore settled into acting by 1948, appearing in small roles on British television, radio and repertory theatre. In 1953 Moore went to Hollywood, where he secured an MGM contract, appearing in minor roles in four features over the next two years. He moved to Warner Brothers and appeared in several features including *The Sins of Rachel Cade*. In 1958 Moore returned to England for a year to star in the television series, *Ivanhoe*, a co-production between Screen Gems of America and Sydney Box. The series was part of a historical cycle in British television in the late 1950s and the *Ivanhoe* series was an admirable effort in the genre. The series was loosely based on the chivalric exploits of Ivanhoe during the time of Prince John with the hero drawn from the novel by Sir Walter Scott. As the figure of the title, Moore was suitably dashing, an energetic defender of the weak and the poor and a nobleman to boot.

Back in Hollywood with Warners in 1959, Moore was given a starring role in the television series *The Alaskans*. Moore played Silky Harris, an adventurer, and already the suave sophistication that became a later trademark was in evidence. The series was a variation on the one-hour Western series which Warners had been successfully churning out for several years but *The Alaskans* only lasted one season.

Moore was then cast in the western series *Maverick* (1960). Cousin Beau, played by Moore, was sophisticated

**FILMS**

*X-15*, 1961; *Thoroughly Modern Millie*, 1967; *What's So Bad About Feeling Good?*, 1968; *Don't Just Stand There!*, 1968; *Change of Habit*, 1970; *Ordinary People*, 1980; *Six Weeks*, 1982; *Just Between Friends*, 1986; *Flirting with Disaster*, 1996.

**PUBLICATION**

*After All*. New York: Putnam, 1995.

**FURTHER READING**

- Alley, Robert, and Irby B. Brown. *Love Is All Around: The Making of The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. New York: Delta, 1989.  
 Bonderoff, Jason. *Mary Tyler Moore: A Biography*. New York: St. Martin's, 1986.  
 Hingley, Audrey T. "Mary Tyler Moore: After All." *Saturday Evening Post* (Indianapolis, Indiana), November-December 1995.  
 Van Meter, Jonathan. "Mary, Mary Quite Contrary...." *The New York Times Magazine*, 26 November 1995.

See also *Dick Van Dyke Show*; Gender and Television; *Mary Tyler Moore Show*; Tinker, Grant

and upper-class but, unfortunately, lacked the comic touch of the original star, James Garner, who had left the series. After one season on *Maverick* Moore left the series which folded a year later.

Moore returned to feature films. He made three more features for Warners, including a western, *Gold for Seven Sinners* (1961), a Western vehicle for Clint Walker, the former star of *Cheyenne*, which was partly shot in Italy. Moore stayed two years in Italy, where he made two Italian films.

After nearly ten years in film and television, Moore was cast in the role of the Saint in the eponymous television series in 1961. The role perfectly fit his persona of a sophisticated Englishman with more than a modicum of intelligence, cunning, and toughness. While some appearances in earlier U.S. television anthology drama series, such as *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*, had Moore playing such a figure, nothing in his previous starring roles had capitalised on this side of Moore's screen personality. *The Saint* expanded considerably on the type over seven years, through 114 filmed hours as well as two telefeatures. The series was produced in Britain by ITC/ATV and was based on the novels by Leslie Charteris. The Saint was a kind of modern Robin Hood who used wealth, cunning and sophistication to help bring to justice criminals that the law had been unable to catch. *The Saint* taught Moore his trade and made him a large income.

He became owner of a textile mill, a director of the Faberge perfume operation, and co-owner of a film production company, Bar Moore, which produced later episodes of *The Saint*. The series also gave him a chance to try his hand at directing. Altogether, he directed eight hour-long episodes of *The Saint* and two hour-long episodes of his next television series, *The Persuaders*.

This latter series was a kind of spin-off to *The Saint* so far as Moore's role was concerned. However, he no longer played solo, being teamed with fading screen idol Tony Curtis. *The Persuaders* was produced by a company of Sir Lew Grade and ran for 24 hour-long episodes in the 1971-72 season. The attempt to enlist audience loyalties on both sides of the Atlantic was obvious enough, nevertheless the series had sufficient action and adventure, usually in exotic locales, to keep audiences happy and make the series popular. But it did little to advance Moore's career after the achievement of *The Saint*. The real break came in 1973 when Moore was cast as the second James Bond. Chosen over actor Michael Caine, Moore's casting as Bond was in line with the screen persona that had been elaborated over 15 years in television. Moreover, the work in television had given Moore a fame and popularity beyond anything Caine could muster from his film work in the previous ten years.

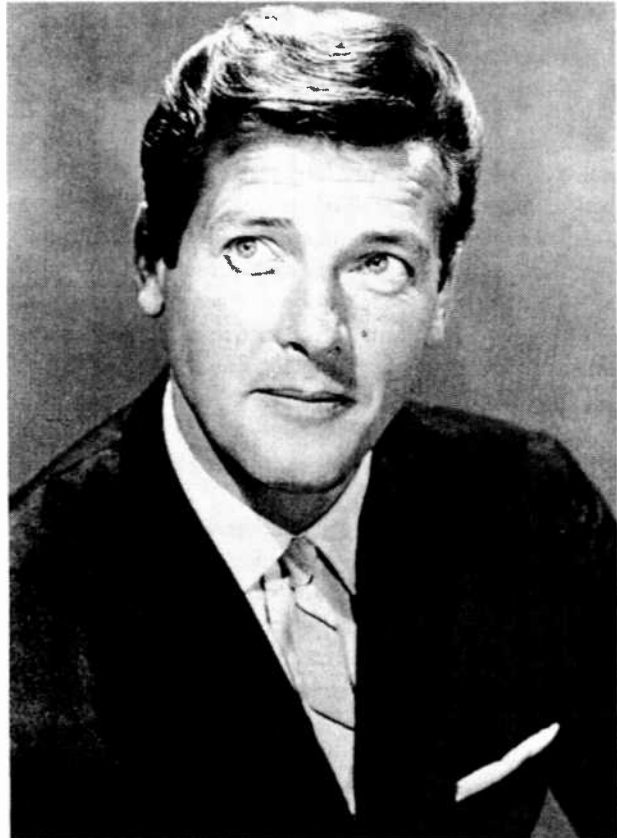
The Bond role meant that Moore was now an international star who no longer needed to play in television, but the general pattern of his career is a familiar and instructive one regarding the younger medium. Moore decided on an acting career just as television was displacing feature films as the most popular form of screen entertainment. Television taught him his trade as an actor, allowing him the opportunity over several series to elaborate a screen personality that would later stand him in good stead. After a long television apprenticeship, he finally graduated to big-budget feature films where he has worked ever since. The other significant feature of his career is the paradox that this British star was in fact a product of the international television and film industries, if not the American industry.

—Albert Moran

ROGER MOORE. Born in London, England, 14 October 1927. Attended Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, London. Married: 1) Doorn van Steyn (divorced, 1953); 2) Dorothy Squires, 1953 (divorced, 1969); 3) Luisa Mattioli; children: Geoffrey, Christian and Deborah. Film cartoonist and model from the age of 16, before training as an actor; made film debut, 1945; after National Service worked as film actor; made television debut in *Ivanhoe*, 1958-59; television performer and star, from 1960s; subsequently concentrated on film career, notably in seven films as James Bond. Recipient: Golden Globe World Film Favourite Award, 1980. Address: ICM Ltd, 76 Oxford Street, London W1R 1RB, England.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1958-59 *Ivanhoe*  
1959-60 *The Alaskans*  
1957-62 *Maverick*



Roger Moore

Photo courtesy of ITC Entertainment

1962-69 *The Saint*  
1971-72 *The Persuaders*

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

1977 *Sherlock Holmes in New York*  
1992 *The Man Who Wouldn't Die*

#### FILMS

*Caesar and Cleopatra*, 1945; *The Last Time I Saw Paris*, 1954; *Interrupted Melody*, 1955; *The King's Thief*, 1955; *Diane*, 1955; *The Miracle*, 1959; *The Sins of Rachel Cade*, 1961; *Gold of the Seven Saints*, 1961; *Rape of the Sabines*, 1961; *No Man's Land*, 1961; *Crossplot*, 1969; *The Man Who Haunted Himself*, 1970; *Live and Let Die*, 1973; *The Man with the Golden Gun*, 1974; *Gold*, 1974; *That Lucky Touch*, 1975; *Shout at the Devil*, 1976; *Street People*, 1976; *The Spy Who Loved Me*, 1977; *The Wild Geese*, 1978; *Escape from Athena*, 1979; *Moonraker*, 1979; *North Sea Hijack*, 1980; *Sunday Lovers*, 1980; *The Sea Wolves*, 1980; *Cannonball Run*, 1981; *For Your Eyes Only*, 1982; *The Naked Face*, 1983; *Octopussy*, 1983; *A View to a Kill*, 1985; *Bed and Breakfast*, 1989; *Bullseye!*, 1989; *Fire, Ice and Dynamite*, 1990; *The Quest*, 1995.

#### PUBLICATION

*James Bond Diary*. Greenwich: Fawcett, 1973.

See also *Maverick*



## MORECAMBE AND WISE

### British Comedy Act

**M**orecambe and Wise, a comic duo who developed their act in variety shows in provincial theaters, became the popular stars of a long-running series which had a major influence on the development of British television comedy. Born Eric Bartholomew and Ernest Wiseman, they adopted their stage names when they first teamed up in 1941, making their debut as a double act at the Liverpool Empire. They were both fifteen and had already gained experience working separately on the music hall circuit. Eric took his new name from the Lancashire seaside town where he was born and, since Ernie came from Yorkshire, their northern working-class origins remained a clear but unobtrusive part of their appeal.

After a break for national service, the act was reconstituted in 1947 and went through a number of changes before developing the format which made them stars. They started out by imitating comic routines from the films of Bud Abbott and Lou Costello, with fake American accents and Eric in the role of the straight man. It was not until they reversed their roles that their ability to create characters out of the traditional roles of comedian and straight man began to bring them recognition.

A few radio engagements preceded their first attempt to break into the emerging television field. Their first television series, called *Running Wild*, was broadcast by the BBC in 1954 but was a short-lived failure. *The Morecambe and Wise Show* first appeared on ATV in 1961 and transferred to BBC2 in 1968. Scripts were written by Sid Green and Dick Hills, who often appeared in small parts in the sketches. The series was briefly interrupted when Eric suffered a heart attack in 1969 but returned to renewed acclaim, with Eddie Braben as the new scriptwriter.

Their success led to several invitations to appear at Royal Command Performances, and they also made a number of guest appearances in the United States on *The Ed Sullivan Show*. Their three feature films, *The Intelligence Men* (1965), *That Riviera Touch* (1966), and *The Magnificent Two* (1967), were often funny but failed to achieve either the inspiration or the popular success of the television series.

The originality of their show stemmed ironically from its refusal to deny its theatrical origins. The two stars appeared on stage, introduced their guests (who often appeared with them in short comic sketches), ended the show with a song and dance number, and then returned for a curtain call. The jokes were usually old or dependent on excruciating puns and double entendres. Their impact came from the contrast between the apparent weakness of the material and the valiant efforts of the comedians to make it funny. The show provided the pleasures of familiarity amid the rapid social and cultural changes of the 1960s and 1970s; yet, the familiar was always somehow skewed because of the performers' evident desire to succeed in the contemporary world.

The comic personae of Morecambe and Wise also reflected this tension between the familiar and the modern. Their



Morecambe and Wise

Photo courtesy of the Movie Network

appearance was mined for recurring jokes about Eric's horn-rimmed spectacles and Ernie's alleged wig and "short fat hairy legs." Gestures and catch-phrases were also repeated, as when Eric expressed aggression by placing the flat of his hand under Ernie's chin and challenging him to "get out of that." Yet their relationship offered an unfamiliar twist on the conventional double act. Predictably Ernie was the one with aspirations, in his case a desire to become a serious writer, while Eric was slow on the uptake, constantly exasperating his partner through his failure to understand or refusal to take things seriously. However, Eric was also quite cunning and clearly had the ultimate authority, slyly deflating all pretensions.

Although there had been many double acts in the British music hall tradition, they have been a rarity in British television, with only Peter Cook and Dudley Moore achieving a success at all comparable to Morecambe and Wise in a show, *Not Only But Also...*, clearly indebted to their predecessors. The blend of stand-up comedy and sketches in *The Morecambe and Wise Show* was probably influenced by the American *Burns and Allen Show*, which relied more heavily on situation comedy, and may have in turn influenced the zanier and more fragmented comedy of *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*.

—Jim Leach

**CAST**

John Bartholomew  
Ernest Wisemen

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY**

- ITV (1961–1968)
- BBC (1968–1978)
- ITV (1978–1984)

**FURTHER READING**

Midwinter, Eric. *Make 'Em Laugh: Famous Comedians and their Worlds*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1979.  
Morecambe, Eric, and Ernie Wise. *Eric and Ernie: The Autobiography of Morecambe and Wise*. London: W.H. Allen, 1972.  
Tynan, Kenneth. *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975.

See also *Ed Sullivan Show*; *George Burns and Gracie Allen Show*

## MORNING TELEVISION PROGRAMS

In the early years of American television, broadcasts were generally concentrated in afternoons and prime time. Although providing programs day and night outstripped the networks' production capabilities, there were also psychological reasons for less programming in the early morning and late evening. As Robert Metz puts it in his history of *The Today Show*, listening to morning radio was acceptable, "but like sex and alcohol, television was deemed proper only after sundown." As production capabilities improved, the idea of extending programming into the early morning and late evening became more attractive. Much of that attraction was economic, for although something of a novel and risky proposition at the time, morning and late-night television certainly offered more advertising spots. Broader time periods also appealed to network programmers to further "normalize" and "regularize" television viewing, to make it part of everyday life.

Today morning shows are taken for granted as a routinized aspect of television and its place in domestic experience. The shows are informal and relaxed, some complete with living room sets, sofas and coffee tables. Regular hosts are present in most shows as the familiar, foundational, conversational link to the audience. But the programs also sometimes include guest news anchors, sports and weather persons from affiliate stations, making that link to the audience even more intimate. Whatever the combination of hosts (usually three) they interact with light and cheerful banter. Since most Americans are getting dressed or eating breakfast at the time, the mood is deliberately upbeat with inspirational or positive thoughts for the day. The cheerful disposition of the presenters does not preclude reports on serious events when they occur, however.

News stories from the previous day are often followed the next morning with related but less formal stories, and celebrity interviews and discussion. When national disasters occur—hurricanes, earthquakes, plane crashes—the whole show may be dominated by news coverage of those events. Sometimes the morning "anchors" and crew go on location in order to feature a particular city or event. On such occasions, organizers, political leaders, dignitaries, and VIPs

are interviewed on site. National weather reports are interspersed with sponsored announcements, birthday wishes, and other less formal moments and the programs are formatted in such a way that local station breaks can be accommodated with ease. These breaks are important because they allow affiliates to provide local news, sports, and weather, as well as the insertion of local commercials.

Morning shows are constructed in a style best termed as "modular programming"; short, unconnected segments are presented with no relationship between them. Modules rarely exceed four minutes and most are shorter. This program design is based on programmer and producer perceptions of viewer activities—preoccupied with preparations for the day, unable to devote much time or attention to any one segment of the program.

In recent years, morning shows have returned to one of their earliest strategies and have begun to include live audiences in their format. Two approaches to audience participation have been introduced. The first enables people in the street to look into the studio from the outside. At times these spectators can be distracting, raising signs and waving arms, presumably to attract attention from viewers "back home." But they can be shut out by means of a mechanized cyclorama. This "fish bowl concept" was an aspect of the early years of the *Today* show when Dave Garroway and the chimpanzee J. Fred Muggs were featured. On occasion the hosts move outside to where people are standing on the sidewalk, interviewing a few selected visitors. The second approach to audience involvement includes a captive audience within the studio, similar to conventional talk shows. Inside the studio, the audience can be controlled much more easily and consequently their behavior is more predictable and subdued.

Since all the networks target the same audience segments in the morning, they often compete for attention with differences in set designs and with constant attempts to secure the most successful personalities, hosts, and types of guests. These shifts and changes, these stylistic variations, reflect a continuing search for the "ideal" morning television program, a search that parallels the growth of U.S. television



Today

and its gradual insinuation into every moment of the lived experience of its audiences.

The first network "early day" shows followed the patterns of successful radio programming and were not in the morning at all. In 1948, NBC scheduled *Tex and Jinx*, one of the popular morning radio talking couples, at the network's then earliest hour of 1:00 P.M., and CBS showed, a half-hour later, *Missus Goes A-Shopping*, a game show with popular radio host John Reed King. In fall of 1948, DuMont, the weakest network, actually dared, before noon, a miscellany of variety and informational shows which survived until 1950 and were then forgotten. These earliest shows, however, also provided a chance for technical experiment. In August 1951, CBS offered at 10:30 A.M., an hour when hardly anyone would be watching, their own married couple, Mike Wallace and Buff Cobb, in *Two Sleepy People*, the first regularly scheduled network color show (the video portion of the signal could not be received by conventional black-and-white sets).

In 1952 the efforts to produce a successful morning show finally began to work. On 7 January, Arthur Godfrey

began simulcasting his popular radio show *Arthur Godfrey Time*, which proved just as popular on television, where it lasted until 1959. A week later (and also a week late), the greatest morning experiment began. *Today* began producing three hours a day (only two were broadcast in each time zone). When writer-producer Larry Gelbart attempted in an interview to define what "real television" was, he said "real television might have been the early *Today* show, with Dave Garroway standing in a window doing a show that no one had ever seen before, something that wasn't borrowed from radio or the stage or motion pictures or newspapers."

*Today* was one of the creations of NBC executive Sylvester "Pat" Weaver, who had carefully considered the needs of various special audiences and devised the responses which became *Your Show of Shows*, the prime time variety show, *Tonight*, for the "sophisticated" late-night viewer, and *Today*, to address a range of viewers from those preparing to leave for work to the "homemaker" readying children for school and her own daily activities. In March 1954, *Home* with Arlene Francis, began broadcasting—Weaver's more specialized solution for the late-morning audience. Although influential on the design



Today

of succeeding daytime magazine shows, *Home* itself only lasted until 1957. In later decades, however, suggesting that Weaver's strategies were appropriate, shows similar to *Home* abounded in late-morning times. They were often surrounded by popular game shows such as *Strike It Rich*, *The Price Is Right*, *Concentration*, and the early years of *Jeopardy!* In the 1960s and 1970s, reruns of evening shows were popular in late morning and, in recent decades, syndicated confrontation shows such as those hosted by Jerry Springer or Geraldo Rivera have flourished. The occasional variety show, such as David Letterman's 1980 program, or even the rare soap opera such as *The Guiding Light*, have also been programmed as morning offerings.

But it is the history of *Today* and the responses to it by other networks that has anchored the history of the morning genre. During its first year, *Today* had neither great audience or critical success, although it achieved frequent mention in the news because of its window onto Rockefeller Center and its efforts to interview former President Harry Truman on his early morning New York walks. In its second year, the chimpanzee J. Fred Muggs joined the cast and viewership, especially among families and children, began to increase.

In 1954 ABC entered the morning competition for a short time with a simulcast of its long term popular radio show, Don McNeill's *Breakfast Club*, which failed on TV after a year. In direct competition with *Today*, CBS began a remarkable morning variety show. *The Morning Show*, as it was called, had as its successive hosts for the three years it was on the air: Walter Cronkite, Jack Paar, Johnny Carson for a time as guest host, John Henry Faulk (until he was blacklisted), Dick Van Dyke, and Will Rogers, Jr. Illustrating the wide range of viewers it sought to attract, the show's regulars included Charles Collingwood, the Baird puppets, singers Merv Griffin and Edie Adams, and, as a writer, Barbara Walters. The show challenged *Today* with every strategy applicable to the variety-talk formulas—then finally gave up. In 1955, CBS substituted *Captain Kangaroo* for the second hour of *The Morning Show*. For over 25 years, the Captain remained in place, appealing to younger audiences but using many of *Today*'s segmented structure by programming regular visits by guests like Dr. Joyce Brothers and Bill Cosby.

By the 1960s, it had become apparent that competition for the broadest possible morning audience would have to use a mix

very similar to that created by Weaver for *Today*. Beginning in 1963 with a 25-minute show hosted by Mike Wallace, the CBS news division attempted to experiment with a response that was "not quite the same as" *Today*. In 1987, the CBS entertainment division briefly intruded on this process with the failed *Morning Program*, but CBS News returned in November 1987 with its final and continuing response to date: a full two-hour *CBS This Morning*. ABC did not begin its first serious challenge to *Today* until 1975, first with the short lived *A.M. America* and then the still-continuing *Good Morning, America*, which became identified with its host, David Hartman, from 1976 to 1985, and has since had a succession of hosts.

Over the last four-and-a-half decades, then, there have been continuous attempts and strategies for "balancing" the early morning news magazine formula. Should it be more serious or more fun? Garroway went for fun; John Chancellor aimed for serious news. Hugh Downs and Barbara Walters became a chatting couple. CBS went more to the newsroom. ABC, with David Hartman, moved toward the living room. But many of the forms stayed constant: for example, the five-minute break for local news, the cheery weather person, the occasional visit to other locales. There was also a gradual expansion of the format into the 6:00 A.M. to 7:00 A.M. hour.

In the 1990s, as the number of available channels vastly increases, an expanding variety of specialized choices in the morning has made NBC's *Today*, ABC's *Good Morning, America*, and *CBS This Morning* appear to be venerable institutions that have withstood the test of time. Local versions of these shows continue to emulate them. Cable television news and talk shows, which take advantage of low production costs and flexibility, may become even stronger competitors for the network morning programs in the future. If this is the case, the attempts will most likely follow patterns established by continuous trials in the network arena, trials that have resulted in some of the most familiar and regularized moments "brought to us" by television.

—Richard Worringham and Robert Erlar



Today

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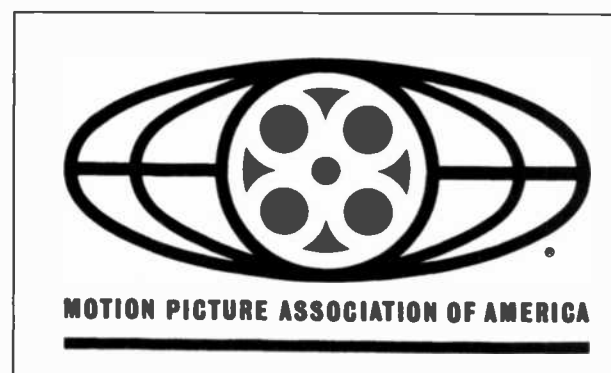
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## MOTION PICTURE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Based in Washington, D.C., the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA), has long served as the formal political representative for the major Hollywood studios. Together Time Warner's Warner Brothers, Viacom's Paramount, Rupert Murdoch's Twentieth Century-Fox, Sony's Columbia, Seagram's Universal, and the Disney conglomerate create and market the majority of television's fictional fare, from comedies and dramas in primetime to the talk and game shows that fill rest of the day. In the MPAA they join together to work on common concerns. To the public this is most clearly manifest in the MPAA's movie ratings; for the television business the MPAA grapples with thousands of proposed and actual, foreign and domestic governmental regulations.



Courtesy of MPAA

Headed since 1966 by former White House staffer Jack Valenti, the MPAA lobbies the Federal Communications Commission and the United States Congress. Through the United States Department of State and the Office of the United States Trade Representative, it argues for free trade of television programs around the world.

The MPAA was formed by major Hollywood companies in 1922 as the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors Association. Even with the name change to the Motion Picture Association of America, the main activity of the Association has been political, and the companies have always hired well-connected Washington insiders to represent their interests in the capital.

The first head was President Warren G. Harding's brilliant campaign manager, Will H. Hays. In his day Hays became famous for the MPPDA production code, a set of moralistic restrictions governing the content of motion pictures. Hays retired in 1945 and never had to deal with issues concerning television.

Hays' successor was a former head of the United States Chamber of Commerce, Eric Johnston. It was Johnston who, beginning in the 1950s, first had to grapple with television, opposing the minimalist trade restrictions then being proposed by nations around the world, restrictions that would work against his Hollywood corporate clients. Johnston preached free trade policies that would enable Hollywood to move its filmed and video products into every country around the globe. In so doing he became a leading advocate for the establishment of the European Common Market which would create a single body of trade officials with which to deal rather than a different set in each country.

Eric Johnston died in August 1963. Ralph Hetzel served as interim head until 1966, when the moguls of the Hollywood studios persuaded then White House assistant, Texan Jack Valenti, to take the job. Since then Valenti has had to deal with the coming of cable television and the rise of home video. He has had to adjust to Japanese purchases of the Columbia and Universal studios, and to the opening of the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China as vast new television and movie markets. Despite all these changes and many others, his Hollywood employers have grown ever more powerful and the MPAA ever more influential in the television industry.

From his Washington, D.C. office a couple of blocks from the White House Valenti exercises this power most visibly by inviting Washington power brokers to his lush headquarters. There stars greet senators, representatives, foreign dignitaries, and government regulators. Glitter in workaholic Washington has been always in short supply, and the MPAA has always been its leading provider in the nation's capital. Valenti asks nothing on these occasions; they serve to keep open the lines of communication on Capitol Hill, into the White House, and through embassies across town.

Jack Valenti has long functioned as the capital's highest paid and most effective lobbyist. Throughout the

1980s, for example, he consistently beat back moves to overturn regulations giving the Hollywood production community complete control over the rerun market for former hit network television shows. These "Financial Interest and Syndication" rules had been put in place by President Richard M. Nixon as his revenge against the television networks. Under the "Fin-Sin" rules, networks could share only minimally in profits from television's secondary markets. Valenti made sure the rules were retained and enforced far longer than anyone expected and therefore created millions of dollars in additional profits for his Hollywood studio clients.

If needed Valenti took his case directly to the president of the United States. When officials working in the administration of President Ronald Reagan proposed the elimination of the "Fin-Sin" rules, Valenti asked Universal Studio's head Lew Wasserman to pay a visit to the president. Before becoming head of Universal, Wasserman had been Reagan's Hollywood talent agent. Valenti and Wasserman convinced the president, who long railed against unnecessary governmental regulations, to retain the "Financial Interest and Syndication" rules and to reverse orders issued by his underlings.

Valenti and the MPAA have also long battled against any rules that restricted Hollywood's TV exports. The protracted international negotiations that led to a new General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GAAT) treaty, for example, were held up so Valenti could remove television from the negotiating table and block a French proposal for quotas restricting television imports. And it was Valenti who stood beside United States Trade Representative Mickey Kantor at a February 1995 news conference when a new United States-China trade accord was announced. This historic agreement protected television shows from rampant piracy in China, then the largest potential market for television then left in the world.

Valenti is set to retire in 1996, on his 30th anniversary in office, just in time for his 75th birthday. The choosing of a successor will define a crucial moment in the history of television. The Hollywood corporate members of the MPAA—under Hays, Johnston, and Valenti—have long enjoyed considerable political power at home and abroad. The MPAA has long effectively leveraged the prestige and sparkle of the film and television business to extract favors and win influence. Following in this hal- lowed tradition will present a sizable challenge for Valenti's successor.

—Douglas Gomery

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See also Financial Interest and Syndication Rules

## THE MOVIE NETWORK

### Canadian Pay-TV Channel

The Movie Network (TMN) is Eastern Canada's English-language pay-TV motion picture channel. Part of Harold Greenberg's Astral Communications, TMN is supported entirely through subscriber fees, as collected by local cable operators. It operates 24 hours a day and specializes in unedited and uninterrupted movies. HBO and Cinemax are the principal models for TMN, though, as with all Canadian broadcasting services, it must comply with Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) imposed licensing criteria, which includes Canadian content quotas.

TMN received its licence initially in 1982, after considerable public and governmental debate. Despite the success of similar services in the United States, the CRTC and others expressed concern about the impact pay-movie channels would have on Canadian culture. Was the market substantial enough for the proposed services to survive? Or would they become yet another vehicle for the importation of inexpensive U.S. film and made-for-cable products? Ultimately, both concerns have been borne out.

In 1982, the CRTC awarded licenses to a number of pay-TV channels. C Channel, the service devoted to Canadian culture, lasted only five months and collapsed with insufficient viewer support to cover its costs. Star Channel, serving the Atlantic region, went bankrupt shortly thereafter. When the smoke had cleared, only First Choice (to be renamed The Movie Network in 1993), SuperChannel, and Super Ecran, serving the French-language market, were left. TMN operates east of the Manitoba/Ontario border, while SuperChannel operates in the west, thus giving them defacto regional monopolies.

As expected, the remaining movie channels began to ask for reduced Canadian content requirements, arguing that programming "control" was necessary to their survival. The CRTC complied and starting in 1986, the channels were required only to show 20% Canadian programming overall; their expenditures on Canadian content were reduced from 45% to 20% of subscriber revenue. TMN's financial support for Canadian production was almost \$7.5 million (CDN) in 1988-89, and just under \$10 million (CDN) in 1992-93. In 1993, TMN was showing 30% Canadian content in primetime, and 25% otherwise. While TMN remains primarily a carrier of popular U.S. films, it has become a key source of sales for Canadian film and television producers. TMN's Foundation to Underwrite New Drama

for Pay-TV (FUND) competition awards interest-free loans for scripts at various stages of development.

In 1992, TMN became the first network in North America to offer "multiplexing." Through digital video compression technology, TMN subscribers receive an additional three channels (TMN2, TMN3, and TMN4) at no extra cost. These channels show essentially a reorganized broadcast schedule, based upon that of the main TMN. Catering exclusively to primetime viewing, multiplexing intends to provide additional choice and convenience to the subscribing customer by multiplying the number of showings of a film and the number of start times.

Through their common parent company, Astral Communications, TMN operates in conjunction with Viewer's Choice Canada Pay Per View and Moviepix, which specializes in films from the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Astral sees the common ownership of these pay-TV channels as a way to assure they compliment one another in the relatively small Canadian market. Critics, however, see this as a concentration of media venues which has contributed to the creation of a tiny powerful media elite in Canada.

—Charles Acland

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An Astral Communications Network

*Courtesy of the Movie Network*



## MOVIE PROFESSIONALS AND TELEVISION

A 1944 editorial in the industry magazine *Televiser* questioned whether a motion picture director could approach a new medium like television without "cynicism." The article warned that film people have been overtly critical of television production without any appreciation of the technique and aesthetics of the small screen. The tension between film and television has been a constant for over fifty years, but both art forms have been enriched by the often contentious dialogue.

Motion picture executives were acutely aware of the economic threat posed by an entertainment medium in the home and drew up strategies to challenge this incursion by the broadcast industry. Paramount first considered owning a chain of television stations and then tested a system of pay television. Twentieth Century-Fox and Warner Brothers collaborated on plans to develop theater television in the early fifties. In 1949 Columbia, under the leadership of Ralph Cohn, a former B movie producer, organized Screen Gems to produce television commercials. Moguls tried to make movie-going a spectacular experience, exploiting widescreen and stereophonic technologies. But it was the "eager and imaginative minds" of television who would create a dramatic form and then have a major impact on the motion pictures.

Television first defined its identity with the production of live dramas on such anthology series as *Studio One*, *Kraft Television Theatre*, and *Playhouse 90*. Critics felt that the immediacy of television brought forth a special relationship between the spectator and the play. The productions were orchestrated by a generation of young directors with some training in theater and film, who wedded the character studies of writers such as Paddy Chayefsky and Rod Serling to the inward method-trained acting styles of Paul Newman, Kim Hunter, James Dean, and many other disciples of Stanislavski. When *Marty* received the Academy Award in 1955, it was the first time a script that originated on television was adapted by the large screen; in both instances, the partnership of Chayefsky and director Delbert Mann brought the material to life. Television talent was now welcome with open arms in Hollywood, and such TV-originated productions as *The Miracle Worker* and *Days of Wine and Roses* became award-winning films. The most prominent of the television directors journeyed to film, bringing the same psychological realism to the large screen. Among the key directors (with their signature movies in parentheses) whose work defined the new maturity of 1960s Hollywood were John Frankenheimer (*The Manchurian Candidate*, *Seven Days in May*); George Roy Hill (*The World of Henry Orient*, *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*); Sidney Lumet (*The Pawnbroker*, *Long Day's Journey into Night*); Robert Mulligan (*To Kill a Mockingbird*, *Baby, the Rain Must Fall*); Arthur Penn (*The Miracle Worker*, which he also directed on television; *Bonnie and Clyde*); and Franklin Schaffner (*The Best Man*, *Patton*). These directors, once again melding text

and performance but with a larger budget, constituted the first wave of new talent that rejuvenated American cinema after the studio system had broken down.

As live television received critical legitimacy on the East Coast, independent companies on the West, including Jerry Fairbanks Productions, the Hal Roach Studios, and Ziv Television Programs, produced films for television, reels that could be cycled from one local station to another in the earliest version of "syndicated" TV. These budget-conscious producers often employed forgotten Hollywood veterans to give luster to their equivalent of the B movie. Fairbanks, a freelance cameraman and producer of an Academy Award-winning short, hired an established Hollywood name, Edmund Lowe, the suave silent film star of *What Price Glory* for his DuMont series *Front Page Detective*. Hal Roach, Jr., a former Laurel and Hardy director, asked Charles Barton, the Universal director of Abbott and Costello comedies, to oversee the translation of *Amos 'n' Andy* to a visual medium. For television's biggest hit of the 1950s, *I Love Lucy*, producers Desi Arnaz and Jess Oppenheimer requested Fritz Lang's cinematographer, Karl Freund, to devise a technique for filming with three cameras before a live audience.

Film studios and guilds took immediate notice of the employment possibilities of television. Members of the Directors Guild of America received their name in the title for



Alfred Hitchcock



Steven Spielberg, directing Joan Crawford

the 1955 series *Screen Directors Playhouse*. Many Hollywood legends, including John Ford, Leo McCarey, and George Stevens, made half-hour dramas for the *Playhouse*. The newly-appointed president of ABC, Leonard Goldenson, the former head of the United Paramount Theaters, and executives at Warner Brothers determined how to financially recycle popular film genres each week on television and employed unsung directors to oversee production. Richard Bare, who had directed such forgettable movies as *Smart Girls Don't Talk* and *Flaxy Martin* was in part responsible for the resurgence of the Western on television with the success of his *Cheyenne*. By the mid-1950s, more than 40% of Hollywood's directors, actors, editors, and cameramen worked on television projects. Even cult directors, such as Ida Lupino, Phil Karlson, and Jacques Tourneur, brought their offbeat sensibilities to television.

Television became genuinely respectable for the film industry when the most recognizable director of all time, Alfred Hitchcock, hosted an anthology series for ten years, beginning in 1955. Hitchcock's agent, Lew Wasserman, who would later run Universal, masterminded *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*, which featured the droll introduction by the "Master of Suspense" and then a macabre tale, evocative of the director's dark spirit. Hitchcock directed eighteen episodes for *Presents* and two programs for other series. Working three days with an efficient supporting team, Hitchcock was able to explore his familiar themes of duplicity and murder and employed most of his TV crew to produce his cinema masterpiece, *Psycho*.



David Lynch

Dramatic series, produced by Hollywood studios, afforded young talent the means to helm their own productions and, occasionally, develop personal themes. Robert Altman directed a variety of genres for television, including westerns (*Bonanza*), detective stories (*Hawaiian Eye*), and war stories (*Combat*). Later, he would subvert the formulaic rules he learned in these respective genres when he made the following films in the seventies: *McCabe and Mrs. Miller*, *The Long Goodbye*, and *M\*A\*S\*H*. Well-known directors learned generic conventions that would come in handy in their film careers. Sam Peckinpah directed episodes of *Route 66* and *Have Gun, Will Travel*; *Gunsmoke*, and *The Westerner*, which he also created. Blake Edwards created the pilots for *Richard Diamond* and *Peter Gunn*, which he later brought to the large screen. Michael Ritchie's quirky adventures for *Run for Your Life* and *The Outsider* laid a groundwork for *The Candidate* and *Smile*.

In the mid-1960s the studios worked with the networks to develop movies made especially for television. The first proposed television movie, *The Killers*, was directed by Don Siegel and starred Ronald Reagan and Angie Dickinson, but was deemed too violent for television and was released theatrically. Two network executives, Barry Diller and Michael Eisner refined the scope and concerns of the television movie, and later became two of the most powerful moguls in Hollywood. Directors were able to impart a distinctive vision on the TV movie, which often yielded assignments to the large screen. Steven Spielberg, who had directed episodes of *Columbo* and *Owen Marshall*, received acclaim for the

visual audacity of *Duel*. Michael Mann, after stints as a writer on *Police Story* and *Vega\$*, first attracted notice as writer and director of the prison drama *The Jericho Mile*, which led to his 1983 feature *Thief*. Many directors have shuttled back and forth between movies and television and have delivered their most personal work on the small screen, including Buzz Kulik (*Brian's Song*); John Korty (*The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman*); Joseph Sargent (*Amber Waves*); and most especially, Lamont Johnson (*That Certain Summer*, *The Execution of Private Slovik*, and *Off the Minnesota Strip*).

The man most responsible for adult comedy on television, Norman Lear, had left television in the late 1950s to become a film director. His film work, including *Come Blow Your Horn*, *The Night They Raided Minsky's*, and *Cold Turkey*, never matched his satirical temperament, which found its perfect outlet in the comedy *All in the Family*. Lear did not return to film, but two influential comedy producers, James Brooks and Garry Marshall, have found creative success in both media. The same mixture of drama and comedy that Brooks brought to *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* was evident in his films *Starting Over*, *Terms of Endearment*, and *Broadcast News*. The mismatched pairs of Marshall exemplified by Felix and Oscar in *The Odd Couple* and Ritchie and the Fonz in *Happy Days* has been explored in such films as *Nothing in Common* and *Pretty Woman*. Lear and Marshall also mentored other directorial careers. Their comic rhythms have also been brought to the screen by their leading actors, Rob Reiner of *All in the Family*, Ron Howard of *Happy Days*, and Penny Marshall of *Laverne and Shirley*.

Feature film directors have had a presence in other TV genres. Several of television's most exemplary musical programs were crafted by directors who afterwards rarely ventured into that genre again. Jack Smight, known for his mysteries *Harper* and *No Way to Treat a Lady*, directed two of the definitive jazz programs, the smoky *The Sound of Jazz* with Billie Holiday and the very cool *The Sound of Miles Davis*. Norman Jewison, who began his career in British and Canadian television, directed Judy Garland's only duet with Barbra Streisand. Fred De Cordova, who earlier had directed *Bedtime for Bonzo* with Ronald Reagan and then TV series for George Burns and Jack Benny, produced the most popular talk show of all time for twenty years, *The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson*.

As live television affected Hollywood in the 1950s, so too did MTV in the 1980s. The music video disrupted the linear narrative and put a primacy on the visual, making the video creator a new hero in Hollywood. British director Julien Temple journeyed from videos for Culture Club and the Rolling Stones to his first feature *Absolute Beginners*. David Fincher used Fritz Lang's film *Metropolis* as the source of inspiration for his Madonna's video "Express Yourself," and later reworked the noir genre in his textured *Seven*. Videos have borne the established director's imprint as well, including John Landis and Martin Scorsese's extended narratives for Michael Jackson's "Thriller" and "Bad"; John Sayles and Brian De Palma's different deconstructions of the

Bruce Springsteen phenomenon, as working class hero and lumbering icon respectively; and Spike Lee's energetic "Hip Hop Hooray" video for Naughty By Nature. Quick cuts and eye-grabbing visuals have also been the domain of the TV commercials, and three graduates of British advertising—Ridley Scott, Alan Parker, and Adrian Lyne—have invigorated the look of popular film.

In 1984 Michael Mann returned to television and brought the MTV synthesis of image and music to series television in his stylishly innovative *Miami Vice*. During the rest of the 1980s a niche was reserved for "designer television," usually series originated by film auteurs. Spielberg produced his own series, *Amazing Stories*, and enlisted Martin Scorsese, Robert Zemeckis, and Paul Bartel to contribute supernatural tales. Robert Altman also returned, this time to cable television, and satirized American politics with Garry Trudeau in *Tanner '88*, a project that was conceived in video to match the look of network news. Network executives also went to cult directors for ideas to entice a mainstream audience beginning to turn to cable. John Sayles, a leader in the independent film movement, created *Shannon's Deal*, a series focusing on an imperfect lawyer who dropped out of corporate practice. The avant-garde David Lynch of *Blue Velvet* fame unleashed some of the most surreal and unsettling images ever seen on network television in his video noir *Twin Peaks*. Some of the direction went the other way as quality TV producers strove to make it among cineastes. Ed Zwick, who brought suburban angst to the prime time with *thirtysomething* and *My So-Called Life*, directed three epic adventures: *Glory*, *Legends of the Fall*, and *Courage Under Fire*. Gregory Hoblit, who was the directorial eye behind many Steven Bochco productions, was successful with his 1996 urban thriller *Primal Fear*, no doubt leading the way for other directors of such visually compelling series as *ER* and *NYPD Blue*. And in still another move from film toward television, self-proclaimed cultist Quentin Tarrantino directed the 1994 season finale of the mainstream medical melodrama, *ER*.

Many foreign directors have used television to explore alternative forms of storytelling. Ingmar Bergman of Sweden has been interested in television's ability to weave a narrative over time and in one of his most celebrated works, *Scenes from a Marriage*, chronicles the emotional upheavals of an ostensibly perfect union over six episodes. Rainer Werner Fassbinder created two works that also utilized television's expansive narrative: a Marxist soap opera, *Eight Hours are not A Day* and his fifteen-hour epic of the Weimar years, *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, based on Alfred Döblin's novel. One of the fathers of the new wave, Jean Luc-Godard, has created a series of mediative essays on the history of cinema for French television. Roberto Rossellini, one of the pioneers of Italian neo-realism, used television to create a series of stylized historical portraits from Socrates to Louis XIV. Ken Russell produced a series of wildly expressionistic dramatized biographies on such artists as Elgar, Isadora Duncan, and Delius for the BBC in Great Britain that served as a template for his even more flamboyant films, including *The Music Lovers* and *Lisztomania*.

Over the last two decades the lines between television and film have been blurred structurally and aesthetically. Most film studios now own some type of television network, and talent flows freely between the two media. Barry Levinson can extend the tapestry of his cinematic Baltimore trilogy (*Diner*, *Tin Men*, and *Avalon*) to television with the equally visual *Homicide: Life on the Street*. No longer is film the arena for spectacle, and television the home of the close-up. In fact, films screens have been shrinking in the multiplexes and the television monitor dominates a home's entertainment room. Director John Frankenheimer, who mastered live television in the 1950s, feature film during the 1960s through the 1980s, and the television movie, with the 1990s success of *Against the Wall* and *Andersonville*, has proven that both art forms offer the opportunity for creative expression.

—Ron Simon

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## MOVIES ON TELEVISION

No programming form has been more popular in the history of television in the United States than the presentation of motion pictures. During the latter third of the twentieth century most people saw movies most of the time not in theaters but on television—broadcast, cable, and home video. Beginning with *The Late Show* in the mid-1950s, and *Saturday Night at the Movies* during the early 1960s, feature film showings settled in as one of television's dominant programming forms.

Movie presentation on broadcast TV actually began in the late 1940s when British companies willingly rented films to new TV stations. Minor Hollywood studios, in particular Monogram and Republic, then jumped in, and delivered some 4,000 titles to television stations before the end of 1950. Typical offerings featured B-Westerns starring Gene Autry and Roy Rogers. But the repeated showings of this low budget fare only served to remind movie fans of the extraordinary number of treasures resting comfortably in the vaults of the major Hollywood studios: MGM, RKO, Paramount, Twentieth Century-Fox, and Warner Bros.

These dominant Hollywood studios finally agreed to tender their vast libraries of film titles to television because eccentric millionaire Howard Hughes, owner of RKO, had run his studio into the ground. By late in 1953, it was clear Hughes had to do something, and so few industry observers were surprised in 1954 when he agreed to sell RKO's older

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films to the General Tire and Rubber Company to be presented on its independent New York television station. By 1955 the popularity of *Million Dollar Movie* made it clear that film fans would abandon theaters to curl up and watch a re-showing of their past cinematic favorites.

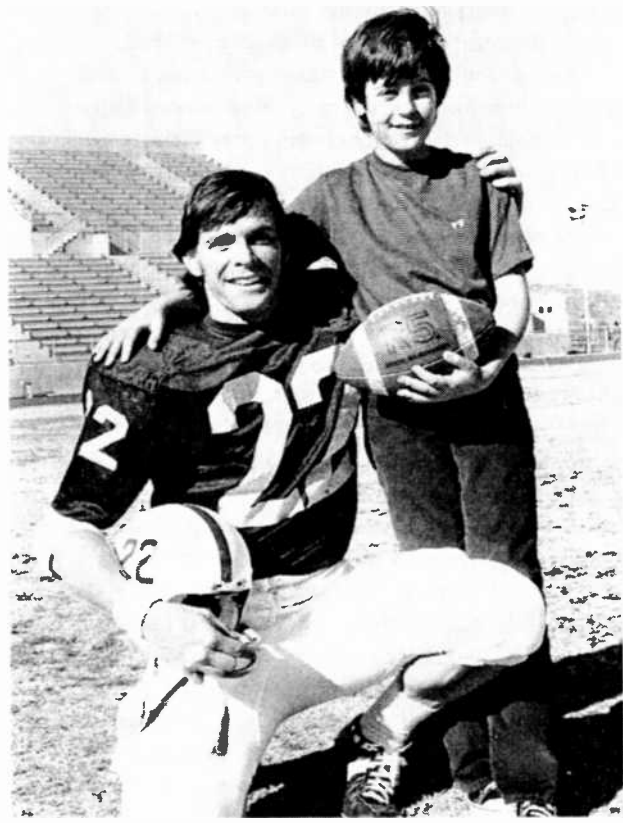
Thereafter through the mid-1950s all the major Hollywood companies released their pre-1948 titles to television. For the first time in the 60-year history of film a national audience was able to watch, at their leisure, a broad cross section of the best and worst of Hollywood talkies. Silent films were only occasionally presented, usually in the form of compilations of the comedies of Charlie Chaplin and Buster Keaton.

By the mid-1960s innumerable "Early Shows," "Late Shows," and "Late, Late Shows" dotted TV schedules. For example, by one count more than 100 classic black and white films aired each week on New York City television stations, smaller numbers in less populous cities. But with color television becoming more and more of a reality, the three TV networks dickered to book newer Technicolor Hollywood feature films. The network with the most invested in color, NBC, thus premiered, at the beginning of the 1961–62 TV season, the first prime time series of recent films as *Saturday Night at the Movies*.

Ratings were high and the other two major networks, CBS and ABC, seeing how poorly their shows fared against *Saturday Night at the Movies*, quickly moved to set up their



Gone with the Wind



Something for Joey

own "Nights at the Movies." Early in 1962 ABC, then a distant third in the ratings, moved first with a mid-season replacement: *Sunday Night at the Movies*. CBS, the longtime ratings leader in network television, remained aloof and did not come on board until September 1965.

Soon thereafter television screenings of recent Hollywood movies became standard practice. In 1968 nearly 40% of all television sets in use at the time tuned in to Alfred Hitchcock's *The Birds* (theatrical release date 1963). Recent feature films regularly attracted blockbuster ratings; when *Gone with the Wind* was shown in two parts in early November of 1976 half the nation's television home chose to again see Scarlett and Rhett.

By the early 1970s, overlapping permitted viewers to choose from ten separate movie nights each week. It soon became clear that there were "too many" scheduled movies showings on network television, and "too little" new product coming into the pipeline to fill these slots. Hollywood knew this, and the studios began to charge higher and higher prices for TV screenings. For the widely viewed September 1966 telecast of *The Bridge Over the River Kwai*, the Ford Motor Company had to put up nearly \$2 million to be the sole sponsor.

Network executives found a solution: make movies aimed for a television premiere. The networks began made-for-television movies in October 1964 when NBC aired *See How They Run*, starring John Forsythe. But the historical turn came in 1966 when NBC contracted with MCA's

Universal studios to create a regular series of World Premiere movies-made-for-television. The initial entry of this continuing effort was *Fame Is the Name of the Game*, inauspiciously presented on a Saturday night in November 1966.

By the early 1970s made-for-television motion pictures had become a mainstay of network programming, outnumbering theatrical fare in "Nights at the Movies." Profits proved substantial. A typical movie made for television cost \$750,000, far less than what Hollywood was demanding for rental of its recent blockbusters. And the ratings were phenomenal. Few expected that millions upon millions would tune in for *Brian's Song* (1971), *Women in Chains* (1972), *The Waltons' Thanksgiving Story* (1973), and *A Case of Rape* (1974). Such fare regularly outdrew what were considered the biggest films of the era: *West Side Story* (1961; 1972 premiere on network television), *Goldfinger* (1964; 1972 premiere on network television), *The Graduate* (1967; 1973 premiere on network television).

ABC led the way. During the 1971-72 television season, the ABC *Movie of the Week* series that was composed of all movies made for television finished as the fifth highest series of the year. The ABC *Movie of the Week* had premiered in the fall of 1969, placed on the schedule by young executive Barry Diller, then head of prime time programming at ABC, later a founder of the FOX television network. TV movies also began to earn praise for the upstart ABC; the "alphabet" network earned five Emmys, a prestigious George Foster Peabody

award, and citations from the NAACP and the American Cancer Society for an airing of *Brian's Song* in 1972.

Made-for-television movies made it possible to deal with topical or controversial material not deemed appropriate for regularly scheduled network series. Celebrated actors and actresses who did not wish to work in series television could be featured in miniseries. Running over a different number of nights such miniseries as *Lonesome Dove*, *Holocaust*, *Shogun*, *The Thorn Birds*, and *Fresno* drew high ratings during key rating measurement periods. In 1983 ABC presented *Winds of War* on six successive February evenings, for a total of 18 hours at a cost of production of nearly \$40 million. This miniseries required more than 200 days to shoot, from a script of nearly 1000 pages. *Winds of War*, starring Robert Mitchum and Ali McGraw, more than returned its sizable investment in this key sweeps month by capturing half the total viewing audience and selling out all its advertising spots at \$300,000 per minute.

Indeed it was ABC's *Roots* that in a single week in January 1977 had drawn an estimated 130 million households to tune into at least one episode on the eight consecutive nights. Some 80 million Americans watched the final and eighth episode of this docudrama, breaking the TV ratings record set just a year earlier by *Gone with the Wind*. And *Roots* created for network television an event that was the equal of any blockbuster theatrical film.

But as *Roots* was setting its records, the TV marketplace was changing. In the late 1970s and early 1980s pay-TV, particularly in the form of Time, Inc.'s Home Box office, drew millions to its uncut screenings, free of breaks for advertisements. Later in the 1980s home video spread to the vast majority of homes in the United States, and suddenly film fans could watch their favorites, uncut, not interrupted, and when ever they liked. Theatrical features began to have so much exposure on pay TV and home video that they ceased to be as valuable on network evening showcases and made-for-television films filled more and more of the time for network "Nights at the Movies."

There was change on the local level as well. The number of independent television stations doubled in the 1980s, and all used movies to help fill their schedules. Independents developed movie libraries by contracting with Hollywood studios for 5-year rentals, able to air acquired titles as many times as possible during that period. Researchers told executives of independent stations that movies tended to draw a larger than average share of valued female watchers, in particular those from 18-34 and 18-49 age groups so prized by advertisers.

By the 1990s in an average week a film fan could choose among hundreds of scheduled titles. But not all was bliss. Reliance on television for the presentation of motion pictures extracted a high price in terms of viewing conditions. The television image is constructed on a four by three ratio while the standard image for motion pictures made after 1953 is much wider. To accommodate the larger image on TV, the wide-screen film is cut off at the sides. Panning and scanning companies re-edit the wide-screen film so the

action shifts to the center of the frame, but the fan misses any subtlety at the edges.

Of course, films need not be panned and scanned. One could reduce the image for television until all of it fits; in practice, this technique of letterboxing fills the empty space above and below with a black matte. During the 1980s, there was a great deal of lip service paid to letterboxing, but movie watchers en masse in the United States did not seem to care for it. Fans seemed to prefer that the TV frame be filled with the chosen center the action.

But the biggest complaint from the average television viewer of motion pictures has long been the interruption of the movie by advertisements. To fit the formulaic slots of television a station or network shows but 90 minutes of film for a 2-hour slot. Stories of how television companies accomplished cutting are legendary. It is said that Fred Silverman, when he was a lowly film editor at WGN-TV in Chicago, solved the problem of fitting in the 96-minute *Jailhouse Rock* in a 90 minute slot by cutting all of Elvis' musical numbers! Indeed the key attraction of pay-TV and then home video was the elimination of interruptions for advertising.

In short, as the presentation of films on TV reaches its 50th anniversary we can begin to appreciate how television screenings of films has changed movie going in America. And change continues. Just when experts declared that because of pay-TV and home video that blockbuster movies shown on network television could not draw an audience NBC offered *Jurassic Park*. The box-office hit, widely available on home video for less than \$15, was shown on Sunday night 7 May 1995, at the beginning of a key sweeps month. Advertisers paid \$650,000 for each 30-second advertising slot. And more than one in four television households in the United States tuned in.

—Douglas Gomery

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See also American Movie Classics; Cable Networks; Channel Four; *Film on Four*; Miniseries; Movie Network; Movie Professionals and Television; Programming



## MOYERS, BILL

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

Bill Moyers was one of the chief inheritors of the Edward R. Murrow tradition of "deep-think" journalism. Working alternately on CBS and PBS in the 1970s and early 1980s, and then almost exclusively on PBS. His achievements were principally in the areas of investigative documentary and long-form conversations with some of the world's leading thinkers. Moyers, who had been a print journalist, ordained Baptist minister, press secretary to President Lyndon Johnson, and newspaper publisher before coming to television in 1970, gained public and private foundation support for producing some of television's most incisive investigative documentaries. Each was delivered in the elegantly written and deceptively soft-spoken narrations that came, Moyers later said, out of the story-telling traditions of his East Texas upbringing. Where Edward R. Murrow had taken on Joseph McCarthy on *See It Now* and the agri-business industry in his famous *Harvest of Shame* documentary, Moyers examined the failings of constitutional democracy in his 1974 *Essay on Watergate* and exposed governmental illegalities and cover-up during the Iran Contra scandal. He looked at issues of race, class and gender, at the power media images held for a nation of "consumers," not citizens, and explored virtually every aspect of American political, economic and social life in his documentaries.

Equally influential were Moyers' *World of Ideas* series. Again, Edward R. Murrow had paved the way in his trans-Atlantic conversations with political leaders, thinkers and artists on his *Small World* program in the late 1950s, but Moyers used his soft, probing style to talk to a remarkable range of articulate intellectuals on his two foundation supported interview series on PBS. In discussions that ranged from an hour to, in the case of mythology scholar Joseph Campbell, six hours on the air, Moyers brought to television what he called the "conversation of democracy." He spoke with social critics like Noam Chomsky and Cornel West, writers like Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe, Mexican poet and novelist Carlos Fuentes and American novelist Toni Morrison, and social analysts like philosopher Mortimer Adler and University of Chicago sociologist William Julius Wilson. Moyers engaged voices and ideas that had been seldom if ever heard on television, and transcribed versions of many of his series often became best-selling books as well (*The Power of Myth*, 1988; *The Secret Government*, 1988; *A World of Ideas*, 1989; *A World of Ideas II*, 1990, *Healing and the Mind*, 1992). The Joseph Campbell book was on *The New York Times* best seller list for more than a year and sold 750,000 copies within the first four years of its publication.

Moyers' television work was as prolific as his publishing record. In all he produced over six hundred hours of programming (filmed and videotaped conversations and documentaries) between 1971 and 1989, which comes out to 33 hours of programming a year or the equivalent of more than

half an hour of programming a week for eighteen years. Moyers broadcast another one hundred and twenty-five programs between 1989 and 1992 working with a series of producers—27 of them on the first two *World of Ideas* series alone. He formed his own company, Public Affairs Television, in 1986, and distributed many of his own shows.

By the early 1990s Bill Moyers had established himself as a significant figure of television talk, his power and influence providing him access to corridors of power and policy. In January 1992 he was invited for a rare overnight visit with President-elect Bill Clinton to discuss the nation's problems before the Clinton inaugural. Bill Moyers had by this time become one of the few broadcast journalists who might be said to approach the stature of Edward R. Murrow. If Murrow had founded broadcast journalism, Moyers had significantly extended its traditions.

—Bernard M. Timberg

BILL MOYERS. Born in Hugo, Oklahoma, U.S.A., 5 June 1934. Educated at North Texas State College; University of Texas at Austin, B.A. in journalism 1956; University of



Bill Moyers

Photo courtesy of Bill Moyers/Lawrence Ivy



Edinburgh, Scotland, 1956-57; Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas, B.D. 1959. Married: Judith Suzanne Davidson, 1954, children: William Cope, Alice Suzanne, and John Davidson. Personal assistant to Senator Lyndon Johnson, 1960-61; associate director of public affairs, Peace Corps, 1961-62; deputy director, Peace Corps, 1963; special assistant to President Lyndon Johnson, 1963-67; press secretary, 1965-67; publisher, *Newsday*, 1967-70; producer and editor, *Bill Moyers' Journal*, PBS, 1971-76, 1978-81; anchor, *USA: People and Politics*, 1976; chief correspondent, *CBS Reports*, 1976-78; senior news analyst, CBS News, 1981-86; executive editor, Public Affairs Programming Inc., since 1986. Honorary doctorate, American Film Institute. Recipient: numerous Emmy Awards; Ralph Lowell medal for contribution to public television; Peabody Awards, 1976, 1980, 1985-86, 1988-90; duPont/Columbia Silver Baton Award, 1979, 1986, 1988; Gold Baton Award, 1991; George Polk Awards, 1981, 1986. Address: Public Affairs Television, Inc., 356 West 58th Street, New York, New York 10019, U.S.A.

#### TELEVISION SERIES (selection)

1971-76,  
     1978-81   *Bill Moyers' Journal*  
 1971-72   *This Week*  
 1976-78   *CBS Reports*  
 1982   *Creativity with Bill Moyers*  
 1983   *Our Times with Bill Moyers*  
 1984   *American Parade* (renamed *Crossroads*)  
 1984   *A Walk Through the 20th Century with Bill Moyers*

## MUCHMUSIC

### Canadian Music Television Programming Service

**M**uchMusic, a twenty-four hour Canadian music television station, a satellite to cable programming service, was launched nationally in September 1984. In a satellite to cable structure that relied for its success on the massive penetration of cable coverage of urban Canada, MuchMusic was part of the CRTC (Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission) regulated introduction of specialty services on cable two years after the introduction of pay television. Similar to its U.S. counterpart MTV, MuchMusic was instrumental in setting the national agenda of Canadian popular music tastes. The predominant format of the station was and continues to be videoclips of artists or music videos received from record companies free of charge. A French sister station, MusiquePlus was established in 1986 primarily for the Quebec market.

Stylistically, MuchMusic bears the marks of its creative origin. The station's managing team was connected to the syndicated *New Music* program (1978 - ) developed and sold

1987   *Moyers: In Search of the Constitution*  
 1988   *Bill Moyers' World of Ideas*  
 1988   *The Power of Myth*  
 1990   *Amazing Grace*  
 1991   *Spirit and Nature with Bill Moyers*  
 1993   *Healing and the Mind with Bill Moyers*  
 1995   *The Language of Life with Bill Moyers*

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See also Documentary; Murrow, Edward R.

by Citytv of Toronto. The executive producer of the New Music program and the original owner and manager of



Courtesy of MuchMusic

Citytv in Toronto was Moses Znaimer. Along with John Martin, Znaimer designed the "live" emphasis of the set of MuchMusic that has made MuchMusic so distinctively different from both MTV and most of the rest of Canadian television. The set of MuchMusic is the actual video paraphernalia of a television station and is inherently studioless. The video jockeys, or VJs, negotiate themselves around the various machines, lights and screens to chat with the technicians and producers between their introductions of new videos. Indeed, because of this exposure technicians have even moved into before-the-camera roles. The intention behind this design is to structure an environment that resonates with the youthfulness and exuberance of popular music itself. The set, which often moves with portable cameras to exterior locations, produces a sense of immediacy and spontaneity that, through its weekly reach, has captured the sought-after demographic of youths and young adults in Canada.

MuchMusic is owned and operated by CHUM Limited of Toronto and the name itself is a play on the corporate name. CHUM operates the only private radio network in the country and has successfully owned and operated a number of music oriented radio stations. CHUM also is the owner of Citytv (purchased in 1981 from Moses Znaimer), a Toronto based free-to-air UHF station that has been distributed by cable to most of Southern Ontario, the most heavily populated region of the country. The background in music broadcasting allowed CHUM to successfully win the licence of the first and only English language music television station in Canada. The facilities of Citytv in Toronto served as the first home for MuchMusic.

Self-titled "the nation's music station", MuchMusic gradually moved to a format that allowed it to target and promote itself like other television services. Originally a flow service that resembled radio in its seamless quality, MuchMusic relied on its mixed rotation of videoclips and the personalities of the VJs to maintain the audience. Later, however, the station began making identifiable programs that would at least allow it to garner the free publicity of listings in TV program guides and to sell portions of time for specific advertisers. It still maintains eight hours of programming which is taped and repeated three times to fill the 24-hour schedule. In the 1980s these programming blocks included the *Pepsi Powerhour* and the singly sponsored *Coca-Cola Countdown*. The "spotlight" feature also transformed the mix of rotations of current music into a half-hour retrospective on an individual artist's or group's career. To coordinate with a slightly different demographic of daytime listeners, MuchMusic programmed a show called "MushMusic" that showcased softer and more romantic ballads. Other programs also coordinated with and competed with the rest of television. A late night weekend program called "City Limits" attempted to showcase the more avant-garde, alternative visuals and music. In a more primetime evening slot a shorter segment, "Combat du

Clip," was programmed; here a returning favourite videoclip faced a challenger clip.

MuchMusic's licence requirements have also posed problems for what kinds of programming are included under the definition of music. In the mid-1980s, MuchMusic was not allowed to show movies, even those with a musical theme or premise. It was likewise questionable whether television programs such as *The Partridge Family* or *The Monkees* could be shown on the station. In recent years there has been a relaxation of what constitutes music programming and this has allowed MuchMusic a freer hand in organizing a schedule that maintains its key marketing demographics of youth and young adult. Regulatory requirements have demanded, however, that a greater range of musical material be part of the national music television station. Hence, MuchMusic programmed the country music half-hour *Outlaws and Heroes*. The CRTC has likewise continued to maintain that the station must stick close to its licence mandate: its top-rated program of 1993, the cartoon series *Ren and Stimpy*, did not meet a minimum musical content rule and was ordered removed.

From its inception, MuchMusic has also provided a percentage of its revenues (currently 5% of its gross revenues) for the production of Canadian independent music videos. The company, Videofact Foundation produces clips for emerging popular music groups in both English and French and has spent 6 million dollars to produce 820 videos in its first ten years. The production of Canadian sources allows MuchMusic easily to surpass its 10% Canadian content quota established in consultation with the CRTC. This connection to a national popular culture is differently constructed than that produced by public broadcasters such as the CBC. MuchMusic's stance is thus more outward than inward looking. It has actively sought out other markets for its program package. Currently it is available to over four million cable subscribers through various services in the United States. It has a reach that includes both the United Kingdom and parts of Latin America. The station has been negotiating for inclusion on DBS (Direct Broadcast Satellite) services for greater coverage of a complete North America. The station format/concept has been sold to New Zealand and MuchMusic has showcased well in Europe, often outdrawing its more established rival MTV.

MuchMusic's success at forming a national youth audience has ensured its economic survival in the multichannel Canadian television environment and has allowed it to claim in its most recent licence renewal application that it has provided "a state of mind for a generation." Its 1994 reach of 5.6 million Canadian households and its pretax profit of almost 6 million indicate that it has successfully forged a national music culture. Its recent forays into international broadcasting indicate its ability to negotiate the increasingly global television economy by providing a clearly branded and identifiable channel.

—P. David Marshall

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**MUNROE, CARMEN****British Actor**

Carmen Munroe is one of Britain's leading black actresses. Born in Guyana (then British Guiana), she came to Britain in 1951, and gained early acting experience with the West Indian Students' Drama Group. Munroe made her professional stage debut in 1962, and later played major roles in London's West End theater, including Jean Genet's *The Blacks* (1970). When she played Orinthia, the King's mistress, in George Bernard Shaw's *The Apple Cart* (1970), she said it was the first time she had been cast in a leading role not written for a black actress. Since the 1970s Munroe has played an important part in the development of black theater in Britain, scoring a personal triumph in 1987 as the overzealous pastor of a Harlem "store-front" church, in James Baldwin's *The Amen Corner*. In 1993 she won a Best Actress award from *Time Out* magazine for Alice Childress's *Trouble in Mind*.

In 1965 Munroe made an early television appearance in *Fable*. In this controversial BBC drama, writer John Hopkins reversed apartheid and located it in Britain so that black people ran the country and whites were subjected to enforced population movement and pass laws. However, this innovative and highly charged play did not have the reception anticipated from audiences. Viewers were put-off, while critics thought the play heavy-handed and moralistic.

In 1967 Munroe was featured in an episode of *Rainbow City*, one of the first British television series to include a black actor in a leading role. Since that time she has demonstrated her acting range in numerous other appearances. These have included roles in a mixture of populist dramas and situation comedies, as well as impressive single dramas. They include *Doctor Who* (1967), *In the Beautiful Caribbean* (1972), *Ted* (1972), *Shakespeare's Country* (1973), *General Hospital* (1974), *The Fosters* (1976), *A Black Christmas* (1977) with Norman Beaton, *Mixed Blessings* (1978), *A Hole in Babylon* (1979), *Rumpole of the Bailey* (1983), and *The Hope and the Glory* (1984).

In 1989 Munroe was in *Desmond's*, one of Channel 4's most successful situation comedy programmes. Co-starring Norman Beaton as the proprietor of a barber's shop in South London, *Desmond's* has been one of the few British television series to feature an almost entirely black cast. For five years this appealing series won critical acclaim and awards for its humorous exploration of the conflict between young Brit-

Pawlett, Steve. "Ten Years of Muchmusic." *Cablecaster*, September 1994.

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See also Canadian Programming in English; Citytv; Music on Television; Znaimer, Moses

ish-born blacks, and the values of the older generation who grew up in the Caribbean.

In between her appearances in *Desmond's*, Munroe has taken part in *Ebony People* (1989), sharing her experiences of the acting world with a studio audience, and *Black and White in Colour* (1992), a documentary tracing the history of black people in British television. In 1992 Munroe gave an outstanding performance as Essie Robeson in a BBC play called *A Song at Twilight*. This emotional drama, shown in the anthology series *Encounters*, explored an imaginary meeting in 1958 between British Socialist radical Aneurin Bevan, and the black American singer and militant activist Paul Robeson.

—Stephen Bourne

CARMEN MUNROE. Born in Guyana (then British Guiana); immigrated to Britain, 1951. Trained with West Indian Student's Drama Group. Worked in television, since 1959; stage debut, *Period of Adjustment*, 1962; appeared or starred in numerous television series. Recipient: *Time Out* award, 1993.



Carmen Munroe with dancers  
Photo courtesy of Channel 4

**TELEVISION (selection)**

1959	<i>Dr. Kabil</i>
1965	<i>Fable</i>
1966	<i>Emergency Ward</i>
1967	<i>Rainbow City</i>
1967	<i>Doctor Who</i>
1967	<i>Troubleshooters</i>
1967	<i>Love Story</i>
1968	<i>City '68</i>
1968	<i>Mogul</i>
1968	<i>Have Bird, Will Travel</i>
1972	<i>In the Beautiful Caribbean</i>
1972	<i>Ted</i>
1973	<i>Shakespeare's Country</i>
1974	<i>General Hospital</i>
1974	<i>Play School</i>
1976	<i>The Fosters</i>
1977	<i>A Black Christmas</i>
1978	<i>Mixed Blessings</i>
1979	<i>A Hole in Babylon</i>
1983	<i>Rumpole of the Bailey</i>

1984	<i>The Hope and the Glory</i>
1984	<i>The Record</i>
1989-95	<i>Desmond's</i>
1992	<i>A Song At Twilight</i>

**STAGE (selection)**

*Period of Adjustment*, 1962; *There'll Be Some Changes Made*, *The Blacks*, 1970; *The Apple Cart*, 1970, *Trouble in Mind*, *El Dorado*, *A Raisin in the Sun*, *The Amen Corner*, 1987, *Alas*, *Poor Fred* (director), *Remembrance* (director).

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See also Beaton, Norman; *Black and White in Colour*, *Desmond's*

## THE MUPPET SHOW

U.S. (Syndicated) Comedy

From its first broadcast in 1976 to its 1981 finale, *The Muppet Show* was groundbreaking television. A syndicated variety show starring a troupe of puppets, it became more popular than anyone but its creator, Jim Henson, could have imagined. During its five seasons of inspired insanity, it was broadcast in more than 100 countries.

The wonderful children's show *Sesame Street*, also starring Henson's Muppets, had been broadcast since late 1969. For Henson, its success was a mixed blessing, as network executives began to see the Muppets strictly as children's entertainment.

*The Muppet Show* proved Henson's innovative puppets could appeal equally to children and adults. Its setting, Muppet Theater, allowed on-stage sketches and songs as well as backstage antics. Except for Kermit the Frog, a *Sesame Street* favorite, *The Muppet Show* featured an entirely new cast of Muppets: Fozzie Bear, the lovably inept comic and Kermit's second banana; Miss Piggy, a glamorous, Rubenesque starlet and Kermit's would-be love interest; Gonzo the Great, a buzzard-like creature with a chicken fetish; Rowlf, the imperturbable piano-playing dog; Statler and Waldorf, two geriatric hecklers; The Electric Mayhem, the ultra-cool house band; and Scooter, hired as Kermit's gofer because his uncle owned the theater. The show also featured countless other Muppets, from a twelve-inch rat named Rizzo to a seven-foot monster named Sweetums.

But Kermit was undeniably the glue that held these lunatics together. As producer/host of Muppet Theater, Kermit had the considerable task of keeping guests and

Muppets happy, fending off Miss Piggy's advances, bolstering Fozzie's confidence after another joke falls flat, and tolerating Gonzo's bizarre stunts. As performed by Henson Kermit is the lone sane creature in the asylum, the viewers' bridge to world of *The Muppet Show*, a small, green Everyman (Everyfrog) just trying to do his job in the midst of gleeful craziness.

The partnership between Henson and Frank Oz produced such puppet pairs as Miss Piggy and Kermit, *Sesame Street*'s Ernie and Bert, and Kermit and Fozzie Bear. The two also teamed up for the Swedish Chef, a Muppet with Henson's voice and Oz's hands, with hilarious results. Oz's nasal boom was a perfect counterpoint to Henson's gentle voice, and the two performers complemented each other well. Other *Muppet Show* puppeteers include Richard Hunt (Sweetums, Scooter, Statler, Beaker), Dave Goelz (Gonzo, Dr. Bunsen Honeydew), Jerry Nelson (Floyd Pepper, Lew Zealand) and Steve Whitmire (Rizzo the Rat).

Both backstage and on-stage, lunacy ruled at Muppet Theater. Memorable sketches included pig Vikings pillaging towns while singing the Village People's *In the Navy*, one creature devouring another while singing *I've Got You Under My Skin*, and the great ballet dancer Rudolf Nureyev in a pas de deux with a human-sized lady pig.

Often, the guest stars were the perfect catalyst for Muppet nuttiness. The frequently star-struck Miss Piggy swoons at guest Christopher Reeve's every move; in another episode, she locks Kermit in a trunk because guest Linda Ronstadt showed too much interest in the little green host. Guest Gene Kelly



The Muppet Show (*Jim Henson, creator*)

thought he had been invited just to watch the show; he stays backstage chatting with the rats until Kermit finally convinces him to do *Singin' in the Rain* on a near-perfect replica of the film's street set. Victor Borge and Rowlf the Dog play a piano duet. Diva Beverly Sills gives Gonzo a lesson in the fine art of balancing a spoon on one's nose.

During the first season, writes Christopher Finch in his book *Jim Henson: The Works*, guest stars were mostly personal friends of Henson or his manager, Bernie Brillstein. But by the third season, popular performers were practically lining up to appear with the beloved puppets. *The Muppet Show's* guest roster reads like a "Who's Who"

of late-1970s performers, most notably Roger Moore, John Cleese, Harry Belafonte, Dizzy Gillespie, Lynn Redgrave, Diana Ross, Alice Cooper, Julie Andrews, George Burns, Joel Grey, Steve Martin, Ruth Buzzi, both Candice and Edgar Bergen.

The Muppets' TV history starts long before *Sesame Street*. From 1955 to 1961, Henson's *Sam and Friends*, a five-minute live show, aired twice nightly on WRC-TV, Washington, D.C. *Sam and Friends* afforded Kermit's debut; it also featured several Muppets that didn't make the cut for *The Muppet Show*. In 1961 the Muppets began making regular guest appearances on NBC's *Today*. The following year, Rowlf made his debut in a Purina dog food commercial; in 1963, the affable canine began regular appearances on *The Jimmy Dean Show*. The Muppets also made regular appearances on *The Ed Sullivan Show* from 1966 to 1971. In 1975, the year Henson formed an agreement with Lord Lew Grade to produce 24 episodes of *The Muppet Show*, he also created an entirely new set of Muppets who were featured on *Saturday Night Live* in its first season.

During *The Muppet Show*'s heyday in 1979, *The Muppet Movie* was released in the United States, beginning the Muppets' transition from TV to film. Three more movies featured *The Muppet Show* cast: *The Great Muppet Caper*, *The Muppets Take Manhattan* and *The Muppets' Christmas Carol*. A fourth, *The Muppets' Treasure Island*, was released in February, 1996. Henson also produced several other TV shows featuring the Muppets after *The Muppet Show* ended: *Fraggle Rock*, focusing on an underground community of fun-loving Fraggles, hardworking Doozers and odious Gorgs; *The Storyteller*, which aired only in England; *Muppet Babies*, a children's cartoon featuring baby versions of *The Muppet Show*'s cast; and several other short-lived productions.

On 16 May 1990, Jim Henson died suddenly after a short illness. He was fifty-four years old. Jim Henson Productions is a family business, however, and son Brian Henson was named president soon afterward. He directed *The Muppets' Christmas Carol*, the first Muppet film made after Henson's death, with Whitmire performing Kermit. In the fall of 1995, fourteen years after Henson ended *The Muppet Show* to move into films, Brian Henson's *The New Muppet Show* will begin airing on ABC. With thirteen episodes ordered, the show will be set in a fictitious TV station and will feature the same mix of guest stars, music and backstage silliness. Kermit, Gonzo, Animal and other favorites will be included; but Oz's characters, including Miss Piggy and Fozzie, were expected to have reduced roles, as Oz has established a career as a film director.

—Julie Prince

#### PUPPETEERS

Jim Henson  
Frank Oz  
Richard Hunt  
Dave Goelz

Jerry Nelson  
Erin Ozker (1976–77)  
Louise Gold (1979–81)  
Kathryn Muller (1980–81)  
Steve Whitmire (1980–81)

#### THE MUPPET CHARACTERS

Kermit the Frog (Henson)  
Miss Piggy (Oz)  
Zoot (Goelz)  
Fozzie Bear (Oz)  
Gonzo (Goelz)  
Sweetums (Hunt)  
Sam the Eagle (Oz)  
The Swedish Chef (Henson and Oz)  
Dr. Teeth (Henson) and the Electric Mayhem  
Floyd (Nelson)  
Animal (Oz)  
Capt. Link Heartthrob (Henson)  
Dr. Strangepork (Nelson)  
Wayne and Wanda (1976–77)  
Rowlf (Henson)  
Dr. Bunsen Honeydew (Goelz)  
Statler and Waldorf (Hunt and Henson)  
Scooter (Hunt)  
Beauregard (Goelz) (1980–81)  
Pops (Nelson) (1980–81)  
Lew Zealand (Nelson) (1980–81)  
Janice (Hunt)  
Rizzo the Rat (Whitmire) (1980–81)

#### MUSICAL DIRECTOR

Jack Parnell

**PRODUCERS** Jim Henson, Jon Stone, Jack Burns

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** Syndicated only; 30 minutes; Released: September 1976; Produced: 1976–1981 (120 episodes)

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See also Children and Television; Children's Television Workshop; Cooney, Joan Ganz; Henson, Jim; *Sesame Street*

## MURDER, SHE WROTE

### U.S. Mystery

**M***urder, She Wrote*, starring Angela Lansbury as amateur sleuth and mystery writer Jessica Fletcher, has been the only significant dramatic series on American television to feature an older woman in the sole leading role. Lansbury, who received Oscar nominations and Tony awards over her long film and stage career, started the series at age 58 and is now probably most widely recognized for her television character.

Creators Richard Levinson, William Link and Peter S. Fischer brought with them a combined resume from *Columbo*, *Mannix*, *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*, and *Ellery Queen*. In *Murder, She Wrote*, they created a classical mystery program set in the fictional seaside village of Cabot Cove, Maine. The program quickly became one of CBS' most successful offerings and among the most expensive for it to produce. It frequently placed first among the network's lineup in the Nielsen ratings and was a champion in its time slot, 8:00 P.M. Sundays. It finished in the Nielsen top ten during most of its run.

The series narrative has remained fairly stable. Widowed Jessica Fletcher, a retired high-school English teacher, became a best-selling mystery author after her nephew, Grady, sent a manuscript to a book publisher. She quickly became world famous and affluent, but she maintains the rambling, old house that she and her longtime husband, Frank, shared in Cabot Cove. Jessica remains close to old friends in the village, including Dr. Seth Haslett, played by character actor William Windom. A few cast changes have occurred; most significantly, Tom Bosley, who portrayed bumbling Sheriff Amos Tupper, left after four seasons to pursue his own mystery series. Familiar former television stars and unknown character actors appear as guests on the program.

In the earlier seasons, a matronly Jessica frequently bicycled across town, boiled lobsters, planned fishing trips on a friend's trawler, or dropped in at the beauty parlor. She wore conservative pantsuits and spoke with an occasional New England influence. Her signature was her ancient manual typewriter, and the opening credits showed her tapping merrily away on one of her mystery novels. Gradually, the character evolved. The manual typewriter eventually shared time in the opening sequence with Jessica's personal computer (which has, itself, been involved in two mysteries). Jessica added a second residence, a Manhattan apartment, and the character became more glamorous in appearance, coinciding with Lansbury's own personal makeover in the 1988-89 season.

*Murder, She Wrote's* formula is true mystery: Jessica encounters several people displaying animosity toward a mean person. An innocent person, often a friend or relative of Jessica's, publicly threatens or criticizes the bully. The audience sees the bully murdered, but the killer's identity is hidden. The authorities accuse Jessica's ally, based on



*Murder, She Wrote*

circumstantial evidence. Jessica notices—and the camera lingers on—details that seem inconsequential but later prove central to the solution. She investigates, uncovering various means, motives, and opportunities and eliminating suspects. A few minutes before the program ends, she suddenly realizes the last piece of the puzzle and announces that she knows who the killer is. She confronts the killer, privately, in a group, or with authorities observing off camera. Almost always, the killer confesses, and Jessica presents the person to the police. A final scene often shows Jessica sharing a good-natured exchange with someone, often the wrongly accused friend.

Coincidences abound. Nephew Grady (Michael Horton) has been arrested for murder on several occasions, and Jessica always proves him innocent. In fact, each of the many times Jessica's family members or old, "dear friends" have been introduced, one has become involved in a murder. Tiny Cabot Cove has been the site of about fifty of the more than 250 murders Jessica has solved. Rarely has a suspect been shown in touch with a lawyer; Jessica always happens



to be on the scene when a murder has just taken place and makes time in her schedule to solve the crime. She usually happens upon the body herself. The police never get it right. Her friend is almost always innocent. Jessica is always present when crucial evidence comes to light.

Despite the formulaic nature of the program, the notion that violent death can invade even the quiet world of Jessica Fletcher connects it to old meanings of the mystery genre. The world, as the profession of the mystery writer demonstrates, is not a safe place. The wisdom and acute mental capacity of this older woman are weapons in an ongoing struggle for order.

On the professional, rather than the fictional level, Lansbury's involvement with the series changed over time. In the 1989–90 season, CBS persuaded her to stay with the show after she announced plans to leave. The network cut demands on her time, and Lansbury made only brief appearances in several episodes. She addressed the viewer directly to introduce the evening's mystery, involving, for example, her sleuthing "friends," Harry McGraw or Dennis Stanton. And she often returned at the end of the hour, explaining how the mystery was solved. In the following 1992 season, however, Lansbury was back in force assuming the role of executive producer. Her sons and brother are also involved in the production.

*Murder, She Wrote* skews toward older audiences, however, especially older women, and advertisers will pay much more to attract younger viewers. In the 1994–95 season, the show charged lower advertising rates than competitors such as *Lois and Clark*, appearing in the same time slot on rival network ABC. *Lois and Clark* attracted fewer viewers, but was watched by more young viewers, hence the higher advertising rate.

At a time when less traditional programs, such as the quirky, more serial *Northern Exposure* and the offbeat *Seinfeld*, were attracting favorable critical notices, *Murder, She Wrote* did not. It attracted instead large numbers of viewers with its combination of a highly ritualistic formula and its progressive treatment of a 60-plus heroine played by a popular star. Jessica Fletcher is, significantly, an *amateur*, unlike James Rockford or Thomas Magnum. However, although unfailingly well behaved, she displays a worldliness about modern life, and she has a career that contributes to her vitality. These elements distinguish her from Agatha Christie's Miss Marple character, to whom she has often been compared.

Since her involvement in *Murder, She Wrote*, Lansbury, the actor, has spoken out on occasion against the tendency for network television to propagate a "mas-

culine mystique" and unfairly favor programs oriented toward younger audiences. (*Murder, She Wrote* has always followed CBS' other long-running successful program, *60 Minutes*, which has also collected large numbers of older viewers.) Because portrayals of older people on American television have traditionally infrequent and unflattering (in such silly roles as Fred Sanford of *Sanford and Son*, *Designing Women*'s dotty Bernice, and some of the women of *The Golden Girls*), Lansbury's Jessica Fletcher is especially significant. She has demonstrated that competent, glamorous older women can draw large prime-time audiences. As a result, *Murder, She Wrote* was one of CBS' most valued programs.

—Karen E. Riggs

#### CAST

<i>Jessica Beatrice Fletcher</i>	Angela Lansbury
<i>Sheriff Amos Tupper</i> (1984–88)	Tom Bosley
<i>Grady Fletcher</i> (1985–90)	Michael Horton
<i>Dr. Seth Hazlitt</i> (1985–96)	William Windom
<i>Mayor Sam Booth</i> (1986–96)	Richard Paul
<i>Sheriff Mort Metzger</i> (1989–96)	Ron Masak
<i>Dennis Stanton</i> (1990–91)	Keith Michell
<i>Robert Butler</i> (1990–91)	James Sloyan
<i>Lt. Perry Catalano</i> (1990–91)	Ken Swofford
<i>Rhoda</i> (1990–91)	Hallie Todd
<i>Dr. Raymond Auerbach</i> (1991–96)	Alan Oppenheimer

**PRODUCERS** Peter S. Fischer, Anthony J. Magro, J. Michael Straczynski, Peter Lansbury, Angela Lansbury

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

##### • CBS

September 1984–May 1991	Sunday 8:00–9:00
June 1991–July 1991	Sunday 9:00–10:00
July 1991–96	Sunday 8:00–9:00

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See also Detective Programs; Lansbury, Angela

## MURDOCH, RUPERT K.

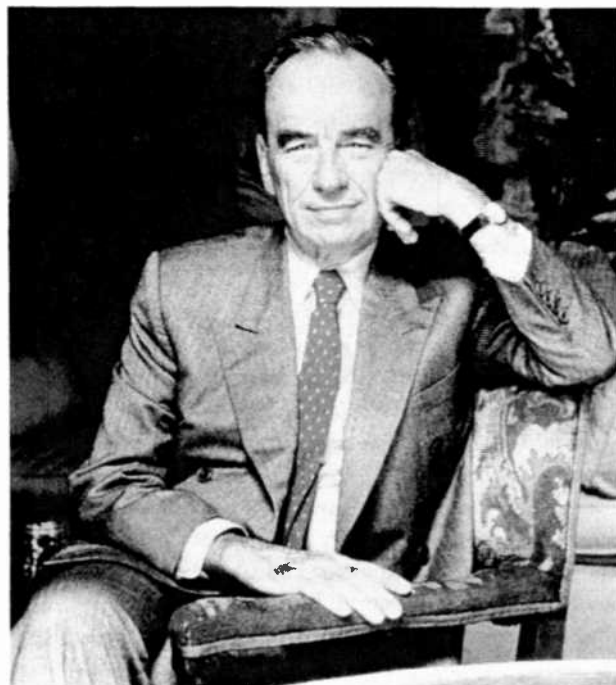
U.S./Australian Media Executive

Rupert Murdoch is the primary shareholder and chief executive of the News Corporation, Ltd., one of the largest and most powerful media companies in the world. In this position, Murdoch has become perhaps the world's leading media mogul. His bold style, his unconventional and visionary approach, and his willingness to aggressively assume great risks have made him a figure both admired and disdained throughout the world. His company owns properties on four continents, which produce and distribute products in television, films, book, newspaper, and magazine publishing, and on-line data services.

Murdoch began his rise to the status of media baron in a relatively modest way. He inherited his father's newspaper holdings in 1952, which, after estate taxes, consisted of two small Australian papers, the *Adelaide News* and *Sunday Mail*. Murdoch was able to quickly reverse the unprofitable states of these newspapers, and he used the new profits to acquire other media properties—thereby exhibiting the fundamental growth strategy that would come to characterize his career. By the late 1960s, Murdoch expanded his newspaper and magazine empire to include British newspaper holdings, first acquiring London's *The News of the World* in 1968, and soon thereafter, *The Sun*. It was the transformation of *The Sun* into a sensationalized tabloid—which most notoriously included a regular "Page Three" feature of photos of topless women—that sealed Murdoch's reputation as a media owner who was willing to pander to his audience's worst instincts in exchange for commercial acceptance, a label that has dogged Murdoch throughout his career. However, it must be noted that such fears have sometimes proven to be unfounded, as was the case following Murdoch's 1981 purchase of the revered London *Times*, which largely retained the stoic editorial character for which it was well known.

Murdoch entered the U.S. media market in the 1970s by purchasing newspapers and magazines, and he also started the supermarket tabloid, *The Star*. But it was not until the mid-1980s that Murdoch began to make his mark on American television. His purchase of Metromedia's independent television stations from John Kluge in 1985 came on the heels of his acquisition of the 20th Century-Fox studio. Murdoch saw the situation as a rare opportunity to purchase a group of choice television stations in the country's largest markets, thereby ensuring a distribution vehicle for his new studio's programs. The combined moves allowed Murdoch to initiate the most serious effort to establish a fourth broadcast television network since the demise of DuMont in the mid-1950s, and culminated in the establishment of the FOX Broadcasting Company.

Despite his career's many successes, Murdoch's empire nearly collapsed in 1990. Unfavorable conditions in the financial markets, combined with deep losses by some of News Corp.'s start-up operations, such as BSKyB, and the company's extremely heavy short-term debt load (the result



Rupert K. Murdoch

Photo courtesy of Rupert K. Murdoch

of many costly acquisitions, such as *TV Guide*, which was purchased in 1988 from Walter Annenberg's Triangle Publications), brought the company to the brink of financial ruin. While Murdoch was able to renegotiate the terms of his agreements, which avoided the disaster, it temporarily placed Murdoch in the unusual position of being unable to aggressively expand News Corp.'s holdings. In fact, he was forced to shed some non-essential assets, including most of his U.S. magazine titles. It was only a relatively short time, though, before the company's financial picture improved significantly, and Murdoch was able to once again resume his familiar patterns of acquisition, as he did when he purchased a controlling interest in Asia's Star-TV DBS service in 1993.

As perhaps befits a man with such a great level of power and influence, Murdoch has often found himself at the center of political firestorms. He became widely scorned by labor organizations and pro-labor politicians around the world because of his hardline tactics in battling the British newspaper workers' unions in the mid-1980s. His 1985 purchase of the Metromedia television stations required him to become an American citizen to comply with Federal Communications Commission (FCC) restrictions on foreign ownership of U.S. television stations; many felt he received inordinately preferential treatment by the Reagan administration in expediting the citizenship process. His FOX television network was able to avoid complying with

the FCC's Financial Interest and Syndication (FinSyn) rules, first, by airing fewer hours of programming than was required to define FOX as a "network," and later, by receiving a temporary FCC waiver of the rules—an action the other three broadcast networks vigorously opposed. Also, Murdoch was the specific target of a 1988 effort by Senator Edward Kennedy—at the time, a frequent target of Murdoch's *Boston Herald* newspaper—to revoke another FCC waiver, one that waived cross-ownership restrictions that would have prevented Murdoch from owning both newspapers and television stations in New York and Boston. The end result of Kennedy's efforts was that Murdoch eventually sold the *New York Post* (he later would receive a new waiver that allowed him to reacquire the struggling paper in 1993), and put Boston's WFXT-TV into an independent trust.

A mid-1990s political storm held the potential to be the most costly that had ever surrounded Murdoch. Nearly ten years after he had become an American citizen, and after many millions of dollars had been invested in the FOX network and its owned-and-operated stations, questions arose related to Murdoch's avoidance of the FCC's restrictions on foreign ownership of television stations. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which was seeking to block the purchase of a Philadelphia television station by FOX, asked the FCC to investigate whether it was Murdoch who owned the FOX stations, as he and News Corp. claimed, or whether Australian-based News Corp. was the legal owner, which would be in violation of the rules. NBC joined the NAACP in asking the FCC to pursue the investigation, but eventually withdrew from the complaint after gaining access for their programming on Murdoch's Star-TV service in Asia. However, the NAACP continued to pursue the issue.

Rupert Murdoch has been one of the most successful international entrepreneurs of his time, and a lightning rod for controversy in many parts of the world. While other global media companies, such as Time Warner and Bertelsmann A.G., possess power and influence that compare to that of News Corp., Murdoch often appears to stand alone among the ranks of modern media moguls. This is because unlike those other companies, News Corp. is clearly identified as a corporate arm that is strongly controlled by a single individual. It is therefore probably fair to say that his absolute control over News Corp., with its holdings of some of the world's most pervasive and influential media properties, makes Murdoch perhaps the single most powerful media magnate ever.

—David Gunzerath

RUPERT K.(EITH) MURDOCH. Born in Melbourne, Victoria, Australia, 11 March 1931. Attended Oxford University, England. Married: Anna Maria Torv, 1967; two sons and two daughters. Spent two years in London as sub-editor with the *Daily Express*, 1950–52; inherited father's newspaper holdings, 1952, and returned to Australia to run *The Ade-*

*laide News* and *Sunday Mail*; acquired more Australian newspapers and expanded to England in 1968, buying *The News of the World* and *The Sun*; purchased *San Antonio Express—News*, 1973, and the *New York Post*, 1976; his News International organization subsequently bought the *New York Magazine*, *The Star*, *The London Times* and *Sunday Times*, *The Boston Herald*, *The Chicago Sun-Times*, television stations, book publishing companies, and airline, oil, and gas concerns; purchased 20th Century-Fox and independent U.S. television stations from Metromedia, 1985, and established FOX Broadcasting Network; took U.S. citizenship, 1985; sold *New York Post* to conform with Federal Communications Commission regulations, 1988; acquired Triangle Publications, including *TV Guide*, 1988; founded Sky satellite television network, 1989; Sky absorbed rival British Satellite Broadcasting to become British Sky Broadcasting, 1990; bought controlling interest in Asia's Star-TV, 1993. Director, News International plc, since 1969; chief executive, since 1979, and chair, since 1991, News Corporation Ltd; chair and chief executive, 20th Century-Fox, since 1992. Address: 1211 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10036, U.S.A.; 1 Virginia Street, London, E1 9XY, England.

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See also Annenberg, Walter; Australia; Australian Production Companies; Berlusconi, Silvio; Bertelsmann AG; British Sky Broadcasting; Cable Networks; Diller, Barry; FOX Broadcasting Company; News Corporation, Ltd.; Star-TV; Time Warner; United States: Cable

## MURPHY, THOMAS S.

### U.S. Media Executive

Thomas S. Murphy was chair and chief executive officer of Capital Cities/ABC until 1996 when Disney bought the company and Murphy retired. Murphy built Capital Cities/ABC into a multibillion dollar international media conglomerate. In addition to leading Capital Cities from its days as a small television holding company to its position as a media empire, Murphy distinguished himself as a responsible corporate citizen by emphasizing public service.

After service in the U.S. Navy, a Harvard MBA, and five years at Kenyon and Eckhardt and at Lever Brothers, Murphy began his broadcasting career with a little help from his father's friends. The legendary broadcaster, Lowell Thomas, and his business manager, Frank Smith, and a few other investors started Hudson Valley Broadcasting. They needed a station manager and turned to their friend's ambitious son.

In 1954, at the age of 29, Murphy assumed duties as the first employee, and the station manager at WROW-TV in Albany, New York. This station and its sister radio station, WROW-AM, were the Hudson Valley Broadcasting Company. After nearly three years of red ink, the station saw a profit. As the company evolved into Capital Cities and eventually into Capital Cities/ABC, it consistently made money. One share of the company in 1957 cost \$5.75; in 1996, that investment would be worth more than \$12,000.

In 1960, chair Frank Smith moved Murphy to New York City, as executive vice president of Capital Cities. In 1964 Murphy was named president. With Smith's death in 1966, Thomas Murphy became chair and chief executive officer. Three cornerstones of Murphy's management philosophy were fiscal responsibility, de-centralized local responsibility, and social responsibility. Additionally, he always tried to hire people smarter than himself. Murphy attributed much of his success to what he learned from Smith.

For the next two decades Murphy led Capital Cities during a time of fantastic growth. In 1985, Capital Cities became the minnow that swallowed the whale when it

announced that it was merging with the highly visible ABC. This was the largest merger to date of media companies in history. Capital Cities/ABC reclaimed this record about ten years later when it merged with the Disney Company.

Murphy will be remembered not only for his business acumen and ability to expand Capital Cities, but also for his firm belief in the importance of public service. In 1961, the company received national attention and a Peabody Award for its nonprofit, exclusive television coverage of Israel's trial of the Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann. Murphy contin-



Thomas S. Murphy  
Photo courtesy of Thomas S. Murphy

ued that level of dedication to public service throughout the early years of the company and into the era of Capital Cities/ABC. The company played a significant role in public service campaigns for "Stop Sexual Harassment," PLUS Literacy, the Partnership for a Drug-Free America, and others. The company also practiced significant internal and external public service with its own Substance Abuse Assistance Program, Corporate Diversity in Management skills bank, Management Initiatives Program to expand minority representation in editorial management, Broadcast Management Training Program for women and minorities, the Advanced Management Training Program for Women, the Women's Advisory Committee, the Capital Cities/ABC Foundation, and the Volunteer Initiatives Program, serving as a clearinghouse for volunteerism.

—Guy E. Lometti

THOMAS S. MURPHY. Born in Brooklyn, New York, U.S.A., 31 May 1925. Cornell University, B.S. 1945; Harvard University, M.B.A. 1949. Married. Served in U.S. Navy. Executive positions with Kenyon and Eckhardt, 1949–51; with Lever Brothers Company, 1951–54; with Capital Cities Communications, Inc., New York City, from 1954, executive vice president 1961–64, president, 1964–72, chief executive officer, 1966–90, chair, from 1966; initiated

acquisition of Triangle Broadcasting, 1971; initiated merger with ABC to form Capital Cities/ABC, 1986; member of board of directors, General Housewares Corporation, Texaco, Inc., Johnson and Johnson, and IBM Corporation. Address: Capital Cities/ABC Inc., 77 West 66th Street, New York, New York 10023-6201, U.S.A..

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See also American Broadcasting Company

## MURPHY BROWN

### U.S. Situation Comedy

Since its premier in 1988 *Murphy Brown* has appeared in the same 9:00-9:30 slot on CBS' Monday night schedule, serving as something of an anchor in that network's perennial battle against the male-oriented *Monday Night Football* on ABC. The show focuses on life behind the scenes at the fictional television series *FYI* (For Your Information). *FYI* is represented as a tough, talk-oriented investigative news program—perhaps a little like another CBS mainstay, *60 Minutes*. From its beginnings *Murphy Brown* has established itself as one of television's premier ensemble comedies, exploring life among the reporters, producers, staff, and friends of *FYI*. But there is no question that, as the title implies, this ensemble is built around its central character.

As played by Candice Bergen, Murphy Brown is one of the most original, distinctive female characters on television. Smart, determined and difficult, she does not suffer fools gladly. Her ambition and stubbornness frequently get her into trouble, and she often acts a little foolishly herself.

But what sets Murphy apart from so many other female sitcom characters is that when she gets into a ridiculous mess, it is not because she is a woman. It's because she is Murphy. She's a crack reporter, yet manages to get herself banned from the White House during both the Bush and Clinton administrations. When a corrupt judge falls silent during an interview, Murphy finishes grilling him—even though he's dead.

Although Murphy acts tough, Bergen shows viewers her vulnerable side as well. Wracked with guilt after the judge's death, Murphy tones down her interviewing style—for a while. And she's genuinely hurt when she doesn't get an invitation to George Bush's inaugural ball. All these character developments and revelations build on the fact that the show's pilot introduces Murphy as she returns to the *FYI* set after drying out at the Betty Ford Clinic. The central character, the star of *FYI*, is presented from the very beginning as a recovering alcoholic, vulnerable and flawed. All her foibles and eccentricities are presented in this context, adding richness and depth to the portrayal.

Indeed, throughout the show's seven seasons, all the characters and their relationships have developed beyond what is typical for a sitcom. The original ensemble included: Corky Sherwood (Faith Ford), a Louisiana girl and former Miss America who took a few journalism classes in college but was mainly hired for her looks; Frank Fontana (Joe Regalbuto), ace investigative reporter and irrepressible skirt chaser with a mortal fear of commitment; Jim Dial (Charles Kimbrough), the rigid, serious, eminently competent anchorman; Miles Silverberg (Grant Shaud), a new Harvard graduate, producing *FYI* is his first "real" job; Eldin Bernecky (Robert Pastorelli), a house painter who works continually on Murphy's townhouse until her son, Avery, is

born, at which time he becomes Avery's nanny; Phil (Pat Corley), the all-knowing owner of Phil's Bar, hangout for the *FYI* team.

As a running gag, Murphy has also had a parade of secretaries, most of whom are inept and last only one episode. A few examples: a young African-American man who speaks only in rap, a crash-test dummy, a bickering married couple, and a mental patient. Naturally, whenever Murphy gets a good secretary, he or she leaves by the end of the episode.

Initially, some characters were two-dimensional. Miles existed only to run around acting tense and to annoy Murphy, a 40-year-old woman with a 25-year-old boss. In the pilot, Murphy tells him, "I just can't help thinking about the fact that while I was getting maced at the Democratic Convention in 1968, you were wondering if you'd ever meet Adam West." Corky was a stereotypical southern beauty queen, more interested in appearances than in reporting.

But throughout the series Miles became a competent producer and manager. He's fully capable of holding his own against Murphy, who still tends to underestimate him. And Corky, too, became more a friend than an annoyance to Murphy. A failed marriage tarnishes the southern belle's fairy-tale life, making Corky more human and giving her more in common with Murphy. Murphy's feminism and ambition also begin to rub off on the younger woman.

Beneath the facade of the serious anchorman, Jim Dial is a warm, caring person, more liberal than he seems. In a first-season flashback, we see Murphy's 1977 *FYI* audition; she's dressed like "Annie Hall" and sports a wildly curly mane. Network executives want to hire a more "professional" woman, but Jim convinces them to hire Murphy. Frank, the skirt-chaser, has never chased Murphy or Corky. Frank and Murphy are a TV rarity: a man and a woman who are close friends, with no sexual tension.

*Murphy Brown*'s plots have often parodied actual news events. In the second-season episode, "The Memo that Got Away," a high-school journalist hacks into *FYI*'s computer system and finds an uncomplimentary memo Murphy has written about her coworkers. A similar, real-life incident occurred when a memo written by *Today* anchor Bryant Gumbel was leaked. In a seventh-season episode, *Murphy Brown* lampoons the O.J. Simpson trial circus with a story about an astronaut accused of murdering his brother.

Real-life events came head-to-head with *Murphy Brown* in the summer of 1992 when former Vice President Dan Quayle criticized unwed mothers as violating "family values." To support his argument he pointed to the entertainment industry as site of flawed morals. As a specific example he singled out the fictitious Murphy, who had given birth to son Avery, out of wedlock, in the 1991-92 season finale. Producer Diane English responded to Quayle with her own analysis of the social and fictional conditions and the exchanges escalated into a national event, a topic for much discussion in the news and on the late-night television talk shows. In the fall 1992 season premier the series presented



Murphy Brown

an episode devoted to the controversy. In "I Say Potatoe, You Say Potato" (a reference to the Vice-President's much-publicized misspelling), Murphy takes Quayle to task, introducing several hard-working, one-parent families on *FYI*.

In 1993 the character of Peter Hunt was added to the cast. Appearing in occasional episodes, Hunt was played by Scott Bakula, and became Murphy's new love interest. In the show and in the entertainment press, frequent hints suggested that the two would be married before the series ended.

In the seventh season, two additional characters were added: Miller Redfield (Christopher Rich), an idiot anchorman on another network show and McGovern (Paula Korologos), a former MTV personality hired to bring "youth appeal" to *FYI*. Miller is stereotypically handsome and stupid (often played against Peter Hunt's "real" journalistic style); without some development, he likely will prove to be a one-note character.

McGovern had more potential; the writers resisted the "slacker" stereotype usually pinned on her generation, and instead made her a miniature Murphy, with one exception—she's politically conservative. This fact never fails to annoy Murphy who, in one episode, cuts McGovern's report to less than a minute because she doesn't like its political slant. McGovern complains to Corky, who offers this advice:

Corky: When I want Murphy to leave me alone, I just let her think she's getting her way.

McGovern: But she *is* getting her way!  
Corky: Right. But I don't care, as long as she leaves  
me alone!

In the 1994 season veteran comedian Garry Marshall joined the cast as Stan Lansing, head of the network. The following year Paul Reubens (a.k.a. Pee-wee Herman) appeared as Lansing's fawning (and scheming) nephew. Their presence added a fresh energy to the other characters and the stories helping to ensure that *Murphy Brown* continues to have its way with comedy and social commentary. In the spring of 1996, however, Bergen announced that the 1996-97 season would be the last for the series.

—Julie Prince

#### CAST

*Murphy Brown* . . . . . Candice Bergen  
*Jim Dial* . . . . . Charles Kimbrough  
*Frank Fontana* . . . . . Joe Regalbuto  
*Corky Sherwood* . . . . . Faith Ford  
*Miles Silverberg* (1988-95) . . . . . Grant Shaud  
*Phil* . . . . . Pat Corley  
*Eldin Bernecky* (1988-94) . . . . . Robert Pastorelli  
*Carl Wishnitski* (1988-93) . . . . . Ritch Brinkley  
*John, the stage manager* . . . . . John Hostetter  
*Gene Kinsella* (1988-92) . . . . . Alan Oppenheimer  
*Peter Hunt* (1993-) . . . . . Scott Bakula  
*Avery Brown* (1994-) . . . . . Dyllan Christopher  
*Stan Lansing* (1994-) . . . . . Garry Marshall  
*Miller Redfield* (1995-) . . . . . Christopher Rich  
*Andrew J. Lansing, III* . . . . . Paul Reubens

## MURROW, EDWARD R.

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

Edward R. Murrow is the most distinguished and renowned figure in the history of American broadcast journalism. He was a seminal force in the creation and development of electronic newsgathering as both a craft and a profession. Murrow's career began at CBS in 1935 and spanned the infancy of news and public affairs programming on radio through the ascendancy of television in the 1950s, as it eventually became the nation's most popular news medium. In 1961, Murrow left CBS to become director of the United States Information Agency for the new Kennedy administration. By that time, his peers were already referring to a "Murrow legend and tradition" of courage, integrity, social responsibility, and journalistic excellence, emblematic of the highest ideals of both broadcast news and the television industry in general.

David Halberstam once observed in *The Powers That Be* that Murrow was "one of those rare legendary figures who was as good as his myth." Murrow was apparently driven by

**PRODUCERS** Diane English, Joel Shukovsky, Gary Dontzig, Steven Peterman

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

• CBS

November 1988–

Monday 9:00-9:30

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See also Comedy, Workplace; English, Diane; Gender and Television

the democratic precepts of modern liberalism and the more embracing Weltanschauung of the American Protestant tradition. In Alexander Kendrick's *Prime-Time: The Life of Edward R. Murrow*, for example, Murrow's brother, Dewey, described the intense religious and moral tutelage of his mother and father: "they branded us with their own consciences." Murrow's imagination and the long-term effects of his early home life impelled him to integrate his parents' ethical guidelines into his own personality to such an extensive degree that Murrow became the virtual fulfillment of his industry's public service aspirations.

Murrow's rich, full, and expressive voice first came to the attention of America's listening public in his many rooftop radio broadcasts during the Battle of Britain in 1939. In words evocative of America's original founding fathers, Murrow frequently used the airwaves to revivify and popularize many democratic ideals such as free speech, citizen participation, the pursuit of truth, and the sanctification



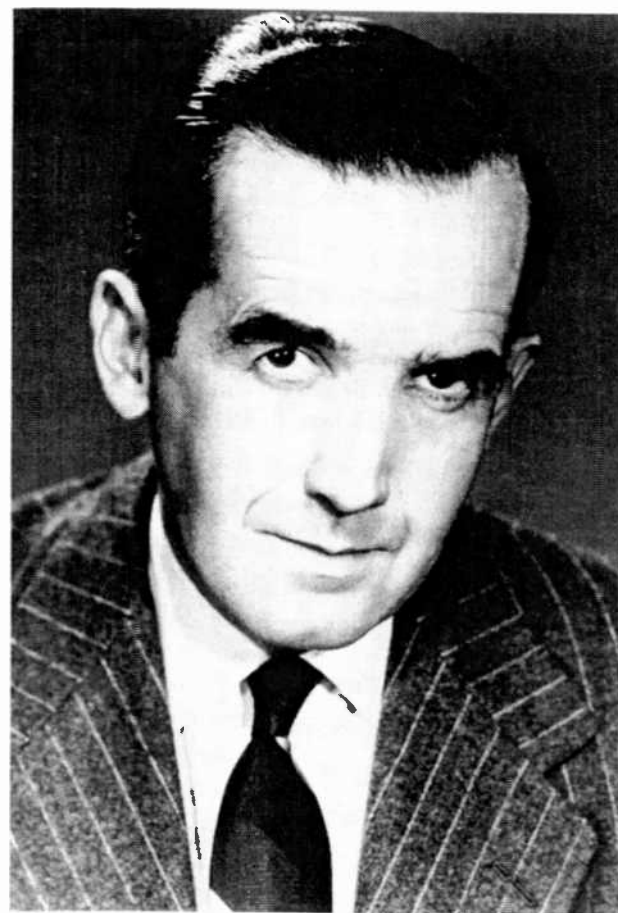
of individual liberties and rights, that resulted from a broader liberal discourse in England, France, and the United States. Resurrecting these values and virtues for a mass audience of true believers during the London Blitz was high drama—the opposing threat of totalitarianism, made real by Nazi bombs, was ever present in the background. Murrow's persona was thus established, embodying the political traditions of the Western democracies, and offering the public a heroic model on which to focus their energies.

Murrow, of course, was only one of many heroes to emerge from World War II, but he became the eminent symbol for broadcasting. The creation of the Murrow legacy and tradition speaks both to the sterling talent of the man himself and the enormous growth and power of radio during the war years. Murrow hired a generation of electronic journalists at CBS, such as Eric Sevaried, Charles Collingwood, and Howard K. Smith, among many others, for whom he set the example as their charismatic leader. As late as 1977, in fact, more than a decade after Murrow's death, Dan Rather wrote in his autobiography, *The Camera Never Blinks*, that "it was astonishing how often his [Murrow] name and work came up. To somebody outside CBS it is probably hard to believe. Time and again I heard someone say, 'Ed wouldn't have done it that way.'"

Murrow's initial foray into television was as the on-camera host of the seminal news and public affairs program, *See It Now* (1951–57). This series was an adaptation of radio's popular *Hear It Now*, which was also co-produced by Murrow and Fred W. Friendly. *See It Now* premiered in a half-hour format on 18 November 1951, opening with Murrow's characteristic restraint and directness: "This is an old team trying to learn a new trade." By 20 April 1952, *See It Now* had been moved to prime time where it stayed until July 1955, typically averaging around 3 million viewers. After that point, *See It Now* was expanded to an hour but telecast more irregularly on a special-events basis.

Through the course of its run, *See It Now* was awarded four Emmys for Best News or Public Service Program. Many of its broadcasts were duly considered breakthroughs for the medium. For example, "This is Korea...Christmas 1952" was produced on location "to try to portray the face of the war and the faces of the men who are fighting it." Murrow's most-celebrated piece was his 9 March 1954 telecast, in which he engaged Senator Joseph R. McCarthy in a program "told mainly in [McCarthy's] own words and pictures." In the aftermath of this episode, the descriptions of Edward R. Murrow and his tradition quickly began to transcend the more secular cast that appeared in response to his championing of democratic action and principles in Britain during World War II. In his review of the now legendary McCarthy program, for instance, *New York Times* TV critic Jack Gould reflected an ongoing canonization process when he wrote that "last week may be remembered as the week that broadcasting recaptured its soul."

Murrow also produced lighter, less controversial fare for television. His most popular success was his hosting of *Person*



Edward R. Murrow

*to Person* from 1953 to 1961 where he chatted informally with a wide array of celebrities every Friday during prime time. Murrow remained with this program through the 1958–59 season, "visiting" in their homes such people as Harry Truman, Marilyn Monroe, and John Steinbeck. Murrow, in fact, won an Emmy for the Most Outstanding Personality in all of television after *Person to Person*'s inaugural season. He received four other individual Emmys for Best News Commentator or Analyst as well, with the last coming in 1958, the year he excoriated the broadcasting industry in a speech before the Radio and Television News Directors Association (RTNDA) for being "fat, comfortable, and complacent" and television for "being used to detract, delude, amuse and insulate us."

The tragedy of Murrow's rapid enervation at CBS after this latest tumult was implicit in his apparent need to ascribe higher motives to his own profession. Murrow had long reveled in his role as broadcasting's Jeremiah. His urgent and inspirational style of presentation fit the life-and-death psychological milieu of a world war, as it was later appropriate for the McCarthy crisis. By 1958, though, the viewing public and the television industry were less inclined to accept yet another of his ethical lambastes, especially since his RTNDA speech was directed at them and their shortcomings. As the

business of TV grew astronomically during the 1950s, Murrow's priorities fell progressively out-of-step.

There is still a small plaque in the lobby of CBS headquarters in New York City which contains the image of Murrow and the inscription: "He set standards of excellence that remain unsurpassed." During his 25-year career he made more than 5000 broadcasts; and more than anyone else, he invented the traditions of television news. Murrow and his team essentially created the prototype of the TV documentary with *See It Now*, and later extended the technological reach of electronic newsgathering in *Small World* (1958-59), which employed simultaneous hookups around the globe to facilitate unrehearsed discussion among several international opinion leaders. Most of Murrow's *See It Now* associates were reassembled to produce *CBS Reports* in 1961, although Murrow was only an infrequent participant in this new series. Over the years, he had simply provoked too many trying situations for CBS and the network's hierarchy made a conscious decision to reduce his profile. The apparent irony between Edward R. Murrow's life and the way that he is subsequently remembered today is that the industry that finally had no place for him now holds Murrow up as their model citizen—the "patron saint of American broadcasting."

—Gary R. Edgerton

**EDWARD R. MURROW.** Born Egbert Roscoe Murrow in Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A., 25 April 1908. Attended Stanford University and the University of Washington; graduated from Washington State College, 1930. Married: Janet Huntington Brewster, 1934; one son. Served as assistant director, Institute of International Education, 1932-35; began career with CBS as director of talks and education, 1935; director, CBS' European Bureau in London, 1937; during World War II, hired and trained distinguished corps of war correspondents, including Eric Sevareid, Howard K. Smith, Charles Collingwood, and Richard C. Hottelet; vice-president and director of public affairs, CBS, 1946; resigned to return to radio broadcasting, 1947; narrated and produced *Hear It Now* radio series, 1950-51; brought series to television as *See It Now*, 1952-58; began *Person to Person* television program, 1953; moderated and produced *Small World*, television series featuring discussions among world figures, 1958-60; appointed by President John F. Kennedy to head U.S. Information Agency (USIA) in 1961, and remained in post until 1964. Recipient: nine Emmy Awards. Died in New York, 27 April 1965.

## TELEVISION SERIES

- 1952-57 *See It Now* (host)  
 1953-61 *Person to Person* (host)  
 1958-60 *Small World* (moderator and producer)

## RADIO

*Hear It Now* (host and co-producer), 1950-51.

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See also Army-McCarthy Hearings; Columbia Broadcasting System; Cronkite, Walter; Documentary; Friendly, Fred W.; News, Network; Paley, William S.; *Person to Person*; *See it Now*; Sevareid, Eric; Smith, Howard K.; Talk Shows

# MUSIC LICENSING

**M**usic Licensing is the process through which television outlets and producers acquire permission to use copyrighted music in their programming and productions. A music copyright actually consists of a bundle of

ownership rights. The four principal parts of this bundle are: (1) the Publication Right, authority to copy or publish the musical work; (2) the Mechanical (Recording) Right, authority to make audio copies of the work; (3) the Syn-

chronization Right, authority to synchronize recordings of the work with film or video; and (4) the Performance Right, authority to perform the work publicly. Two additional facets of music copyright are (5) Grand Dramatic Rights, which involve the use of the composition in a dramatic performance such as a stage play, opera or video representation of the "story" of a song; and (6) the Master Use License (Dubbing Right), which pertains to the re-recording of a particular artist's rendition of the music. The first five of these rights emanate from the original composer and publisher of the work. The Master Use License is held by the record company that released the particular artist's interpretation of the composition.

While all six of these elements may come into play in the production of a film or video project, it is the Performance Right that is of overwhelming importance in the public transmission of television programming. In the United States (and elsewhere through agreements with reciprocal agencies), three licensing organizations administer performance rights for virtually all musical compositions still under copyright. These three organizations are ASCAP (American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers), BMI (Broadcast Music Incorporated) and the much smaller SESAC (formerly the Society of European Stage Authors and Composers).

ASCAP, the oldest of the three, was born of a 1913 restaurant meeting of composer Victor Herbert and eight publisher and composer associates who sought some mechanism to ensure they would be paid for the public performance of their work. ASCAP began licensing broadcast stations to play the music of its member composers and publishers in 1923 when it signed a one-year \$500 license with AT and T's WEAf (New York). Perceiving themselves to be at ASCAP's mercy when it came to the use of music in their programming, broadcasters formed the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) to negotiate with ASCAP on behalf of the entire radio industry. (The NAB subsequently became U.S. commercial broadcasting's major trade association and lobbying agency.)

BMI was created by the broadcast industry in 1940 in reaction to what stations felt was a large and unjustified increase in ASCAP's licensing rates. Until BMI could build its own catalogue, many stations that had refused to renew their ASCAP licenses could play nothing but tunes by Stephen Foster and other vintage music no longer under copyright. BMI soon signed affiliation agreements with Latin American, country, western, "race music" (black), and later, rock and roll composers—musical genres that ASCAP had largely ignored.

SESAC was founded in 1931 by music publishing executive Paul Heinecke, with a catalogue consisting primarily of European concert and operatic music. SESAC later dropped its full name in favor of the acronym and expanded its scope to encompass concert band, gospel, religious, and country music—opening a major office in Nashville in 1964. SESAC is the only one of the three

performance rights organizations to also administer the mechanical and synchronization rights on behalf of its member composers and publishers.

Virtually from its inception, radio performance rights licensing was accommodated via a "blanket license." Stations paid the rights agency an annual fee based either on gross receipts (ASCAP and BMI) or market size, power, and hours of operation (SESAC). This license allowed them to play as much of the licensing organization's music as they wished. This same business arrangement subsequently was extended to the new medium of television. As in radio, television station rate negotiations with ASCAP and BMI are handled by an all-industry committee supported by voluntary station contributions. Because far less SESAC music is played, the dollars it receives are much lower and stations deal with it separately.

Since 1950, the broadcast television networks have secured their own blanket licenses for the music in the programming and commercials that they distribute to their affiliates. Even if they are network affiliates, stations still have needed their own blanket licenses to cover the music included in the syndicated series, local programs, and non-network commercials that they air. Over the past quarter-century, broadcasters fought a number of legal battles in an attempt to reduce overlapping license coverage and bring greater flexibility and economy to the performance rights clearance process. In 1970, CBS initiated an anti-trust suit against ASCAP and BMI in order to secure the option of a "per use" alternative to the blanket license. But the Supreme Court reaffirmed the dismissal of the case in 1981. Four years later, television stations lost a similar skirmish over "per program" rates that tended to make this option far more costly than the blanket license.

Nevertheless, new licensing alternatives began to emerge. Following a series of legal maneuvers, ASCAP/BMI and television broadcasters began, in 1987, to negotiate a more economically realistic per program license option. Six years and several judicial proceedings later, a feasible per program license structure was substantially agreed to. This paved the way for stations to more actively purchase or lease their own music libraries for use in local productions and commercials—thus greatly shortening the list of programs for which they would have to pay an ASCAP or BMI fee. At the same time, major program syndicators such as King World began selling stations the rights to the music contained in their series for a small additional fee. Such "source cleared" deals are expected to become more and more common as stations seek to further reduce their ASCAP and BMI per program payments. Meanwhile, in a 1992 cable television decision, the Supreme Court affirmed the right of cable networks to obtain the same blanket "through to the viewer" license that had been available to the broadcast networks since 1950. This greatly lessened the performance rights liability of cable system operators.

An additional simmering controversy involves musicians and some recording companies. These interests spo-



*Courtesy of ASCAP*



*Courtesy of BMI*

radically have lobbied Congress to enact legislation that would require an additional performance rights fee to be paid to the performers of a piece of music. The television industry counters that performers already have been compensated through existing rights mechanisms and have handsomely profited from the exposure with which television has provided them.

—Peter B. Orlick

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## MUSIC ON TELEVISION

The antecedents for music's applications in television may be found in film and radio. Most television music (like film music) is non-diegetic: It is heard by viewers and listeners, but not on-screen performers. This "background" music is added after filming has been completed, and is used to create moods, fill spaces, provide rhythm and link the production to other cultural texts. Television music also draws on the tradition of radio,

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See also Music on Television

which foregrounded music through variety shows and featured performances. Variety shows were based in vaudeville and dominated the first two decades of television due to their broad appeal and low production costs. Yet music frequently was considered an afterthought during television's early years. In 1948, only 17 stations were on the air. Programming largely was produced on a local basis, and talent and material often were in short supply.

Labor unions played a significant role in determining how music was used on television in the late 1940s. Under the leadership of James Petrillo, the American Federation of Musicians (AFM) instigated freezes on all music recording in 1942 and 1948, and the AFM banned "live" music on television until the spring of 1948. The union also ordered that all programs with featured or background music must be broadcast "live" before they were syndicated via kinescopes, and these kinescopes were banned from airing on any station not affiliated with the originating station. This arrangement favored networks over independent stations and allowed the powerful AFM to strengthen its control of the music industry. The union also prohibited its members from recording for television films until 1950, when the AFM negotiated a system of royalty payments from television producers to musicians (although no such royalty system existed in the film industry). Television music also was hampered by disagreements between program producers and music publishers. Producers sought a broadened general license fee for music use, rather than a special license, while the major music publishing concern (ASCAP) demanded three times the rate it received for film music.

The networks were concerned with "cultural uplift" during the late 1940s and early 1950s, and they viewed "high culture" as a way to add cultural legitimacy to the new medium. NBC had telecast a Metropolitan Opera presentation of "Pagliacci" on 10 March 1940, and all three networks featured classical music and opera on a semi-regular basis. NBC aired three telecasts of the NBC Orchestra in 1948, and ABC telecast an adaption of "Othello" on 29 November of that year. The NBC Opera Theater began regular telecasts in 1950 with four programs and continued to air opera specials through 1950s and early 1960s. The network also aired an experimental color broadcast of "Carmen" on 31 October 1953.

Producers faced a number of problems with adapting opera to television. The NBC presentations were sung in English and frequently condensed into one-hour programs, which aroused the ire of some critics. Early televised operas also were criticized for incessant camera panning and close-ups. A reviewer for *Musical America* described a December 1952 closed-circuit telecast of "Carmen" by New York's Metropolitan Opera to 27 cities: "The relentlessness of the camera in exposing corpulence and other less attractive physical features of some of the performers aroused hilarity among the more unsophisticated viewers, of whom there were, perforce, very many."

The networks also showcased classical music in specials and limited-run series throughout the early 1950s. In 1951, ABC's Chicago affiliate (WENR-TV) became the first station to regularly televise an orchestra, and NBC aired *Meet the Masters*, a classical music series, that spring. The network continued to air occasional telecasts of the NBC Symphony Orchestra, and CBS countered with specials featuring the Philadelphia Orchestra. The classical music series "Voice of Firestone" had originated in 1928 on radio;

in June 1954, it jumped to television on ABC. Other network programs presented a grab bag of "high culture." CBS' *Omnibus* debuted in 1952 with support from the Ford Foundation. Although it won numerous awards, the program moved to ABC and NBC because of poor ratings. *Omnibus* was cancelled in 1959, and the Ford Foundation's experience with the program led them to provide the seed money for American public television. Classical music and opera also made occasional appearances on variety shows, particularly CBS' *Toast of the Town*, and performers were prominently featured on variety shows like *Toast of the Town* and *The Milton Berle Show*. NBC musical specials in 1951 showcased the works of Richard Rogers and Irving Berlin, and NBC continued to air lavish musical presentations throughout the decade.

Music was an integral part of amateur talent shows, which ran on all three networks through the 1950s. The most successful of these, *Ted Mack's Original Amateur Hour*, was adapted from radio's *Major Bowes' Original Amateur Hour*. DuMont began telecasting the series in 1948, and it aired on various networks until 1970. Music also was featured in the context of game shows. Celebrities rated records on KNXT's *Juke Box Jury*, which was carried by ABC in 1953 and later syndicated. Other musical game shows included ABC's *So You Want to Lead a Band* and NBC's *Musical Chairs*, which aired in 1954 and 1955 respectively, as well as *Name That Tune*, which ran on NBC and later CBS from 1953 to 1959 and was briefly revived in syndication in the mid-1970s.

Singers often hosted summer replacement shows in the early 1950s. In 1950, Kate Smith and Sammy Kaye hosted replacement shows on NBC while CBS countered with several summer series hosted by Perry Como, Vaughn Monroe and Frank Sinatra. ABC configured much of its prime-time schedule around music, particularly after Lawrence Welk joined the network in July 1955. Welk, who began telecasting his performances in June 1949, remains perhaps the most popular musical performer in television history. By featuring performers like Welk, Guy Lombardo, Paul Whiteman, Fred Waring and Perry Como, networks targeted older audiences (at the time, "teenagers" as a demographic group were of little use to network advertisers).

Television producers in the late 1940s and early 1950s relied on older popular songs, or "standards," and avoided songs without proven audience appeal. In addition, ASCAP's outright hostility to television led producers to use BMI-licensed songs, many of which were older and in the public domain. Exposing new music largely was relegated to independent stations. This pattern paralleled post-war developments in the recording industry, in which new genres like rhythm and blues and country music were distributed by small, independent labels. Independent television stations were particularly strong on the West Coast due to weak network links, and remote band broadcasts provided inexpensive filler for broadcast schedules. KTLA-TV in Los Angeles featured five orchestra shows each week



*Johnny Cash on The Johnny Cash Show*



*The Supremes on Hullabaloo*



*Kate Bush in her music video for Running up that Hill*



*Luciano Pavarotti in The Three Tenors*

in the early 1950s, including Spade Cooley's hugely popular western program, while KLAC-TV countered with the *Hometown Jamboree* hillbilly program. KLAC also challenged the color barrier by presenting a black singer, Hadda Brooks, regularly in 1949.

"Video deejay" programming provided another economical means of filling airtime. Al Jarvis had created the radio deejay program at Los Angeles' KWAB-AM in the early 1930s, and in the winter of 1950 Jarvis began daily broadcasts of records, interviews, horse racing results and "daily religious periods" at KLAC. NBC began airing Wayne Howell's deejay show nationally on Saturday afternoons, and by the end of 1950 video deejays were firmly established in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles, as well as secondary markets like San Francisco, Miami, Louisville, Philadelphia, Detroit and Cleveland (where pioneering rock 'n' roll deejay Alan Freed held forth late at night on WXEZ-TV). Video deejay programs combined lip-synch performances, dancers, games, sketches, stunts and film shorts. Between 1941 and 1947, more than 2000 promotional jazz and ballad films, or "soundies," were produced by the Mills Novelty Company for coin-operated machines, and many of these shorts resurfaced on video deejay shows. "Soundies" also were frequently screened between programs to fill airtime, as were the 754 "visual records" Louis Snader produced in his Hollywood studios between 1950 and 1952. Similar films were produced by Screen Gems and United Artists, with a unique twist: silent films were paired with phonograph records, which allowed the clips to be recycled with different songs.

By 1956, local video deejay programs were telecast regularly in nearly 50 markets. These programs were the only significant television programming produced for teenagers and, along with "Top-40" radio, were instrumental in the rising success of rock 'n' roll. The most notable video deejay program debuted on Philadelphia's WFIL-TV as *Bandstand* in September 1952. Dick Clark replaced Bob Horn as host in July 1956, and the following year *American Bandstand* was picked up for national distribution by ABC. The program aired from 3:00 to 4:30 P.M. Monday through Friday afternoons, and Dick Clark had begun to parlay *American Bandstand*'s success into a television empire. More than 100 local imitators of *Bandstand* were on the air by March 1958, and TV had become second only to radio as a means of promoting music. In 1950, standards outnumbered popular tunes on television by four to one, and popular songs on television were already well-established on records and radio. Four years later, the ratio of hits to standards was 50/50. "Let Me Go, Lover" was recorded by several artists after its initial success on CBS' *Studio One*, and the "Ballad of Davey Crockett" from Walt Disney's ABC-TV series established TV's importance in making hits.

NBC was the most adventurous network in music programming through the 1950s, particularly through Steve Allen's efforts to present pop, jazz and classical artists on *The Tonight Show*. Allen also hosted an NBC special, *All-Star Jazz*, in December 1957. Like Allen, Ed Sullivan featured a

number of black acts on his *Talk of the Town* variety show in the 1950s. Although most acts were comics and dancers, musical performers included W. C. Handy, Billy Eckstine, Lena Horne and T-Bone Walker. On 1 April 1949, ABC affiliate WENR in Chicago began airing *Happy Pappy*, a jazz-oriented revue that featured an all-black cast, and three years later an ABC special with Billy Daniels was the first network television program to feature a black entertainer as star. Nat "King" Cole became the first black to host a regular network series (on NBC from 1956 to 1957). The program failed to attract a national sponsor and was boycotted by several stations in the North and South. As a result, blacks largely were relegated to guest shots on variety shows. No black performer would host a network variety series until Sammy Davis, Jr., in 1966.

Rhythm and blues and rock 'n' roll originally were objects of ridicule on TV, as exemplified by Sid Caesar's "Three Haircuts" parody skit on *Your Show of Shows*, but programmers began paying closer attention to the burgeoning teenage market in 1956. Ed Sullivan presented a rhythm and blues special in November 1955 that featured LaVern Baker, Bo Diddley, and the Five Keys, which was hosted by radio deejay "Dr. Jive." Attempts at providing a regular network showcase for rhythm and blues failed due to resistance from Southern affiliates as well as pressure from ASCAP, who refused to license rhythm and blues titles for blatantly racist reasons.

Country music was more readily embraced by programmers. "Hillbilly," as it was more commonly known, gained its initial video exposure with shows hosted by regional performers in the Midwest, including Earnie Lee at WLW in Cincinnati (1947), Pee Wee King at WAVE in Louisville (1948) and Lulu Belle at Chicago's WNBQ (1949). By 1956, almost 100 live local country and western shows aired on more than 80 stations in 30 states. Eddy Arnold, the "Tennessee Plowboy," was tapped as a summer replacement for Perry Como in 1952, and his program was syndicated through the 1950s. Other network efforts included Red Foley's *Ozark Jubilee* (ABC, 1955-61), and the *Tennessee Ernie Ford Show* (NBC, ABC, 1955-65), and CBS ran a country music program hosted by Jimmy Dean against *Today*. Nevertheless, these programs were largely pop-oriented in terms of song selection and guest stars.

Singing personalities increasingly replaced comedians as program hosts in the waning years of the 1950s. By the fall of 1957, more than 20 TV shows were headlined by recording stars. Perry Como and Dinah Shore headlined popular series for NBC, and ABC aired efforts by Frank Sinatra, Guy Mitchell, Pat Boone and Julius La Rosa. Many of these shows suffered poor ratings and were supplanted by westerns in 1958, but the success of Rodgers and Hammerstein's *Cinderella* special on CBS triggered a spate of musical fairy tales on networks in the waning years of the decade. Yet television was decried for unimaginative audio throughout the 1950s. Many productions employed dated music libraries, and dramatic shows often paid little atten-



tion to musical scoring (one exception was Richard Rodgers's acclaimed score for the documentary series *Victory at Sea*, which NBC aired in late 1952 and early 1953). Another noted production was the *Rodgers and Hammerstein Cavalcade* sponsored by General Foods, which aired simultaneously on all four networks 28 March 1954.

On 26 January 1956 Elvis Presley made his national television debut on the Dorsey Brothers' CBS *Stage Show* and quickly followed with appearances on Milton Berle, Steve Allen and Ed Sullivan. The squeals Presley elicited from teenagers were matched by loathing from parents and critics. Reviewing a September 1956 performance on *The Ed Sullivan Show*, a critic for *The New York Times* tsked that Presley "injected movements of the tongue and indulged in wordless singing that were singularly distasteful." Nevertheless, rock 'n' roll would remain a fixture on local and national television, and ABC's *Rock 'n' Roll Show* was the first prime-time network special devoted to rock music. The program aired 4 and 11 May 1957 and was hosted by Alan Freed. In addition to specials and variety shows, rock became integrated into situation comedies. *Ozzie and Harriet* provided a showcase for young Ricky Nelson, who racked up several hits beginning in 1957. The fate of *Your Hit Parade* symbolized Tin Pan Alley's eclipse by rock 'n' roll. The program originated as the *Lucky Strike Hit Parade* on radio in 1935 and retained its popularity after moving to television. As rock 'n' roll began to dominate popular music, *Your Hit Parade* moved from NBC to CBS in 1958 and went off the air on 24 April 1959. An attempt to revive the program in the early 1970s was unsuccessful.

The late 1950s also were marked by a decline in "high culture" musical programming. A 1957 arrangement between Ed Sullivan and Metropolitan Opera led to a brief series of capsule opera performances on Sullivan's variety show. Met impresario Rudolf Bing scotched the deal when Sullivan proposed to divide the opera presentations into two smaller sections, with a ventriloquist act sandwiched in between, to reduce viewer tuneout. The CBS series *The Seven Lively Arts*, a short-lived series of plays and music, was cancelled in 1958, and *The Voice of Firestone* was dropped as a regularly scheduled program in 1959 (it continued as a series of specials until 1962). More successful were CBS' *Young People's Concerts*, which began airing infrequently in the late 1950s and continued until the early 1970s. The concerts were hosted by Leonard Bernstein and each telecast was devoted to a single theme; two such concerts were "The Sound of the Hall" in 1962 and "What Is a Melody" the following year. The CBS *Camera Three* arts series ran Sunday mornings from 1956 to 1979, and NBC's *Bell Telephone Hour* presented music "for all tastes" on a semi-regular basis from 1959 to 1968.

Jazz enjoyed greater exposure during the waning years of the 1950s. CBS aired Stan Kenton's *Music '55* as a summer replacement series, and the success of the NBC special *All-Star Jazz* in December 1957 led to a jazz boomlet the following year. NBC ran a 13-part series hosted by

Gilbert Seldes, *The Subject Is Jazz*, ABC aired *Stars of Jazz* as a summer replacement, and CBS telecast four hour-long excerpts from Newport Jazz Festival in July 1958. Still, most jazz programming consisted of standards, swing and dixieland. One exception was the widely acclaimed *Jazz Scene USA* (1962), produced by Steve Allen and syndicated by New York's WOR-TV. Television shows increasingly featured jazz background music, particularly tough-guy detective and adventure series like *Peter Gunn* and *Ellery Queen* (NBC), *77 Sunset Strip* (ABC), and *Perry Mason* and *Route 66* (CBS). Although several of these themes charted on the "Billboard Hot-100," much of the music for establishing moods and providing bridges was imported from Europe. However, musicians and producers began to soften their adversarial stances in 1963, following James Petrillo's dethroning as head of the American Federation of Musicians. In October 1963, all network producers (with the inexplicable exception of the *Mr. Ed* production team) agreed to use live music in telefilms.

The early 1960s continued to see a shift away from musical variety shows. By 1961, only Perry Como, Ed Sullivan, Gary Moore and Dinah Shore remained on network schedules, and both classical and pop music largely were relegated to specials. One notable exception to this rule was *Sing Along with Mitch*, in which viewers were invited to participate by reading lyrics off the screen. The program was hosted by Mitch Miller, record company executive and arch-enemy of rock 'n' roll, and aired on NBC from 1961 to 1964. Country music continued to figure prominently on television throughout the 1960s. Jimmy Dean hosted a weekly variety show on ABC from 1963 to 1966, and by 1963 more than 130 stations carried local or syndicated country music programs. Among the most popular were Porter Wagoner (whose eye-popping sequined suits rivalled any Liberace creation for sartorial excess), the Wilburn Brothers and the bluegrass team of Flatt and Scruggs. The latter duo had been performing on television since 1953, but broke out nationally through exposure on *The Beverly Hillbillies* and the subsequent success of their single "The Ballad of Jed Clampett." These programs were joined in 1965 by syndicated efforts from Ernest Tubb and Wanda Jackson. In what surely must have been a surreal viewing experience, Richard Nixon performed a piano duet with Arthur "Guitar Boogie" Smith on the latter's Charlotte, North Carolina-based show. By 1970 almost three-quarters of the stations in the United States featured some form of rural music.

The folk music boom of the early 1960s was represented by ABC's *Hootenanny* (1963), the first regularly scheduled folk music program on network television. Featuring well-scrubbed folk music in the style of the Kingston Trio and Peter, Paul and Mary, the series was embroiled in controversy from the outset when Pete Seeger and the Weavers were banned from the show for refusing to sign a government loyalty oath. *Hootenanny* was dropped from ABC's schedule in the fall of 1964. *American Bandstand* had switched from daily to weekend-only broadcasts a year ear-

lier, due in part to fallout from the payola scandal. Dick Clark had come under congressional investigation during the payola hearings in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Although he was never indicted, ABC insisted that Clark divest himself of music publishing and record distribution interests. Local *Bandstand* imitators were down significantly from their peak in 1958, and the music's lack of presence on television reflected a general malaise in rock 'n' roll.

This changed 9 February 1964, when the Beatles were featured on *The Ed Sullivan Show*. In what arguably is the most influential musical performance ever presented on television, the Beatles were seen in an estimated 73 million homes. The British Invasion was not universally welcomed, however; when the Rolling Stones appeared on *Hollywood Palace*, host Dean Martin openly disparaged their performance and snarled that they "oughta get haircuts." ABC's *Shindig* premiered in September 1964 with the Rolling Stones, the Byrds and the Kinks, and subsequent programs featured a host of English and American "beat groups" surrounded by a cast of writhing dancers. NBC answered with *Hullabaloo* from January 1965 to August 1966.

Until it folded in January 1966, *Shindig* also helped black artists like Sam Cooke to cross over to white audiences. In one particularly memorable broadcast, the headlining Rolling Stones paid homage to their influences by sitting at the feet of the great bluesman Howling Wolf as he performed "The Little Red Rooster." The extent of the racial crossover in music was indicated by the fact that *Billboard* dropped its rhythm and blues chart in 1964. Efforts at integration were slower in other areas, however; the Chicago branch of the AFM remained segregated until January 1966. Television finally caught up with the Civil Rights Movement in the mid-1960s. By 1968, a growing number of black performers were showcased in network programs, such as an NBC special featuring the Supremes and Four Tops.

Teen dance shows enjoyed a resurgence in 1965. Some of the most notable syndicated efforts were hosted by Lloyd Thaxton, Casey Kasem (*Shebang*, which originated from KTLA in Los Angeles), Sam Riddle (*Hollywood A Go Go*), Gene Weed (*Shivaree*) and Jerry "The Geater with the Heater" Blavat's *The Discophonic Scene*. The ubiquitous Dick Clark also started a weekday teen show, *Where the Action Is*, on ABC. In addition to records and dancing, these shows often featured filmed performances as well as short "concept" musical films triggered by the success of the Beatles' *A Hard Day's Night*. Mainstream pop music remained the province of variety shows and specials throughout the 1960s. Barbra Streisand and Frank Sinatra aired acclaimed specials in the mid-1960s, and ABC presented an adventurous special, *Anatomy of Pop*, in February 1966, which featured artists as varied as Duke Ellington, Bill Monroe and the Temptations. Another ABC special, 1967's *Songmakers*, followed the creative process from composition to recording with artists like the songwriting team of Burt Bacharach and Hal David and the Paul Butterfield Blues Band. The big three networks virtually abandoned

classical music to the fledgling NET public network by the late 1960s, although CBS aired a special on Igor Stravinsky in 1966.

Perhaps the greatest rock special in television history, the *T.A.M.I. Show*, was produced by Steve Binder (who later produced Elvis's comeback special and *Pee-wee's Playhouse*) for ABC in late 1964. Shot on video and later transferred to film for theatrical release, the *T.A.M.I. Show* featured Chuck Berry, Bo Diddley, the Rolling Stones, the Beach Boys, the Supremes and an electrifying performance by James Brown. The program also captured an interracial musical mix conspicuously absent from later rock documentaries like *Monterey Pop* and *Woodstock*. Other noteworthy rock specials included a 1965 performance by the Beatles at New York's Shea Stadium (aired by ABC in January 1967) and Elvis Presley's legendary comeback performance on NBC in December 1968. The globalization of television was marked by the 25 June 1967 live telecast of *Our World*. Transmitted by satellite to 34 countries and aired in the United States on NET, the program included a performance by classical pianist Van Cliburn and climaxed with the Beatles warbling "All You Need Is Love."

Television also entered the kid-vid rock market when Beatle cartoons premiered on ABC in September 1965. The most successful cartoon group were the Archies (an assemblage of anonymous studio musicians), who scored a massive hit with "Sugar Sugar" in 1969 and cloned a dozen copies in the late 1960s and early 1970s like Josie and the Pussycats, the Bugaloos, the Groovie Goolies (described by critic Lester Bangs as "Munsters dipped in monosodium glutamate"), the Cattanooga Cats and the Banana Splits. Equally contrived, though in human form, were the Monkees. Four actors were recruited by former Brill Building pop impresario Don Kirshner to star in a series modelled on "A Hard Day's Night," and *The Monkees* premiered on NBC in September 1966. The "band" racked up several hits of carefully groomed material, but shocked their followers in Teenland the following year when they admitted they didn't play their own instruments. The series was cancelled in 1968. ABC's *The Music Scene* ran for 17 episodes beginning in October 1969 and featured comic sketches interspersed with performances by artists ranging from James Brown to Buck Owens.

The Smothers Brothers also presented some of the more daring "underground" acts of the late 1960s (The Who's Peter Townsend was nearly deafened by an exploding drum set during one memorable appearance, and the Jefferson Airplane's Grace Slick made a controversial appearance in black face). Other variety shows hosted by Ed Sullivan and Jonathan Winters presented a variety of alternative acts, each more hirsute and glowering than its predecessors. Sullivan did draw the line at lyrics, however. In a 1967 appearance, amid much eye-rolling, the Rolling Stones changed the lyrics of their latest hit to "Let's Spend Some Time Together." Other performers were less accomodating. After surveying the set before taping an appearance on *The Tom Jones Show*,

Janis Joplin stormed offstage, complaining that "My public don't want to see me in front of no fucking plastic rain drops." Late-night talk shows like *The Tonight Show* and *The Dick Cavett Show* also featured some rock stars (Joplin was a particular favorite on the latter). The syndicated *Playboy After Dark* also presented a variety of "alternative" artists; in a 1969 taping, the Grateful Dead "psychedelicized" the unwitting production staff. Despite (and, in part, due to) the increasingly *outré* nature of rock music acts on television, country music's video popularity continued unabated in the late 1960s. Johnny Cash was featured in an ABC summer replacement program in 1969, and his guests included the reclusive Bob Dylan. A more enduring success was CBS' *Hee Haw*, which presented a hick version of *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In* beginning in June 1969. After CBS cleaned its house of "older-oriented" shows, the program continued in syndication until the late 1980s.

The 1970s began with the New Seekers unconsciously predicting the increasing melding of music, television, advertising, and the global imaginaries of Live Aid and MTV with "I'd like to teach the world to sing." The song was a worldwide hit after airing as a Coca-Cola commercial. Looking backwards, ABC introduced *The Partridge Family* with veteran stage and Hollywood musical star Shirley Jones and her son David Cassidy. The half-hour comedy used the tried-and-trusted *Monkees* formula to successfully target the teen market. Jones played the single mom of a large musical family with a lovable but inept manager placed in various quirky situations. Musical numbers were performed in rehearsal and in a wrap-up concert setting as the denouement of each episode. As well as the oldest of the Partridge progeny, Cassidy became a teen idol as a solo performer. The most traditional outlet for music on the networks in the early 1970s were the host of variety shows: *The Johnny Cash Show*, *Glen Campbell's Goodtime Hour*, *This Is Tom Jones*, *The Carol Burnett Show*. Almost invariably, musical guests would lipsync to their latest hits and sometimes engage in banal patter with the host. However, reflecting the increasing dominance of market segmentation, ratings for most musical variety shows were plummeting by the mid-1970s. Even so, insipid pop duo Captain and Tennille and the Jacksons both entered the variety market in 1976, with their own network shows.

Lipsynching was a common practice on television shows, but the influence of rock counterculture with its ideology of authenticity made the presentation of live music more important. The success of theatrical films of musical events increased the demand for "live" rock shows. Some of the films on offer at the local movie theatre in the late 1960s and early 1970s included *Monterey Pop*, *Woodstock*, *Gimme Shelter*, *Let it Be*, *Elvis-That's the Way it Is*, *Pink Floyd in Pompeii*, *Jimi at Berkeley*, *Concert for Bangladesh*.

In 1973 three network shows featuring live music were introduced. NBC's *Midnight Special* presented 90 minutes of a live concert recorded on a studio soundstage. The show tended to favor more mainstream commercial artists, David

Bowie, Marianne Faithfull and Van Morrison being the limit of its adventurousness. *Midnight Special* was hosted by veteran DJ Wolfman Jack and by Helen Reddy from 1975 to 1977. ABC's *In Concert* combined old film clips by such groups as the Rolling Stones, with footage from concert venues. Produced by Don Kirshner and then taken over by executive producer Dick Clark, the show basically simulated the bill at the Fillmore Auditorium at which three bands played a short live set each. Many of these concerts were shot at the Academy of Music in New York. Kirshner also presented the syndicated *Don Kirshner's Rock Concert*. Again, this featured clips of concert halls around the country interspersed with promotional clips. White rock acts dominated the program. In a different musical vein, the *Great Performances* series debuted on PBS in 1974. Produced at WNET in New York, this paved the way for the broadcast of classical music concerts and opera on the Bravo cable network since 1980. Country music found a live showcase in Austin City Limits, first broadcast through Austin's PBS station KLRN TV in 1976. The show reflected a return to the rawer roots of country music, away from the saccharine Nashville sound of the period. In its earlier days, musical acts like the Outlaws—Willie Nelson, Waylon Jennings and Kris Kristofferson—performed on a stage in front of a small and intimate studio audience. The format remains essentially the same today. Live music has also had a highly visible spot on NBC's *Saturday Night Live* since 1975. A guest star performed one or two live numbers between the program's many skits. Musical choices were often a little more left field on *Saturday Night Live*. On one particular occasion in 1977, Elvis Costello and the Attractions, who had replaced the Sex Pistols at the last minute, ripped into a version of their anti-fascist classic "Less than Zero," then abruptly stopped. Elvis told the band that he had changed his mind, and they then tore into "Radio Radio," running over time and giving producer Lorne Michaels a few nervous palpitations. Sinéad O'Connor's appearance on the show in 1994, when she ripped up a photograph of Pope John Paul II after a rendition of Bob Marley's "War," had a similar effect in this prime television showcase for musicians.

Black musical acts found a space for lipsynched performances of soul, funk, and disco hits on *Soul Train*. The brainchild of Don Cornelius, the show was started in Chicago in 1970, but moved to syndication and Hollywood in 1971. *Soul Train* featured famous names such as Ike and Tina Turner and Al Green miming their hits while a studio full of mainly African-American dancers grooved away. The spectacle of skilful and creative dancing was as important as the appearance of the musical performer. In many ways, *Soul Train* was a return to the old formula of the teen dance show, except for one major difference: it was black. The show was vital in the popularization of funk and disco music. By 1975 the disco boom was well established, and everyone was trying to get on the bandwagon. Syndicated shows like *Disco America*, *Disco Mania*, and *Disco 76* came and went as fast as the latest disco hit. Even James Brown deserted funk for disco with the shortlived syndicated

program *Future Shock*. Some journalists and critics feared the end of that discotheque culture was killing live music. But if anything, the real challenge to live performance on television came from music video.

The late 1970s and 1980s saw the video boom that has changed the face of music on television. By 1975, many artists had made promotional film clips for their single releases. Queen's "Bohemian Rhapsody," Rod Stewart's "Hot Legs," and several promotional clips by Swedish quartet Abba had helped their songs become hits in the Euro-American market. In 1975, Manhattan cable TV began showing video clips on a program titled *Nightclubbing*. Rock performers were experimenting with the visual form. New Wave group Devo released *The Men Who Make the Music* in 1979. This anthology was the first long-form video released in the United States. By 1979, *America's Top Ten* played video clips. One by Boomtown Rats, "I Don't Like Mondays," was one of the first to make a mark, remembered for the accompanying visuals as much as for its sound recording. The more traditional chart show, *Solid Gold*, debuted in syndication in 1980, and combined a professional cast of dancers with lipsynched performances by various chart-topping pop artists.

The rise of music video is inextricably tied to the ascent of cable television. In 1980, the USA network debuted *Night Flight*, which ran both videos and old movies. The emphasis was on new wave videos, since at this time these artists were more innovative with the nascent form. Another cable network, Home Box Office (HBO), began simulcasting rock concerts, while Showtime and the Playboy channel allotted some time for music videos. Also in 1980, ex-Monkee and Liquid Paper tycoon Mike Nesmith's Pacific Arts Company packaged clips into a half-hour show called *Popclips*, which was sold to Warner Cable, and shown on Nickelodeon. The Nashville Network (TNN) and Country Music Television Network, from 1983, set about showing music videos. The former maintained some shows that fit the variety format of older country programming.

But during the 1980s and 1990s, the musical stage on television was defined by MTV. Owned by Warner-Amex, MTV began broadcasting in August 1981, prophetically with the Buggles hit, "Video Killed the Radio Star." Robert Pittman, vice president of programming, remarked, "We're now seeing the TV become a component of the stereo system. It's ridiculous to think that you have two forms of entertainment—your stereo and your TV—which have nothing to do with one another. What we're doing is marrying those two forms so that they can work together in unison. We're the first channel on cable to pioneer this." MTV provided a twenty-four hour service of videos introduced by quirky VJs. It was a kind of radio for the eyes, mixing different kinds of musical genres in a continuous flow. Many of the early videos were by British "new pop" groups like Duran Duran, ABC, Culture Club, and the Human League, who formed what critics called the "second British invasion." By 1982, record companies confidently

claimed that MTV increased sales of their top artists by 20%. As MTV became available through cable providers through the country, in the midwest and not just the urban centers of the east and west coast, the music played on the network also changed. New pop had faded away; therefore programming began to reflect the tastes of a largely white national audience demographic. Heavy metal was the predominant music on the channel.

Other cable networks incorporated some of the same strategies as MTV. In June 1983, NBC debuted *Friday Night Videos* in the old *Midnight Special* slot. WTBS began broadcasting the similar *Night Tracks* in June 1983, and Ted Turner launched the ultimately unsuccessful Cable Music Channel in 1984. MTV weathered an antitrust suit from the competing Discovery Network. In 1984, it signed exclusive deals with six major record labels for the broadcast of their artists' videos.

The first American Video Awards took place in 1984, testifying to the emergence of a new cultural form. Meanwhile, more traditional musical fare was on offer in NBC's *Fame*, which began in 1982 and was based on Alan Parker's 1980 film. The program was set in a school of performing arts in New York, with a multiracial cast of talented musicians and dancers who would energetically perform numbers in rehearsal, in class, and at school concerts. The show celebrated traditional showbiz values in a familiar format. It was essentially *The Partridge Family* with angst, Shirley Jones replaced by choreographer and teacher Debbie Allen as guiding hand and maternal motivator.

MTV's impact on network television and the place of music in television could be more directly seen in the NBC police/crime series *Miami Vice* (1984–87). Its working title was *MTV Cops*. The show's creator Michael Mann later claimed that "the intention of *Miami Vice* was to achieve the organic interaction of music and content." Sometimes an entire episode would be written around a song, such as Glen Frey's "Smuggler's Blues." Frey and other rock musicians would often make cameo appearances as characters in the show. Record companies were obliging with copyrighted material after the success of the pilot and its use of Phil Collins' hit "In the Air Tonight" as the detective partnership of Crockett and Tubbs drove to a climactic shoot-out through the rain-sodden, Miami streets.

The visual style of the show owed a great deal to MTV. Film and television narratives incorporated music with the camera angles, lighting, rapid cutting, and polished, high production values of music videos. Television advertising was increasingly sensitive to music video aesthetics. In 1984, Michael Jackson appeared in a Pepsi-Cola commercial shot like a music video for one of his songs. Madonna's brief—and eventually banned—Pepsi commercial in 1989 used her song "Like a Prayer," a visual extravaganza for cultural critics like the other music videos that made her a megastar.

In the mid and late 1980s, MTV became less idiosyncratic in its juxtapositions of different kinds of music, moving toward block programming, and the development of

shows that fit certain musical genres. MTV's programming began to look more like a traditional television schedule. In January 1985, the network introduced the VH-1 channel programming adult-oriented music that demanded less of the ear and aimed for the pocketbook of the older baby boomer consumer. VH-1 began with a video of Marvin Gaye singing that old chestnut, "The Star Spangled Banner." In 1986, MTV also indicated its move towards a more traditional television strategy as it began showing old episodes of *The Monkees*.

These developments reflected the segmentation of marketing and targeting of very specific groups of consumers through different channels and shows. This also coincided with Warner-Amex selling their controlling interest in MTV Networks to Viacom International in August 1985. The change in leadership initially brought a more conservative music policy. With criticism of the representation of sex and violence in music videos, there was a brief move away from heavy metal as the central genre. However, the strength of metal in middle American markets led to its return shortly thereafter.

The biggest triumph of the mid-1980s for MTV and for the music industry in general was the successful broadcast of the Live Aid concerts in Philadelphia and London in July 1985. The event, designed to raise money for Ethiopian famine relief, proved popular music's sociopolitical value, and, like the Beatles worldwide broadcast of "All You Need Is Love," projected a global imaginary (and market) for popular music culture. In 1987, MTV started MTV-Europe, and the network's rapid movement into further areas of global market continued apace. Live Aid was followed by the 1988 worldwide transmission of an anti-apartheid concert in London to celebrate the birthday of Nelson Mandela. However, in the United States this mammoth rock spectacle was not the success of Live Aid, with charges that FOX had delayed the broadcast signal and censored "political" comments made during the event.

Since the early 1980s, critics charged MTV with racism because of its dearth of black music videos. In its early days, the network featured African-American VJ J.J. Johnson and later black British VJ "Downtown" Julie Brown. However, apart from some big names like Michael Jackson and Prince, few black acts were found on the video playlist. This changed somewhat in 1989 with the introduction of *Yo! MTV Raps*, a show hosted by pioneer graffiti artist and hip-hop pioneer Fab Five Freddy. *Yo! MTV Raps* joined other specialist music programs like *Headbanger's Ball* (heavy metal) and *120 Minutes* ("alternative" rock) on the network's schedule. Since then, rhythm and blues artists like En Vogue and rap groups like Salt and Peppa have had huge success based in large part on their snappy music videos.

Also in 1989, MTV introduced *Remote Control*, a game show that tested viewer's knowledge of television trivia. In the 1990s, the breadth of shows on the network reveals that MTV is now more concerned with the integrated elements of contemporary youth popular culture presented in a more traditional televisual format, not just music videos. A fashion show (*House of Style*), a verité-style documentary-cum-soap opera (*The Real World*), and even a dating game are staples of the network's programming. The *Chose or Lose* and *Rock the Vote* programs contributed to higher voter registration among young citizens during the 1992 presidential election campaign. In all these television formats, music is important as an extra level of commentary on the visual and documentary/news material.

MTV's professed main goal to integrate the stereo system with the television has significantly improved the audio quality of stereo sound on television. Like most other outlets for music on television in the mid-1990s, MTV combines the kinds of music programming found in older forms like variety shows, live concert broadcasts, lipsynched performance, with an up-to-date staple of promotional music videos. Though it looks increasingly like other television stations in its programming structure, MTV gives everything from fashion to politics to family crisis a musical bent. In this respect, it has "musicalized" television to an unforeseeable extent. MTV also marks the decline of radio and the ascent of television in marketing musical commodities. This is exemplified in the live acoustic show *Unplugged*, which debuted in 1990. When the *Unplugged* sets were released as CDs, they sold as successfully as the "proper" studio releases by the musicians concerned. Television now shapes popular musical culture as much as the sound recordings themselves.

—Tom McCourt and Nabeel Zuberi

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See also *American Bandstand*; Cable Networks; Clark, Dick; Country Music Television; Eurovision Song Contest; Hunter, Tommy; *Lawrence Welk Show*; Messer, Don; MuchMusic; Music Licensing; Music Television (MTV); Pittman, Robert; Post, Mike; *Soul Train*; *Tommy Hunter Show*; *Top of the Pops*; *Voice of Firestone*

## MUSIC TELEVISION

### U.S. Cable Network

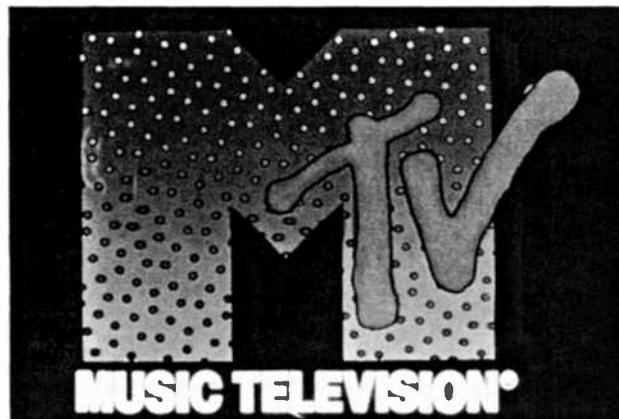
**M**TV (Music Television) is the oldest and most influential American cable network specializing in music-related programming. It was launched on 1 August 1981, with the words "Ladies and gentlemen, rock and roll," spoken on camera by John Lack, one of the creators of MTV. This introduction was immediately followed by the music-video clip "Video Killed the Radio Star," featuring a band called the Buggles. The title proved somewhat prophetic as MTV greatly transformed the nature of music-industry stardom over the next several years. At the same time, MTV became a major presence in the cable-TV industry and in fact in the overall American cultural landscape.

One of the earliest and greatest cable success stories, MTV was established by Warner Amex Satellite Entertainment Company (WASEC) after extensive marketing research. The key to MTV's viability, at least initially, was the availability of low-cost programming in the form of music videos. Originally these were provided free by record companies, which thought of them as advertising for their records and performers.

MTV presented one video after another in a constant "flow" that contrasted with the discrete individual programs found on other television networks. Clips were repeated from time to time according to a light, medium, or heavy "rotation" schedule. In this respect, MTV was like Top 40 radio (it even had video jockeys, or VJs, similar to radio DJs). Moreover, it soon became apparent that MTV could "break" a recording act (move it into prominence, even star status), just as radio had done for decades.

A music video (also called a clip or promo clip) is a brief (usually three- to five-minute) television segment, usually shot on film but intended to be shown only on a TV set. The foundation of a video clip is the soundtrack, which is a recorded song, the sale of which is promoted by the video. In some cases, other material such as sound effects or introductory dialogue may also appear on the soundtrack.

The visual portion of a video usually consists of live concert footage or, more commonly, lip synching and pantomimed instrument playing by the recording artist(s). Dancing is also very common. In many cases there is also a dramatic or narrative concept, sometimes grounded in the song lyrics. The "acting" in a concept video is usually done by the musician(s), although in some cases (e.g., *Crazy* and other recent videos by Aerosmith) the video cuts away from the band to actors who act out a drama inspired by the lyrics. This is increasingly the case with clips previously used as sound-tracks for films. In these instances footage from the film, with the original actors, may be used. In some cases outtakes or re-shot sequences from these films are used to create a narrative link to the filmed musicians. (In these cases the video serves as an advertisement for the film as well as for the soundtrack album or the single track used in the clip.) The combination of elliptical storylines, record-as-



*Courtesy of MTV*

soundtrack, lip sync, and direct address to the camera seemed so novel in the early 1980s that music video was often referred to as a new art form. The content of the new art was sometimes bold (and controversial) in its treatment of sex, violence, and other sensitive topics.

Many of the earliest MTV videos came from Great Britain, where the tradition of making promo clips was fairly well-developed. One of the earliest indications of MTV's commercial importance was the success of the British band Duran Duran in the American market. This band had great visual appeal and made interesting videos but was not receiving radio airplay as of 1981. In markets where MTV was available, the network's airing of Duran Duran's videos made the band immediately popular. Ultimately MTV proved to be immensely important to the careers of numerous artists, including Madonna, Michael Jackson, Prince, Peter Gabriel, and U2, as well as Duran Duran.

Andrew Goodwin identifies three phases in the history of MTV. The real ascendance of the network began in 1983 with phase two, the so-called "second launch" when MTV became available in Manhattan and Los Angeles. Phase three began in 1986, following Viacom's purchase of MTV from Warner Amex and the departure of Robert Pittman as president and CEO. Pittman had been largely responsible for leading MTV down the programming path of flow and narrowcasting. By 1986, however, MTV's ratings were in decline as a result of a *too*-narrow musical palette.

Throughout its so-called third phase, MTV has diversified its musical offerings, most notably into rap, dance music, and heavy metal. To some extent these genres have been segregated into their own program slots (*Yo! MTV Raps*, *Club MTV*, and *Headbangers' Ball*, respectively). At the same time, the move toward discrete programs has increasingly become a move away from music video. In the process, MTV has become more like a full-service network, offering news, sports, sitcoms, documentaries, cartoons, game shows,

and other traditional TV fare. Often these programs are also musical in some sense (*Beavis and Butt-Head*), but sometimes they are not (reruns of *Speed Racer*).

Some of the displaced musical content of MTV, especially soft rock and other "adult" music, has landed on VH1 (Video Hits 1), a second video channel owned by MTV. Launched in 1985, VH-1 (hyphenated until 1994) quickly acquired a reputation as "video valium" for yuppies. Otherwise, the channel has had an indistinct image and has languished in the shadow of MTV. Makeovers in 1989 and (especially) 1994 raised the network's profile. By 1994 VH1 was playing slightly harder music and "breaking" recording artists, most notably Melissa Etheridge.

MTV and VH1 are by far the most important outlets for music-video programming in the United States. Many competing services have fallen by the wayside, while BET (Black Entertainment Television), CMT (Country Music Television), and TNN (The Nashville Network) are probably the most important survivors as of 1995. These networks specialize in black programming and country and western, which means that they compete only in a limited way with MTV and VH1.

Music video and MTV are major ingredients of television programming internationally. MTV Europe, launched in 1987, was followed by an Asian service in 1991 and MTV Latino in 1993. VH1 seems poised to follow a similar course, having established a European service in 1994.

Both economically and aesthetically, MTV has wrought major changes in the entertainment industries. By combining music with television in a new way, MTV has charted a path for both industries (and movies as well) into a future of postmodern synergy.

—Gary Burns

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See also *Beavis and Butt-Head*; Music on Television; Pittman, Robert

## MUST CARRY RULES

### U.S. Cable Regulation

**M**ust-carry rules, which mandate that cable companies carry various local and public television stations within a cable provider's service area, have a long and dramatic history since their inception in 1972. Designed originally to insure that local television stations did not lose market share with increased competition from cable networks competing for a limited number of cable channels, must-carry rules have, over time, been ruled unconstitutional and gone through numerous changes.

When first passed in 1972, the must-carry rules required that cable companies provide channels for all local broadcasters within a 60-mile (later changed to 50-mile) radius of the cable company's service area. In the mid-1980s, various cable companies, including superstation WTBS owner Turner Broadcasting, brought suit against the FCC, claiming the rules were unconstitutional. In 1985 and 1987, the U.S. Court of Appeals found that must-carry rules did, indeed, violate the First Amendment. From then until 1992, stations were only required to carry public television signals and provide subscribers with an option for an A/B switch to allow access to local broadcast signals. This change bode particularly ill for small UHF stations, whose cable carriers could replace them with stronger, more desirable superstations.

The 1992 Communications Act, while still requiring carriage of local commercial and public stations, allowed cable companies to drop redundant carriage of signals, where stations within the service area duplicated programming (for example, two stations within a fifty mile radius carrying the same network or two college public broadcasting stations both carrying PBS). More confusion resulted when, in October 1994, the FCC gave stations a choice of being carried under the must-carry rules or under a new regulation requiring cable companies to obtain retransmission consent before carrying a broadcast signal. The retransmission consent ruling gave desirable local stations increased power to negotiate the terms of carriage the cable company would provide, including channel preference.

Must-carry rules were still in effect upon passage of the 1996 Telecommunications Act—and still being challenged by cable companies. None of the must-carry rules effect cable retransmission of FM radio signals.

—Michael B. Kassel

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See also Cable Television; Distant Signal; Federal Communications Commission

## MY LITTLE MARGIE

### U.S. Situation Comedy

The wacky women who dominated 1950s television comedy did not begin with Lucille Ball (Gracie Allen and Imogene Coca predated her TV debut), but the phenomenal success of Ball in *I Love Lucy* surely inspired a grand assortment of imitations on the small screen. Soon after Lucy's TV premier, programs like *I Married Joan* with Joan Davis, *Life with Elizabeth* with Betty White, and *My Friend Irma* with Marie Wilson premiered, all centered around the doings of various "wacky wives" with staid, even dull, husbands. Drawing on similar conventions was one of the most successful sitcoms of the 1950s, *My Little Margie*.

*My Little Margie* presented 21-year-old Margie Albright, who lived with her widowed father Vernon in a New York City penthouse. Mr. Albright worked as an executive for the investment counseling firm Honeywell and Todd, and was perpetually in fear of losing "the big account" because of Margie's meddling. Rounding out the cast were Freddie, Margie's "boyfriend," elderly neighbor Mrs. Odetts, Roberta Townsend, Vern's lady friend, George Honeywell, president of Honeywell and Todd, and Charlie, the black elevator operator (depicted as a sad African-American stereotype, typical of TV at that time).

The program starred Gale Storm (31 when she began in the role), a former film actress noted for her roles in westerns playing opposite Roy Rogers. Vernon was played by Charles Farrell, formerly a highly successful silent film leading man. The program premiered in 1952 as a last minute summer replacement for *I Love Lucy* but proved so popular, landing consistently in the top five, it was renewed for fall and ran for three seasons.

The title *My Little Margie* can certainly be taken in such a way as to be demeaning to women: "my" indicating the possession of someone as if they were a thing, and "little" a somewhat inaccurate and condescending term for a twenty-one-year-old woman. Nevertheless, it has been noted that the premise of *My Little Margie* was in other ways rather progressive. First, Margie was a single woman at a time when most women on television were conventionally married. Second, the Albrights were slightly different from the normal nuclear families then being depicted on TV. The widowed father and his daughter were frequently involved in stories designed around the two taking on and exploring roles not their own, duties and responsibilities which conventionally would have been handled by the now absent mother. Additionally, Margie, though "of marrying age," is

seldom depicted as eager to walk down the aisle. Though she had a steady boyfriend in neighbor Freddie Wilson, few sparks ever flew between them. Margie was always too busy for her own romance, usually busy launching schemes to keep gold diggers away from her single dad. Margie's self-chosen single status and irrepressible individuality make her, in some respects, one of TV's pre-feminism feminists. Week after week, despite what her father and other men around her wanted or expected her to do, Margie did her own thing, engaging in outrageous acts and everyday rebellions, as Gloria Steinem would later refer to them.

Yet, despite the presence of such advanced notions, in practice *Margie* rarely chose to develop them. Produced by the Hal Roach Studios, the series had access to all the studio's



My Little Margie

haunted houses sets and breakaway props and frequently fell back on the Roach's stock and trade—slapstick. The program got most of its mileage from Storm's enchanting charm, her wardrobe (provided by Junior House of Milwaukee, almost always with a fetching, matching hat), and her frequently performed trademark "Margie gurgle," a rolling of the throat it seemed only Storm could produce.

*My Little Margie* had absolutely no critical support. From its premier, every newspaper dismissed the show as silly. Yet it had enough fan devotion to secure a highly rated run, making it one of the first shows to survive on audience support alone. Moreover, it was the only television program to reverse the usual media history and make the jump from the small screen to the audio airwaves; an original radio version (also starring Storm and Farrell) aired for two years. Its popularity is also attested to by the fact that *Margie* was one of the most widely syndicated programs of the 1950s and 1960s. It even proved popular enough to air on Saturday mornings, perhaps acknowledging Margie's near-cartoonish antics before a new and loyal audience among kids.

—Cary O'Dell

#### CAST

*Margie Albright* . . . . . Gale Storm  
*Vernon Albright* . . . . . Charles Farrell  
*Roberta Townsend* . . . . . Hillary Brooke

*Freddie Wilson* . . . . . Don Hayden  
*George Honeywell* . . . . . Clarence Kolb  
*Mrs. Odets* . . . . . Gertrude Hoffman  
*Charlie* . . . . . Willie Best

**PRODUCER** Hal Roach, Jr.

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 126 episodes

#### • CBS

June 1952–September 1952	Monday 9:00-9:30
January 1953–July 1953	Thursday 10:00-10:30

#### • NBC

October 1952–November 1952	Saturday 7:30-8:00
September 1953–August 1955	Wednesday 8:30-9:00

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## MY THREE SONS

### U.S. Domestic Comedy

Created by Don Fedderson and *Leave It to Beaver* alumnus George Tibbles, *My Three Sons* was one of television's longest running and most influential domestic comedies. The program was conceived originally as a television vehicle for Fred MacMurray, (who owned 50% of the program), when Fedderson was approached by Chevrolet to develop a program that was "representative of America." During its twelve-year run, the program averaged a respectable, but not spectacular, 22.2 rating and a 35% share, and underwent enormous narrative and character changes. It is most significant for its development of a star-friendly shooting schedule and for its redefinition of the composition of the television family.

Before he agreed to his contract, Fred MacMurray queried veteran television performer Robert Young about Young's workload. Upon Young's complaint about television's time-consuming schedule, MacMurray insisted on a unique shooting plan that was to be copied by other top actors and christened "the MacMurray Method." This so-called "writer's nightmare" stipulated that all of MacMurray's scenes were to be shot in 65 non-consecutive days. All other actors had to complete their fill-in shots while MacMurray was on vacation. Practically speaking, this meant the series had to stockpile at least half a season's scripts

before the season ever began so that MacMurray's role could be shot during his limited work days. The repercussions of this schedule were enormous. Guest-stars often had to return nine months later to finish filming an episode; MacMurray's co-stars had their hair cut weekly so as to avoid any continuity discrepancies (MacMurray wore a toupee); and any unforeseen event (a sudden growth spurt, a guest-star's death) could cause catastrophe. Often times, the producers were forced to film MacMurray in scriptless episodes, and then construct a script around his very generalized monologues. Frequently, to avoid complication, the writers simply placed his character "out of town," so that there are an inordinate number of episodes in which Steve Douglas communicates to his family only by telephone. Despite the hardship on writers, directors and co-stars, the MacMurray method was adapted by a number of film stars (like Jimmy Stewart and Henry Fonda) as a conditional requirement for their work in a television series.

The program's narrative concept has proven equally influential. Until 1960 most family comedies were centered on strictly nuclear groupings—mom, dad and biological children. While an occasional *Bachelor Father*, or *The Bob Cummings Show* might focus on the comedic exploits of an unmarried adult raising a niece or nephew, most programs, from *I Love*



My Three Sons

*Lucy* to *Father Knows Best*, depicted the humorous tribulations of two-parent households and their biological offspring. *My Three Sons* initiated what was to become a popular trend in television—that of the widowed parent raising a family. While initial director Peter Tewksbury called the premise a truly depressing one, producers Tibbles and Fedderson chose to ignore the potential for pathos and flung themselves whole-

heartedly into the comedic consequences of a male-only household. Ironically (some might even say with more than a touch of misogyny), the bulk of the program's first five years did not focus on the stereotypical male ineptitude for all household chores, but instead continually reinforced the notion that males were, in fact, far domestically superior to the "hysterical" female guest stars.

During the course of its twelve-year run, *My Three Sons* functioned, in essence, as three successive programs with different casts, writers, and directors. For its first five seasons, the program was shot in black and white, aired on CBS and focused on Steve Douglas (MacMurray), aerospace consultant, who, along with his father-in-law, Bub O'Casey (William Frawley), has struggled for the past seven years to raise Steve's three motherless sons—eighteen-year-old Mike, fourteen-year-old Robbie and seven-year-old Chip. The show was directed and produced by *Father Knows Best* alumnus Peter Tewksbury. The first year of the program is by far the series' darkest, dealing explicitly with how a family survives, and even thrives, in the event of maternal loss. In its second season, George Tibbles took over, moving the program more toward situation comedy and inserting multiple slapstick-type episodes into the mix. From the third season onward, Ed Hartmann's role as producer redirected the program yet again, to a heavily moralistic, but light-hearted look at generational and gender conflicts. In addition, Hartmann's long-standing friendship with members of the Asian community contributed to an unusual number of episodes dealing with the Chinese and Japanese friends of the Douglas family, granting television visibility and respect to a previously neglected minority group.

When ABC refused to finance the series' switch to color production, the program moved to the CBS network, losing two cast members in an unrelated series of events. First, in the midst of the 1964-65 season, terminally ill William Frawley's \$300,000 insurance policy was canceled and Don Fedderson was forced to replace Bub O'Casey with "Uncle Charley," a role played by William Demarest for the program's remaining seven years. Next, an argument with Don Fedderson over Tim Considine's desire to direct resulted in the actor's departure from the program. As eldest son Mike was written out of the series with a fictionalized "move to California," the producers chose a new third son, Ernie, as a replacement. With no regard for narrative plausibility, the producers created a three-part episode in which Chip's best friend Ernie loses his parents in a car crash, suddenly becomes two years younger, and is adopted by Steve as the youngest member of the Douglas family.

Two years later, the program experienced its third incarnation when the Douglas family moved from the fictional Bryant Park to Southern California. Here, Robbie was to romance and wed Katie, and Steve was to end his long-term widowerhood by marrying Barbara and adopting her small daughter. For the program's remaining years, the narrative focused on blended families, Chip's romantic escapades and eventual elopement, and Robbie's triplets, where the premise of three sons promised to continue indefinitely.

The series' influence was demonstrated by the quick succession of single-parent households that were to dominate television's comedy schedule for the next decade. *Family Affair*, *The Courtship of Eddie's Father*, *Flipper*, *Nanny and the Professor* all featured eligible bachelors burdened with raising their own (or a relative's offspring) with the help of an adept elderly man

or desirable young woman. All of these series worked to erase the necessity of the maternal, as the family operated in an emotionally secure and supremely healthy environment without benefit of the long since dead mother. While there were occasional widow-with-children programs (*The Ghost and Mrs. Muir*, *Julia*), these women were not granted the same versatility of their male counterparts, and were forced to turn to strong male figures (dead ship's captains and doctors, respectively) for continual guidance.

While the 1980s witnessed a regeneration of television's nuclear family, the legacy of *My Three Sons* dominated, and for every *Cosby*, there was a *Full House*, *My Two Dads* or *Brothers*. By the 1990s one would be hard-pressed to find any family show that wasn't a single-parent family, a family with adopted children, or a blended arrangement of two distinct families—all configurations which owe their genesis in some way to *My Three Sons*.

—Nina C. Leibman

#### CAST

<i>Steve Douglas</i> . . . . .	Fred MacMurray
<i>Mike Douglas</i> (1960–65) . . . . .	Tim Considine
<i>Robbie Douglas</i> (1960–71) . . . . .	Don Grady
<i>Chip Douglas</i> . . . . .	Stanley Livingston
<i>Michael Francis "Bub" O'Casey</i> (1960–65) . . . . .	William Frawley
<i>Uncle Charley O'Casey</i> (1965–72) . . . . .	William Demarest
<i>Jean Pearson</i> (1960–61) . . . . .	Cynthia Pepper
<i>Mr. Henry Pearson</i> (1960–61) . . . . .	Robert P. Lieb
<i>Mrs. Florence Pearson</i> (1960–61) . . . . .	Florence MacMichael
<i>Hank Ferguson</i> (1961–63) . . . . .	Peter Brooks
<i>Sudsy Pfeiffer</i> (1961–63) . . . . .	Ricky Allen
<i>Mrs. Pfeiffer</i> (1961–63) . . . . .	Olive Dunbar
<i>Mr. Pfeiffer</i> (1961–63) . . . . .	Olan Soule
<i>Sally Ann Morrison Douglas</i> (1963–65) . . . . .	Meredith MacRae
<i>Ernie Thompson Douglas</i> (1963–72) . . . . .	Barry Livingston
<i>Katie Miller Douglas</i> (1967–72) . . . . .	Tina Cole
<i>Dave Welch</i> (1965–67) . . . . .	John Howard
<i>Dodie Harper Douglas</i> (1969–72) . . . . .	Dawn Lyn
<i>Barbara Harper Douglas</i> (1969–72) . . . . .	Beverly Garland
<i>Steve Douglas, Jr.</i> , (1970–72) . . . . .	Joseph Todd
<i>Charley Douglas</i> (1970–72) . . . . .	Michael Todd
<i>Robbie Douglas II</i> (1970–72) . . . . .	Daniel Todd
<i>Fergus McBain Douglas</i> (1971–72) . . . . .	Fred MacMurray
<i>Terri Dowling</i> (1971–72) . . . . .	Anne Francis
<i>Polly Williams Douglas</i> (1970–72) . . . . .	Ronne Troup

**PRODUCERS** Don Fedderson, Edmund Hartmann, Fred Henry, George Tibbles

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 369 Episodes

#### • ABC

September 1960–September 1963	Thursday 9:00-9:30
September 1963–September 1965	Thursday 8:30-9:00

## • CBS

September 1965–August 1967	Thursday 8:30-9:00
September 1967–September 1971	Saturday 8:30-9:00
September 1971–December 1971	Monday 10:00-10:30
January 1972–August 1972	Thursday 8:30-9:00

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See also Comedy, Domestic Settings

# N

## NAKED CITY

U.S. Police Drama

**N***aked City*, which had two incarnations between 1958 and 1963, was one of American television's most innovative police shows, and one of its most important and influential drama series. More character anthology than police procedural, the series blended the urban *policier* à la *Dragnet* with the urban pathos of the *Studio One* school of television drama, offering a mix of action-adventure and Actors' Studio, car chases and character studies, shoot-outs and sociology, all filmed with arresting starkness on the streets of New York.

The series was inspired by the 1948 "semi-documentary" feature, *The Naked City* (which borrowed its title from the photographic collection by urban documentarist/crime photographer Weegee). Independent producer Herbert Leonard (*The Adventures of Rin-Tin-Tin*, *Tales of the 77th Bengal Lancers*, *Circus Boy*) developed the idea as a half-hour series for Screen Gems, hiring writer Stirling Silliphant for the pilot script. Leonard outlined his plan for the series to *Variety* in 1958 as an attempt to tell anthology-style stories within the framework of a continuing-character show. It was to be "a human interest series about New York," the producer declared, "told through the eyes of two law enforcement officers." Leonard's agenda for the series' setting was equally unique: it would be shot completely on location in New York, duplicating the trend-setting realism of its feature film progenitor. This was an ambitious, if not radical, move at this moment in television history, for although New York still retained a significant presence as the site of variety shows, a few live anthologies, and the quiz programs, no other telefilm dramas were being produced there at the time.

*Naked City*'s first season on ABC presented 39 taut, noirish half-hours (31 scripted by Silliphant) that mixed character drama, suspense, and action. The characters for the series' two regular detectives were carried over from the feature film: Lt. Dan Muldoon (John McIntire), the seasoned veteran, and his idealistic young subordinate, Detective Jim Halloran (James Franciscus). When creative differences arose between McIntire and Leonard at mid-season, Muldoon was written out of the series via a fiery car crash, and replaced as the 65th Precinct's father-figure by crusty Lt. Mike Parker (Horace MacMahon). The show's signature was its narrator, who introduced each episode with the assurance that the series was not filmed

in a studio, but "in the streets and buildings of New York itself," and returned thirty minutes later to intone the series' famous tag-line (also borrowed from the feature): "There are eight million stories in the Naked City. This has been one of them."

Despite an Emmy nomination for Best Drama, *Naked City*'s downbeat dramatics did not generate adequate ratings, and it was canceled. Unlike other failed shows, however, *Naked City* was not forgotten. In the fall of 1959 one of the show's former sponsors urged producer Leonard to mount *Naked City* for the following season in hour-long form. The sponsor's interest led ABC to finance the pilot, and in fall 1960 Leonard was at the helm of two hour-long prime-time drama series (the other being *Route 66* at CBS).

New York remained the show's most distinctive star, and extensive location shooting remained its trademark. Horace MacMahon returned as Lt. Parker, but with a different compassionate young colleague, Detective Adam



Naked City

Flint (Paul Burke), who was partnered with good-natured Sgt. Frank Arcaro (Harry Bellaver), and engaged to aspiring actress Libby Kingston (Nancy Malone). Silliphant wrote the pilot, and stayed on as executive story consultant, but wrote fewer scripts due to his heavy involvement with *Route 66*. Leonard brought in anthology veteran Howard Rodman as story editor and frequent scripter, and was able to attract other writers with a penchant for social drama, including anthology alumni like Ernest Kinoy and Mel Goldberg, Hollywood blacklistees such as Arnold Manoff (writing as "Joel Carpenter"), Abram Ginnes, and Ben Maddow—and budding TV auteurs like Gene Roddenberry.

With a company of serious writers and more time for story and character development, *Naked City*'s anthology flavor became even more pronounced. Stories became more character-driven, with a more central focus on transient characters (i.e., "guest stars"), and more extended psychological exploration. This dimension of the show was informed by a distinctive roster of guest stars, from well-known Hollywood performers like Claude Rains and Lee J. Cobb, and character players like Eli Wallach, Maureen Stapleton, and Walter Matthau, to such up-and-coming talents as Diahann Carroll and Dustin Hoffman. A 1962 *Time* profile called the series' array of stars "the best evidence that *Naked City* is not just another cop show." Its stories provided even stronger evidence. *Naked City*'s structure placed less emphasis on investigation and police work than did police-procedurals in the *Dragnet* mold—and less emphasis on the detectives themselves. As Todd Gitlin has put it, on *Naked City* "the regular cops faded into the background while the foreground belonged to each week's new character in the grip of the city."

With its stories generally emphasizing the points-of-view of the criminals, victims, or persons-in-crisis, *Naked City* exhibited a more complicated and ambiguous vision of morality and justice than traditional *policiers*, where good and bad were clear-cut. Most of the characters encountered by Flint and Arcaro were simply people with problems, who stumbled up against the law by accident or ill fortune; when the occasional hit man, bank robber, or jewel thief was encountered, they too were humanized, their motives and psyches probed. However, sociopaths and career crooks were far outnumbered by more mundane denizens of the naked city, thrust into crisis by circumstance: an innocent ex-con accused of murder; a disfigured youth living in the shadows of the tenements; a Puerto Rican immigrant worn down by poverty and unemployment; a lonely city bureaucrat overcome by suicidal despair; a junior executive who kills over a parking space; a sightless boy on an odyssey through the streets of Manhattan. Eight million stories—or at least 138 as dramatized in this series—rooted in the sociology and psychology of human pain.

*Naked City* revised the traditional cop-show commitment to crime and punishment. Unlike their prime-time counterparts Joe Friday and Eliot Ness, Detectives Flint and Arcaro did not toil in the grim pursuit of "facts" with which

to solve cases and incarcerate criminals. Rather, they pondered human puzzles, bore witness to suffering, and meditated on the absurdities of urban existence. With compassion more typical of TV doctors than TV detectives, they brought justice to the innocent, helped lost souls fit back into society, and agonized over broken lives they could not fix. Indeed, as critic David Boroff put it in an essay on "TV's Problem Play," the detectives of *Naked City* were "as much social workers as cops."

Whereas every episode of *Dragnet* ended with the record of a trial (and usually a conviction), *Naked City* was seldom able to resolve its stories quite so easily. The series offered narrative closure, but no easy answers; it did not pretend to solve social problems, nor did it mute, defuse, or mask them. Although some episodes ended with guarded hope, happy endings were rare; resolutions were just as likely to be framed in melancholy bemusement or utter despair. *Naked City*'s "solution" was to admit that there are no solutions—at least none that could be articulated in the context of its own dramatic agenda. "One of its strengths," wrote Boroff in 1966, "was that it said nothing which is neatly paraphraseable. It was, in truth, Chekhovian in its rueful gaze at people in the clutch of disaster. *Naked City* was, in essence, a compassionate—not a savage—eye. This I have seen, it said."

*Naked City* was one of ABC's most prestigious shows during the early sixties, nominated for "Outstanding Achievement in Drama" Emmy every season it was on the air, and winning several Emmys for editing and cinematography. The series was canceled at the end of the 1962–63 season, but its influence was already clear. In its day, it paved the way for the serious, urban dramas that followed a la *The Defenders*, and *East Side, West Side*, and sparked a modest renaissance in New York telefilm production in the early sixties. At a larger level, it experimented with the formal definition of the series, demonstrated that complex drama could be done within the series format, and expanded the aesthetic horizons of the police show. Echoing Weegee's photographic studies, which captured the faces of New York in the glare of a camera flash, television's *Naked City* offered narrative portraits, exposed through the equally revealing light of the writer's imagination. Ultimately both versions of *Naked City* are less about society or a city than *people*, which is why the portraits are often disturbing, and always fascinating.

—Mark Alvey

#### CAST

*Detective Lieutenant Dan Muldoon* (1958–59) . . . . . John McIntire  
 . . . . .  
*Detective Lieutenant Jim Halloran* (1958–59) . . . . .  
 . . . . . James Franciscus  
*Janet Halloran* (1958–59) . . . . . Suzanne Storrs  
*Patrolman/Sergeant Frank Arcaro* . . . . . Harry Bellaver  
*Lieutenant Mike Parker* (1959–63) . . . . . Horace McMahon  
*Detective Adam Flint* (1960–63) . . . . . Paul Burke  
*Libby* (1960–63) . . . . . Nancy Malone



**PRODUCERS** Herbert B. Leonard, Charles Russell

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 138 Episodes

• ABC

September 1958–September 1959 Tuesday 9:30–10:00  
October 1960–September 1963 Wednesday 10:00–11:00

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Boroff, David. "Television and the Problem Play." In, Hazard, Patrick D., editor. *TV as Art*. Champaign, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1966.  
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Johnson, B. "Naked City." *TV Guide* (Radnor, Pennsylvania), 16 May 1959.

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"Naked City Gets New ABC-TV Lease, This Time as a Full-Hour Entry." *Variety* (Los Angeles), 28 October 1959.

"Naked City More Like a Naked Nightmare (Now It Can Be Told)." *Variety* (Los Angeles), 12 June 1963.

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Rowan, Arthur. "We Travel Light and We Travel Fast." *American Cinematographer* (Hollywood, California), August 1959.

Silliphant, Stirling, Papers, UCLA Special Collections.

"We Can Make 'Em Just as Cheap or Cheaper in N.Y.: Herb Leonard." *Variety* (Los Angeles) 26 February 1958.

See also Leonard, Herbert; Police Programs; Silliphant, Sterling

## THE NAME OF THE GAME

### U.S. Adventure/Mystery Series

**T**he *Name of the Game* occupies a unique place in the history of prime-time television. Notable for the ambitious scope and social relevance of its stories and for its innovative 90-minute anthology format, the series was perhaps most influential in its lavish production values, which aimed to recreate the audio-visual complexity of the movies. In 1969 *TV Guide* reported that the show's budget of \$400,000 per episode made *The Name of the Game* the most expensive television program in history. The series also functioned as a kind of apprentice field for writers and directors who later achieved great success, including Steven Bochco, Marvin Chomsky, Leo Penn and Steven Spielberg.

The two-hour pilot film for the series, *Fame Is the Name of the Game*, was broadcast in 1966 as the first *World Premiere Movie*, a weekly series of made-for-television films produced by Universal Studios for NBC. The series itself, which premiered in 1968, retained the fluid, quick-cutting visual texture of the pilot and added a pulsating jazz theme by Dave Grusin. Tony Franciosa, star of the pilot film, returned to the series as Jeff Dillon, ace reporter for *People Magazine*, in a rotation every third week with Gene Barry and Robert Stack. Barry played a Henry Luce-type media mogul, Glenn Howard, chief executive officer of Howard Publications, while Stack—in a role intended to recall his performance as Eliot Ness, the crime-fighting hero of *The Untouchables*—played Dan Farrell, a retired FBI agent now

a writer-editor on *Crime Magazine*. Providing continuity, Susan St. James appeared in every episode as Peggy Maxwell, who remained a research assistant and aide-de-camp to the male stars through the run of the series despite her Ph.D. in archaeology and her knowledge of five languages.

Because each episode was essentially a self-contained film, the series offered a rich venue for performers and served as something of a refuge for movie actors drawn to television by the breakdown of the Hollywood studios and the disappearance of the B-movie. Movie actors who appeared in the series included Dana Andrews, Anne Baxter, Charles Boyer, Joseph Cotton, Broderick Crawford, Yvonne DeCarlo, Jose Ferrer, Farley Granger, John Ireland, Van Johnson, Janet Leigh, Ida Lupino, Kevin McCarthy, Ray Milland, Gene Raymond, Mickey Rooney, and Barry Sullivan.

One of the first television programs to deal directly with the increasing social and political turbulence of the late 1960s, *The Name of the Game* regularly confronted such topics as the counter culture, racial conflict, the sexual revolution, political corruption, environmental pollution. Its ideology was a muddled if revealing strain of Hollywood liberalism, and its rotating heroes, especially Gene Barry's elegant corporate aristocrat, were enlightened professionals who used the power of their media conglomerate to right injustice and defend the powerless. If many episodes ended on a reformist note of muted affirmation for an America shown to be flawed, but resil-

ient and ultimately fixable, individual scenes and performances often dramatized social evils, injustice, moral and political corruption with a vividness and truthfulness rare in television during this period.

As it continued, the series became more imaginative and unpredictable, experimenting at times with unusual and challenging formats. "Little Bear Died Running" (first broadcast 6 November 1970), written by Edward J. Lakso, uses a complex strategy of multiple flashbacks to reconstruct the murder of a Native American by a "legal" posse, in the process powerfully exposing the racist attitudes of an apparently enlightened white culture. "Appointment in Palermo" (26 February 1971), directed by Ben Gazzara, is a zany, affectionate parody of the godfather genre, its comedy notably sharpened by a clever use of actors familiar to us from straight gangster films: Gabriel Dell, Brenda Vacarro, Harry Guardino, John Marley and Joe De Santis. In "Los Angeles 2017" (15 January 1971), Glenn Howard falls into a nightmare of ecological disaster, in which a vestigial American population survives beneath the polluted surface of the earth in USA, Inc., a regimented society run by a corporate elite. This notable episode was directed by Steven Spielberg from a thoughtful screenplay by Philip Wylie.

Even in its less imaginative and intellectually ambitious episodes, *The Name of the Game* held to consistently high standards of production and acting. Both in its formal excellence and in the intermittent but genuine seriousness of its subject matter, the show brought a new maturity to television and deserves recognition as an enabling precursor of the strongest prime-time programming of the 1970s and 1980s.

—David Thorburn

#### CAST

Glenn Howard . . . . . Gene Barry  
 Dan Farrell . . . . . Robert Stack  
 Jeff Dillon . . . . . Tony Franciosa  
 Peggy Maxwell . . . . . Susan St. James  
 Joe Sample . . . . . Ben Murphy  
 Andy Hill . . . . . Cliff Potter  
 Ross Craig . . . . . Mark Miller

**PRODUCERS** Richard Irving, Richard Levinson, William Link, Leslie Stevens, George Eckstein, Dean Hargrove

## NARROWCASTING

In the earlier days of American television, the three major networks (NBC, CBS, and ABC) dominated programming, and each sought to obtain the widest audience possible. They avoided programming content that might appeal only to a small segment of the mass population and suc-



The Name of the Game

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

• NBC

September 1968–September 1971      Friday 8:30-10:00

#### FURTHER READING

Gianakos, Larry James. *Television Drama Series Programming: A Comprehensive Chronicle, 1959–1975*. Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow, 1978.  
 Perry, Jeb H. *Universal Television: The Studio and Its Programs, 1950–1980*. Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow, 1983.

See also Detective Programs; Movies on Television

ceeded in their goal by reaching nearly 90% (combined) of the television viewing audience on a regular basis.

The networks maintained their stronghold until competition emerged through the addition of many independent stations, the proliferation of cable channels and the popular-

ity of videocassettes. These competitors provided television audiences with many more viewing options. Consequently, the large numbers previously achieved through mass-oriented programming dwindled and "narrowcasting" took hold.

With narrowcasting the programmer or producer assumes that only a limited number of people or a specific demographic group will be interested in the subject matter of a program. In many ways, this is the essence of cable television's programming strategy. Following the format or characteristics of specialized magazines, a cable television program or channel may emphasize one subject or a few closely related subjects. For example, music television is presented on MTV (Music Television), VH1 (Video Hits One), and TNN (The Nashville Network); CNN (Cable News Network) offers 24-hour news coverage; ESPN (Entertainment Sports Network) boasts an all sports format; and C-SPAN covers the U.S. Congress. Other cable channels feature programming such as shopping, comedy, science-fiction, or programs aimed at specific ethnic or gender groups highly prized by specific advertisers.

For the most part, the major networks continue to gear their programming to the general mass audience. But increasingly, they, too, are engaged in forms of narrowcasting by segmenting similar programs that appeal to specific groups into adjacent time slots. A network, for example, might target young viewers by programming back-to-back futuristic space programs on one night, while on a different night, feature an ensemble of ethnic-oriented programs. This strategy allows the networks to reach the overall mass audience cumulatively rather than simultaneously.

In the United States, then, narrowcasting is driven by economic necessity and competition. In public service systems around the world, where broadcasting is supported by license fee, by tax, or by direct government support, there has never been the same need to reach the largest possible

audience. As a consequence, programming for special groups—e.g. children, the elderly, ethnic or religious groups—has been standard practice. Ironically, the same technologies that bring competition to commercial broadcasters in the United States cause similar difficulties for public service broadcasters. In those systems new, commercially supported programming delivered by satellite and cable often draws audiences away from public service offerings. Government officials and elected officers become reluctant to provide scarce public funds to broadcasters whose audiences are becoming smaller, forcing public service programmers to reach for larger audiences with different types of program content. While multiple program sources—cable, home video—make it unlikely that these systems will move toward "mass audience programming," it is the case that the face of broadcasting is changing in these contexts.

—Kimberly B. Massey

#### FURTHER READING

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Vane, Edwin T., and Lynn S. Gross. *Programming for TV, Radio, and Cable*. Boston, Massachusetts: Focal Press, 1994.

Waterman, David. "'Narrowcasting' and 'Broadcasting' on Nonbroadcast Media: A Program Choice Model." *Communication Research* (Newbury Park, California), February 1993.

See also Cable Networks; Demographics; Market; Mass Communication

## NASH, KNOWLTON

Canadian Broadcast Journalist

One of the most recognizable personalities in Canadian television, Knowlton Nash inhabits a truly unique space in news and public affairs broadcasting. Nash began his career in journalism at an early age working in the late 1940s as a copy editor for the wire service British United Press. In three short years Nash worked in Toronto, Halifax, and later Vancouver, where he assumed the position of writer and bureau chief for the wire service. Soon thereafter Nash and his young family moved to Washington, where, after a few years working for the International Federation of Agricultural Producers, he began writing regular copy for the *Windsor Star*, *Financial Post*, and *Vancouver Sun*.

By 1958 Nash had become a regular correspondent for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC) Wash-

ington bureau, where in years to come he would interview key heads of state, including a succession of American presidents. For Canadians, Nash became a familiar face abroad during the heady days of the Cuban missile crisis, the war in Vietnam and the assassinations of the Kennedy brothers. Nash's international reports in many respects symbolized the growth and reach of the CBC's news departments over the globe.

In the early 1970s Nash accepted an appointment by the CBC as head of news and information programming. For many Canadians, however, Nash is universally recognized and respected for his work as anchor for the CBC's evening news program *The National*. In 1978 Nash played a pivotal role in transforming *The National* into a ratings

success for Canada's public broadcaster. Four years later Nash and *The National* solidified its place in the nation's daily routine when—against all traditions—it moved to the 10:00 P.M. time slot and added an additional half-hour news analysis segment entitled *The Journal*.

In April 1988, after ten years as anchor, Nash retired from *The National*. Benefiting from his unmatched wealth of experience in Canadian television journalism, Nash has taken on a number of projects since his so-called retirement. He periodically anchors the Friday and Saturday broadcasts of *The National* as well as the Sunday evening news program *Sunday Report*. Furthermore, Nash anchors both the CBC educational series *News in Review* and the highly acclaimed weekly documentary series *Witness*. On top of his duties in the field of electronic broadcasting and journalism, Nash has written a number of books, some quite controversial, on the history of broadcasting at the CBC.

—Greg Elmer

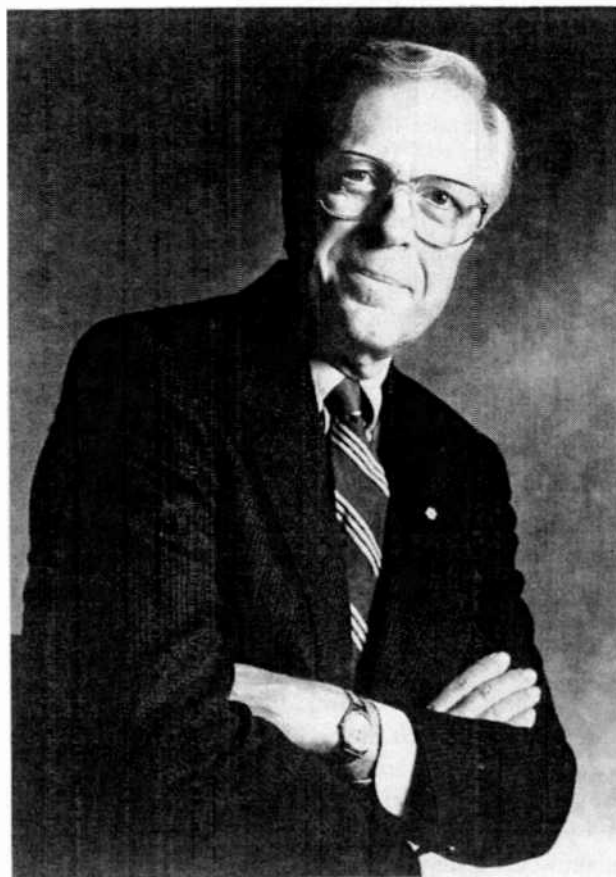
**KNOWLTON NASH.** Born in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 18 November 1927. Educated at the University of Toronto. Married: 1) Sylvia (died, 1980); 2) Lorraine Thomson, 1982, child: Anne. Began career as newspaper reporter for *Globe and Mail*, Toronto, Ontario, until 1947; manager, news bureau for British United Press News Service, 1947–51; worked for International Federation of Agricultural Producers, Washington D.C., director of information and representative at United Nations, 1951–61; freelance journalist, 1961–64; correspondent, CBC, Washington, D.C., 1964–68; director of information programming, CBC Radio and Television, Toronto, and director of television news and current affairs, 1968–78; chief correspondent and anchor, *The National*, 1978–88; senior correspondent and anchor, *News in Review* and *Sunday Report*, since 1988. Recipient: Order of Canada, 1988; John Drainie Award, 1995.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1960–64	<i>Inquiry</i> (expert on American views)
1966–67	<i>This Week</i> (host)
1976–88	<i>CTV National News</i>
1978–88	<i>The National</i> (newsreader)
1988–	<i>News in Review</i>
1988–	<i>Witness</i>

#### PUBLICATIONS

*History on the Run: The Trenchcoat Memoirs of a Foreign Correspondent.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1984.  
*Times to Remember.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986.



Knowlton Nash  
 Photo courtesy of Knowlton Nash

*Prime Time at Ten: Behind the Camera Battles of Canadian TV Journalism.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987.

*Kennedy and Diefenbaker: Fear and Loathing Across the Un-defended Border.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990.

*Visions of Canada.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991.

*Knowlton Nash's The Microphone Wars.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1994.

#### FURTHER READING

"Nash Tells All in Knowlton Nash's *The Microphone Wars*." *Calgary* (Canada) *Herald*, 24 November 1994.

"Nash to Get Media Prize—John Drainie Award." *Vancouver* (Canada) *Sun*, 10 February 1995.

See also Canadian Programming in English; *National/The Journal*

## THE NAT "KING" COLE SHOW

U.S. Musical Variety

**T**he Nat "King" Cole Show premiered on NBC as a fifteen-minute weekly musical variety show in November 1956. Cole, an international star as a jazz pianist and uniquely gifted vocalist, became the first major black performer to host a network variety series. It was a bruising experience for him, however, and an episode in television history that illuminates the state of race relations in the United States at the dawn of the modern civil rights movement.

Cole's first hit record, "Straighten Up and Fly Right," was recorded with his Nat "King" Cole Trio in 1944. By the mid-1950s he was a solo act—a top night-club performer with several million-selling records, including "Nature Boy," "Mona Lisa," and "Too Young." A frequent guest on variety programs such as those hosted by Perry Como, Milton Berle, Ed Sullivan, Dinah Shore, Jackie Gleason, and Red Skelton, Cole was in the mainstream of American show business. His performances delighted audiences and he seemed to be a natural for his own TV show, which he very much wanted.

Although he had experienced virulent racism in his life and career, Cole was reluctant to take on the role of a crusader. He was criticized by some for regularly performing in segregated-audience venues in the South, for instance. His bid for a TV show, however, brought with it a sense of mission. "It could be a turning point," he realized, "so that Negroes may be featured regularly on television." Yet, Cole understood, "If I try to make a big thing out of being the first and stir up a lot of talk, it might work adversely."

Cole originally signed a contract with CBS in 1956, but the promise of his own program never materialized on that network. Later in the year NBC reached an agreement with Cole's manager and agency, who packaged *The Nat "King" Cole Show*. The first broadcast, on 5 November 1956, aired without commercial sponsorship. NBC agreed to foot the bill for the program with the hope that advertisers would soon be attracted to the series. Cole felt confident a national sponsor would emerge, but his optimism was misplaced.

Advertising agencies were unable to convince national clients to buy time on *The Nat "King" Cole Show*. Advertisers were fearful that white Southern audiences would boycott their products. A representative of Max Factor cosmetics, a logical sponsor for the program, claimed that a "negro" couldn't sell lipstick for them. Cole was angered by the comment. "What do they think we use?" he asked. "Chalk? Congo paint?" "And what about a corporation like the telephone company?" Cole wondered. "A man sees a Negro on a television show. What's he going to do—call up the telephone company and tell them to take out the phone?" Occasionally, the show was purchased by Arrid deodorant and Rise shaving cream, but was most often sustained by NBC without sponsorship.

Despite the musical excellence of the program, which featured orchestra leader Nelson Riddle when the show was



The Nat "King" Cole Show

broadcast from Hollywood and Gordon Jenkins on weeks it originated from New York, *The Nat "King" Cole Show* suffered from anemic Nielsen ratings. Nonetheless, NBC decided to experiment. The network revamped the show in the summer of 1957 by expanding it to thirty minutes and increasing the production budget. Cole's many friends and admirers in the music industry joined him in a determined effort to keep the series alive. Performers who could command enormous fees, including Ella Fitzgerald, Peggy Lee, Mel Tormé, Pearl Bailey, Mahalia Jackson, Sammy Davis, Jr., Tony Bennett, and Harry Belafonte, appeared on *The Nat "King" Cole Show* for the minimum wage allowed by the union.

Ratings improved, but still no sponsors were interested in a permanent relationship with the series. Some advertisers purchased airtime in particular markets. For instance, in San Francisco, Italian Swiss Colony wine was an underwriter. In New York, it was Rheingold beer; in Los Angeles, Gallo wine and Colgate toothpaste; and Coca-Cola in Houston.

This arrangement, though, was not as lucrative to the network as single national sponsorship. So, when the Singer

Sewing Machine Company wanted to underwrite an adult western called *The Californians*, NBC turned over the time slot held by *The Nat "King" Cole Show*. The network offered to move Cole's program to a less expensive and less desirable place in the schedule—Saturdays at 7:00 P.M., but Cole declined the downgrade.

In the inevitable postmortem on the show, Cole praised NBC for its efforts. "The network supported this show from the beginning," he said. "From Mr. Sarnoff on down, they tried to sell it to agencies. They could have dropped it after the first thirteen weeks." The star placed the blame squarely on the advertising industry. "Madison Avenue," Cole said, "is afraid of the dark."

In an *Ebony* magazine article entitled "Why I Quit My TV Show," Cole expressed his frustration: "For 13 months I was the Jackie Robinson of television. I was the pioneer, the test case, the Negro first.... On my show rode the hopes and tears and dreams of millions of people.... Once a week for 64 consecutive weeks I went to bat for these people. I sacrificed and drove myself. I plowed part of my salary back into the show. I turned down \$500,000 in dates in order to be on the scene. I did everything I could to make the show a success. And what happened? After a trailblazing year that shattered all the old bugaboos about Negroes on TV, I found myself standing there with the bat on my shoulder. The men who dictate what Americans see and hear didn't want to play ball."

Singer and actress Eartha Kitt, one of the program's guest stars, reflected many years later on the puzzling lack of success of *The Nat "King" Cole Show*. "At that time I think it was dangerous," she said referring to Cole's sophisticated image in an era when the only blacks appearing on television regularly were those on the *Amos 'n' Andy* show, the *Beulah*

show, and Jack Benny's manservant, Rochester. Nat "King" Cole's elegance and interaction with white performers as equals stood in stark contrast. "I think it was too early," Kitt said, "to show ourselves off as intelligent people."

—Mary Ann Watson

#### REGULAR PERFORMERS

Nat "King" Cole  
The Boataneers (1953)  
The Herman McCoy Singers  
The Randy Van Horne Singers (1957)  
The Jerry Graft Singers (1957)  
The Cheerleaders (1957)  
Nelson Riddle and His Orchestra

**PRODUCER** Bob Henry

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

• NBC

November 1956–June 1957	Monday 7:30-7:45
July 1957–September 1957	Tuesday 10:00-10:30
September 1957–December 1957	Tuesday 7:30-8:00

#### FURTHER READING

Cole, Nat "King" (as told to Lerone Bennett, Jr.). "Why I Quit My TV Show." *Ebony* (Chicago), February 1958.  
Gourse, Leslie. *Unforgettable: The Life and Mystique of Nat King Cole*. New York: St. Martin's, 1991.  
MacDonald, J. Fred. *Blacks and White TV: Afro-Americans in Television since 1948*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1992.

See also Racism, Ethnicity, and Television

## NATION, TERRY

British Writer

**T**erry Nation is one of the most consistent writers of British genre television, having had a lasting impact on the development of science-fiction and action-adventure programs. Nation's contributions to such series as *The Saint*, *Doctor Who*, *Blake's Seven*, *The Avengers* and *MacGyver*, have built him an international fan following. Ironically, given that most of his television credits were for hour-long dramas, Nation got his start in comedy. At 25, he made his debut as a stage comedian, receiving poor response. If his performance skills were found lacking, his original material won an admirer in comedian Spike Milligan, who commissioned him to write scripts for the zany British comedy series, *The Goon Show*. Nation soon was developing material for Peter Sellers, Frankie Howerd, Tony Hancock, and an array of other comic stars. In all, he wrote more than 200 radio comedy scripts, before trying his hand on television in the early 1960s.

Some of his first work was for ITV's *Out of This World*, a science-fiction anthology series in 1962. The following year, Nation was asked to write one of the first story-lines for *Doctor Who*, then making its debut at the BBC. Nation's most important contribution to *Doctor Who* were the Daleks, the most popular (and heavily merchandised) villains in the series' history. Citing a childhood spent in Wales during World War II, Nation has said that he modeled the impersonal and unstoppable Daleks after the Nazis, seeing them as embodying "the unhearing, unthinking, blanked-out face of authority that will destroy you because it wants to destroy you." Nation continued to influence the development of the Daleks across a succession of story-lines and through two feature film spin-offs of the series, writing many of the Dalek scripts himself while serving as technical advisor on the others. He was subsequently responsible for the introduction of Davros, the wheelchair bound mad scientist who created the Daleks to serve his schemes for intergalactic domination.

Building on his success at *Doctor Who*, Terry Nation created two original science-fiction series: *The Survivors*, a post-nuclear apocalypse story, and *Blake's Seven*, a popular series about a group of freedom fighters struggling against a totalitarian multi-planetary regime. *Blake's Seven*, which he initially proposed as a science fiction version of *The Dirty Dozen*, remains a cult favorite to the present day, popular for its focus on character conflicts within the Liberator crew, its bleak vision of the future and of the prospects of overcoming political repression, its strongly-defined female characters, and the intelligence of its dialogue. The series sought an adult following that contrasted sharply with the *Doctor Who* audience which the BBC persisted in seeing as primarily composed of children. Nation wrote all 13 of the first season episodes of *Blake's Seven* and continued to contribute regularly throughout its second season, before being displaced as story editor by Chris Boucher, who pushed the series in an even darker and more pessimistic direction.

Nation's contributions to the detective genre are almost as significant as his influence on British science fiction. For a while, it seemed that Nation wrote for or was responsible for many of ITV's most popular adventure series. Nation wrote more than a dozen episodes of *The Saint*, the series starring Roger Moore as globe-trotting master thief/detective Simon Templar. *The Saint* enjoyed international success and was one of the few British imports to snag a prime-time slot on American television. Nation served as script editor and writer for *The Baron*, another ITV series about a jewel thief which built on *The Saint's* success. He was script editor for the final season of *The Avengers*, shaping the controversial transition from popular Emma Peel (Diana Rigg) to the less-beloved Tara King (Linda Thorson). He was script editor and associate producer for *The Persuaders*, another successful action-adventure series about two daredevil playboys who become "instruments of justice" under duress. He also contributed regularly to ITV's superhero series, *Champions*.

More recently, Nation shifted his focus onto American television, where he was a producer and writer for the first two seasons of *MacGyver*, an original and imaginative series dealing with a former special forces agent who solves crimes and battles evil through the use of resourceful engineering and tinkering tricks. *MacGyver* seemed to fit comfortably within the tradition of British action-adventure protagonists whom Nation helped to shape and develop.

Most of the best known writers of British television are recognized for their original dramas and social realism, but

Nation's reputation comes from his intelligent contributions to genre entertainment.

—Henry Jenkins

**TERRY NATION.** Born in the United Kingdom, 1930. Screenwriter for English and American television; creator of the Daleks which helped popularize *Doctor Who*, 1963; created *The Survivors*, 1975; created *Blake's Seven*, 1978, writing the entire first season and six later episodes, 1978–81; author.

#### TELEVISION SERIES (selection)

1961–69	<i>The Avengers</i>
1962–69	<i>The Saint</i>
1963–89	<i>Doctor Who</i>
1964–65;	
1968–69	<i>The Saint</i>
1969–71	<i>Champions</i>
1971–72	<i>The Persuaders</i>
1975–77	<i>The Survivors</i>
1978–81	<i>Blake's Seven</i>
1985–92	<i>MacGyver</i>

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

1974	<i>Color Him Dead</i>
1986	<i>A Masterpiece of Murder</i>

#### FILM

*The House in Nightmare Park* (1873)(also producer).

#### RADIO

*The Goon Show*.

#### PUBLICATIONS

*Rebecca's World: Journey to the Forbidden Planet*. London: G. Whizzard, 1975.

*Survivors*. London: Futura, 1976.

*The Official Doctor Who and the Daleks Book*, with John Peel. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988.

#### FURTHER READING

Haining, Peter. *Doctor Who, The Key to Time: A Year-by-Year Record*. London: W.H. Allen, 1984.

Tulloch, John, and Manuel Alvarado. *Doctor Who: The Unfolding Text*. New York: St. Martin's, 1983.

See also *Doctor Who*

## THE NATIONAL/THE JOURNAL

### Canadian News Broadcasts

**T**he *National News* and *The National* had been used for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC) English-language national newscasts since the 1950s. In 1982

CBC management made a bold decision to create a new, hour-long 10:00 P.M. national news and current-affairs bloc. A new program, *The Journal*, provided a nightly current-affairs





The National

*Photo courtesy of the National Archives of Canada*

component to the regular news report. By the 1980s, well over 80% of Canadian television households were cabled, and through their cable systems Canadian viewers had direct access to simultaneous transmission of the prime time schedules of the U.S. networks. The CBC's decision to move *The National* newscast from 11:00 P.M. to 10:00 P.M., along with the creation of *The Journal*, was controversial in that it was seen as both an unnecessary disruption of decades-old Canadian viewing habits, and a risky counter-programming strategy in the face of the success of U.S. prime time dramatic series in the Anglo-Canadian market.

Nevertheless, the new bloc was introduced in January 1982 with veteran CBC journalist Knowlton Nash as news-reader for the 22-minute *The National*, followed by *The Journal*, co-hosted by Barbara Frum and Mary Lou Finlay. Within a very short time, however, the new bloc received positive critical attention and the counter-programming strategy seemed successful. There was a substantial improvement in ratings over the old 11:00 P.M. newscast. While *The National*

continued to be produced by the same staff within CBC news, *The Journal* was developed by a new unit with CBC Current Affairs, under the direction of Executive Producer Mark Starowicz. Formally, *The Journal* innovated within Canadian current-affairs television in its mixing of short and long-form documentaries and double-ended interviews with politicians, experts, and commentators. It quickly became the key outlet for political and social debate in Anglo-Canadian media. The specific format varied from night to night, sometimes focusing on several stories and issues, sometimes providing in-depth coverage of single issues, or serving as the site of national policy debates between the major federal political parties.

While the 10:00 P.M. news and current-affairs bloc remained successful throughout the 1980s, there were recurrent tensions within the organization over questions of news judgment and resource allocation between the two separate production teams responsible for the programs. In 1992, Ivan Fecan, the CBC programming executive, introduced a new prime time schedule to the CBC, recreating *The Na-*

*tional* and *The Journal* as the *Prime-Time News*. He also moved the news and current-affairs hour to 9:00 P.M. as part of a re-programming of CBC prime time into a 7:00-9:00 P.M. "family" bloc and 10:00-12:00 P.M. "adult" bloc. The production of the new *Prime-Time News* was reorganized into a single production unit, both to overcome previous organization antagonisms, and to address budget constraints in a period of increasing austerity at the CBC. The move to 9:00 P.M. proved much less successful in ratings and the initial reformatting of news and current affairs within one program proved more difficult than was foreseen. By 1995 the scheduling of CBC prime time into "family" and "adult" blocs was abandoned and the news and current-affairs hour was returned to the 10:00-11:00 slot and renamed *The National*, including the current-affairs coverage under the

title of *The National Magazine*. The return to 10:00 P.M. once again proved successful as a counter-programming strategy for prime time competition from U.S. networks.

—Martin Allor

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See also Canadian Programming in English; Fecan, Ivan; Frum, Barbara; Nash, Knowlton; Starowicz, Mark

## NATIONAL ACADEMY OF TELEVISION ARTS AND SCIENCES

NATAS is the acronym for the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, a New York-based organization with 17 regional chapters or affiliates in many of the larger television markets. The organization is best known for its Emmy awards which are bestowed on both programs and individuals in a variety of categories

NATAS was organized in 1957 as an outgrowth of rivalry between two separate academies, one based in Los Angeles and the other in New York. The move to establish a single "national" academy was led by TV variety show host Ed Sullivan, who was elected its first president. The rival New York and Hollywood academies became "founding chapters" of the National Academy and additional chapters were later established in other cities.

The "Emmy" is a variation of "Immy," a nickname for the light-sensitive Image Orthicon tube that was the heart of television cameras during the 1950s and 1960s. The first nationally televised Emmy Awards originated from both New York and Los Angeles in 1955, actually predating the merger of the two academies. These bicoastal presentations continued through 1971 and mirrored the glamour of the rapidly expanding television industry to the point where the Emmy ceremonies were second only to the Motion Picture Academy Awards in terms of audience interest and recognition. After 1971, separate award ceremonies for prime time entertainment programs originated from Los Angeles, while New York remained home for the news and documentary awards.

Relationships between the Hollywood and New York chapters remained tense. Los Angeles producers of prime time programs expressed resentment that their programs were being judged by members in New York and the smaller market chapters who they did not consider their peers. They also resented their minority status on a board of trustees dominated by the New York and smaller market chapters. After John Cannon of New York defeated Robert Lewine of

Hollywood for the presidency of the organization in 1976, the Hollywood chapter bolted NATAS and created a separate organization—the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences or ATAS.

ATAS sued for exclusive rights to bestow the Emmy on the grounds that the Los Angeles group had actually given the award several years before NATAS was formed. Litigation by both organizations ended with a compromise. ATAS would retain the Emmy rights for prime time entertainment programming; NATAS would continue to award Emmys for news and documentary, sports, daytime, and public service programming and also for achievements in television engineering.

Initially, NATAS was weakened by the departure of the Los Angeles group. More recently, NATAS has been strengthened by the growing interest in daytime programs (talk shows and soap operas) and by an increase in the number of local market chapters.

Each of the 17 regional NATAS chapters, including New York City, is chartered by the national organization but operates independently in terms of its programs and finances. Other chapter cities currently include: Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Columbus-Dayton-Cincinnati, Denver, Detroit, Nashville, Philadelphia, Phoenix, San Diego, San Francisco, Seattle, South Florida, St. Louis, and Washington, D.C. All 17 chapters conduct Emmy awards presentations to honor television professionals in their respective markets. Since emphasis is placed on peer judging, chapters exchange tapes to insure the judging is done by qualified professionals in a different market. The local Emmy statue is a smaller replica of the national Emmy statues awarded by NATAS and ATAS for national programming.

In addition to the Emmy awards, NATAS publishes *Television Quarterly*, supports a curriculum for junior high and high school students which encourages more critical

viewing of television, awards scholarships to college students majoring in communications-related majors, and provides supporting programs for the 17 affiliate chapters. The organization and its chapters have 11,000 individual members.

—Norman Felsenthal

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See also Academy of Television Arts and Sciences

## NATIONAL ASIAN AMERICAN TELECOMMUNICATIONS ASSOCIATION

The mission of the National Asian American Telecommunications Association (NAATA) is "to advance the ideals of cultural pluralism in America and to promote better understanding of the Asian Pacific American experience through film, video and radio." Since its founding in 1980, NAATA has been bringing award-winning programs by and about Asian Pacific Americans to the public through such venues as national and local television broadcasting, film and video screenings, and educational distribution services.

Through its programming, exhibition, and distribution of work by Asian Pacific Americans as well as its advocacy and coalition-building efforts, NAATA actively serves as both a resource and a promoter for minority communities. Essentially, NAATA coordinates many different realms related to today's visual culture—film and video making, critical writing and scholarship, distribution and television broadcasting, community and educational outreach, even legislation and lobbying—serving as a center of information and human resources. Located in San Francisco, NAATA is one of the three major Asian American media arts organizations in the United States. Its founding was a conscious and concerted effort on the part of filmmakers and producers in the San Francisco area who were concerned with equal access to public television and radio. With the guidance and commitment of the two older organizations, Visual Communications in Los Angeles and Asian CineVision in New York, both of which emerged out of the movements towards racial and social justice in the 1960s, NAATA was born out of a three-day conference.

NAATA works primarily in three programming areas: television broadcast, exhibition (namely, the annual San Francisco International Asian American Film Festival), and non-broadcast distribution (more specifically, through their CrossCurrent Media catalogue). Through this effort, the organization seeks to support and nurture Asian Pacific American media artists in order to proffer a more accurate representation of Asian Pacific communities to the public.

The representation of Asian Americans in American television and film, supporters of the group feel, has led to many false perceptions of them.

In the 1995 Catalogue of the San Francisco International Asian American Film Festival, Stephen Gong (film history scholar and manager of the Pacific Film Archive) argues that the struggles in the career of silent film star Sessue Hayakawa remain emblematic of the price Asian/American actors pay in order to get some screen time. Referring to the stereotypes of Asian Americans, Gong asks: "Do the commercial constraints that have apparently governed mass media from its earliest days still make it a given that public expectations must be fulfilled before artistic vision can be exercised?" NAATA attempts to respond to this question by presenting—and more importantly, integrating—alternative and self-proclaimed representation by "marginal" peoples into the mainstream media culture.

The San Francisco International Asian American Film Festival is NAATA's most dramatic effort to provide the public with self-determined images and stories about Asian and Asian American experiences. Soliciting new and innovative work from within the U.S. as well as from Canada and abroad, this festival is a collection of vastly diverse film and video programs as well as installations and panel discussions. For too long, many "cultures, faces, and stories have remained 'in the closet' or simply invisible," as the 1995 festival catalogue states. Therefore, the purpose of the festival is to acknowledge the worldwide industry of film and video, which includes and represents many works from the Asian diaspora.

CrossCurrent Media, NAATA's film, video, and audio distribution service, has amalgamated a collection of film and video by and about Asian Pacific Americans that serve to challenge the construction and meaning of "Asian American." The intent is to challenge and hopefully change mainstream perceptions of Asian Pacific American identities. Moreover, CrossCurrent Media strives not only to

foster awareness, but also to facilitate discussion, sensitivity, and understanding of cultures that are not one's own. The uses of such a collection include corporate diversity training, high school and university education, and social and political activism. CrossCurrent Media has published a catalogue from which individuals and institutions can make orders or purchases of Asian Pacific American films and videos. The catalogue is skillfully organized by topics including: Media Representation, Land, Labor, Migration, Social Justice, Arts/Performance, AIDS on Screen, Personal Journeys, Choosing to Be Whole: Asian And Lesbian/Gay, Mixed Blessings: Multiracial/Cultural Identities, Culture Clash. There are also useful indices that list titles according to ethnic group and special interest, as well as that recommend titles for both elementary and secondary school students. In NAATA'S effort to share the work of Asian Pacific Americans and open up discussion on various issues, CrossCurrent Media is a helpful and well-needed resource.

NAATA publishes a newsletter which announces events such as screenings and festivals, reports their Media Grants awards which sponsor Asian Pacific American film and video projects, and interviews people working in film and television such as Margaret Cho who starred in the television program, *All-American Girl*. The newsletter also keeps readers updated on current legislative and educational efforts concerning Asian Pacific American programming. For example, an issue of great concern is the congressional cutbacks for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Through federal mandate, public television is the only venue on television that provides the opportunity for the voices of people of color to be heard. Public broadcasting allows communi-

ties of color access to the world of television, enabling their experiences to be acknowledged as part of the "American experience." Deann Borshay, Executive Director of NAATA, writes in a recent issue of the newsletter, *Asian American Network*, "Eliminating or privatizing CPB has the potential to shut out minorities from access to the airwaves."

NAATA, then, provides a wide range of public services. The organization simultaneously supports Asian and Asian Pacific American artists as well as reaches out to diverse communities. More importantly, the significance of NAATA within the media industry is that it sets up a series of connections: to link sponsors to media artists, to distributors, and to larger mainstream venues, all in an attempt to correct the misrepresentation and misperception of minority peoples and histories. NAATA is both an artistic and a political organization, currently working to ensure that the voices and experiences of people who are often unheard and unknown are made more public and better understood.

—Lahn S. Kim

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See also Racism, Ethnicity, and Television

## NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS

The National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) was formed in 1922 initially to work for rational rules related to spectrum allocation related to U.S. radio broadcasting. The association was crucial in bringing about the Radio Act of 1927 which created legislation for station licensing and frequency allotment while avoiding government control of station's business operations and programming. A second major concern of the founders focused on demands made by the American Society of Composers Authors and Publishers (ASCAP) that broadcasters license and pay for all music played over the air. In working out relations with ASCAP, and later with other licensing organizations, the NAB became the chief business representative as well as the governmental lobby representing the broadcasting industry.

With headquarters in Washington, D.C., the NAB is one of the most active lobbies in the United States. It represents more than 900 television stations and almost 5,000 radio stations. It also speaks in conjunction with, and on behalf of major broadcasting networks in the United

States, and represents the interests, both domestic and international, of 7,500 members from the radio and television industry. The NAB closely follows FCC activities and legis-



Courtesy of NAB

lation, as well as economic, legal, and social trends that might affect the industry. It holds several conferences conventions and expositions every year on various aspects of radio and television business and technology. The annual NAB Convention, usually held in Las Vegas, Nevada is one of the largest professional and trade meetings in the world. In addition to providing opportunities for numerous seminars and presentations bringing together technicians, managers, legislators and regulators, this meeting has become a massive international business fair where new technologies are displayed and discussed by vendors and potential purchasers and users.

From the local broadcaster's point of view the NAB is a primary support system, supplementing services provided by the affiliate station's own networks. Throughout its history, for example, the NAB has been important in monitor-

ing the practices of the major ratings services. The organization also supports the operations of the Broadcast Education Association (BEA), a professional organization for teachers and researchers in the fields of telecommunications and broadcast-related subjects.

—Cheryl Harris

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See also Music Licensing

## NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TELEVISION PROGRAMMING EXECUTIVES

The National Association of Television Programming Executives (NATPE) was organized in 1962 by a group of local station programmers to provide a U.S. forum for enhancing the professional development of programmers. The organization sponsors a number of educational and outreach activities for members, including its annual conference and exhibition. Through its College Television Society the organization encourages its members and the academic community to share resources.

Perhaps the most visible aspect of NATPE is the annual conference and exhibition. This meeting has become a major international site of trade in television programmers. Here programmers from local, regional, and even national broadcasting systems are able to survey the offerings of vast numbers of new programs, technologies, methods, and ideas. Especially since the rise in numbers of independent television stations in the United States, the implementation of the Prime Time Access Rule, and the growth of independent, commercial stations and channels throughout the rest of the world, the demand for inexpensive new programming has increased dramatically. NATPE is one of the primary markets for low-budget, syndicated programming. Game shows, talk shows, quiz, cooking, instructional programs are pre-

sented in booths by their creators who hope to have their programs adopted for programming on large numbers of stations, an outcome that brings with it the potential for huge financial success.

From the marketing standpoint the NATPE meeting is comparable to MIP, MIP-COM, and MIDEM, the other major points of trade in television programming. From a legislative perspective, the meeting is most like that of the National Association of Broadcasters.

—Cheryl Harris

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See also Financial Interest and Syndication Rules; International Television Program Markets; Prime Time Access Rule; Syndication

## NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY

### U.S. Network

The fortunes of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) have always been closely tied to those of its parent company, Radio Corporation of America (RCA). Unlike CBS, which was formed as an independent programming enterprise, NBC came into existence as the subsidiary

of an electronics manufacturer which saw programming as a form of marketing, an enticement to purchase radio and television receivers for the home. The power and influence of a national network aided RCA as it lobbied to see its technology adopted as the industry standard, particularly

during the early years of television and in the battle over color television.

RCA was formed after World War I when General Electric signed an extensive patents cross-licensing agreement with Westinghouse, AT and T, and United Fruit. The product of this alliance, RCA was owned jointly by the four companies and was created for the purpose of marketing radio receivers produced by G. E. and Westinghouse. As the alliance unraveled during the late 1920s and early 1930s, due to internal competition and government antitrust efforts, RCA emerged as an independent company. In November 1926, RCA formed NBC as a wholly-owned subsidiary. Shortly thereafter, RCA added a second network, and the two networks were designated NBC-Red and NBC-Blue.

RCA, which had been merely a sales agent for the other companies, emerged in the 1930s as a radio manufacturer with two networks, a powerful lineup of clear channel stations, and a roster of stars who were unequalled in the radio industry. From this position of power RCA research labs under the direction of Vladimir Zworykin set the standard for research into the nascent technology of television. NBC began experimental broadcasts from the Empire State building in New York as early as 1932. By 1935 the company was spending millions of dollars annually to fund television research. Profits from the lucrative NBC radio networks were routinely channeled into television research. In 1939 NBC became the first network to introduce regular television broadcasts with its inaugural telecast of the opening day ceremonies at the New York World's Fair of 1939. RCA's goal was to produce and market receivers and programs, to become the driving force in the emerging industry.

RCA's dominance of the broadcast industry led to government scrutiny in the late 1930s when the FCC began to investigate the legitimacy of networks, or "chain broadcasting" as it was then called. The result was the 1941 publication of the FCC's Report on Chain Broadcasting which criticized the network's control of a majority of high-powered stations and called for the divorcement of NBC's two networks. RCA took the decision to court, but failed to overturn the FCC's findings. In 1943 RCA sold its Blue network to Edward J. Noble, and this network eventually became ABC.

After World War II, RCA moved quickly to consolidate its influence over the television industry. While CBS tried to stall efforts to establish technological standards in order to promote its own color-TV technology, RCA pushed hard for the development of television according to the existing NTSC technical standards established in 1941. The FCC agreed with RCA, though the two networks continued to battle over standards for color television until the RCA system was finally selected in 1953. Throughout this period, network television played a secondary role at RCA. In the early 1950s NBC accounted for only one-quarter of RCA's corporate profits. NBC's most important role for its parent was in helping to extend the general appeal of television as the market for television sets boomed.



*Courtesy of NBC*

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, NBC generally finished in second place in the ratings behind CBS. NBC's prime-time schedule relied heavily on two genres: drama, including several of the most acclaimed anthology drama series of the 1950s (*Philco/Goodyear Playhouse*, *Kraft Television Theatre*), and comedy-variety, featuring such stars as Milton Berle, Jimmy Durante, Sid Caesar and Imogene Coca, Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis, Bob Hope, and Perry Como. In spite of its dependence on these familiar genres, NBC was also responsible for several programming innovations.

Several key innovations are credited to Sylvester "Pat" Weaver, who served as the network's chief programmer from 1949 to 1953 and as president from 1953 to 1955. Weaver is credited with introducing the "magazine concept" of television advertising, in which advertisers no longer sponsored an entire series, but paid to have their ads placed within a program—as ads appear in a magazine. Previously, networks had functioned as conduits for sponsor-produced programming; this move shifted the balance of power toward the networks, which were able to exert more control over programming. Weaver expanded the network schedule into the "fringe" time periods of early morning and late night by introducing *Today* and *Tonight*. He also championed "event" programming that broke the routines of regularly-scheduled series with expensive, one-shot broadcasts, which he called "spectaculars." Broadcast live, the Broadway production of *Peter Pan* drew a record audience of 65 million viewers.

Former ABC president Robert Kintner took over programming in 1956 and served as network president from 1958 to 1965. Kintner supervised the expansion of NBC news, the shift to color broadcasting (completed in 1965), and the network's diversification beyond television programming. Through RCA, NBC branched out during the 1960s, acquiring financial interest in Hertz rental cars, a carpet manufacturer, and real-estate holdings. The network moved aggressively into international markets, selling programs overseas through its NBC International subsidiary, which placed NBC programs in more than eighty countries.

By the mid-1960s NBC had invested in thirteen television stations and one network in eight countries.

Programming under Kintner followed the network's traditional reliance on dramas and comedy-variety. NBC formed a strong alliance with the production company MCA-Universal, whose drama series came to dominate the network's schedule well into the 1970s. After introducing movies to prime-time with *Saturday Night at the Movies* in 1961, NBC joined with MCA-Universal to develop several long-form program formats, including the ninety-minute episodic series (*The Virginian*), the made-for-TV movie (debuting with *Fame Is the Name of the Game* in 1966), and the movie series (*The NBC Mystery Movie*, which initially featured *Columbo*, *McCloud*, and *McMillan and Wife*).

During the late 1970s, after decades of battling CBS in the ratings, NBC watched as ABC, with a sitcom-laden schedule, took command of the ratings race, leaving NBC in a distant third place. To halt its steep decline, NBC recruited Fred Silverman, the man who had engineered ABC's rapid rise. Silverman's tenure as president of NBC lasted from 1978 to 1981 and is probably the lowest point in the history of the network. Instead of turning around NBC's fortunes, Silverman presided over an era of steadily declining viewers, affiliate desertions, and programs that were often mediocre (*BJ and the Bear*) and occasionally disastrous (*Supertrain*).

At the depths of its fortunes in 1981, mired in third place, NBC recruited Grant Tinker to become NBC chairman. A cofounder of MTM Enterprises, Tinker had presided over the spectacular rise of the independent production company that had produced *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *Lou Grant*, and *Hill Street Blues*. Tinker led NBC on a three-year journey back to respectability by continuing the commitment to quality programming that had marked his tenure at MTM. Along with his chief programmer, Brandon Tartikoff, Tinker patiently nurtured such acclaimed series as *Hill Street Blues*, *Cheers*, *St. Elsewhere*, and *Family Ties*. The turning point for NBC came in 1984 when Tartikoff convinced comedian Bill Cosby to return to series television with *The Cosby Show*. Network profits under Tinker climbed from \$48 million in his first year to \$333 million in 1985.

By the mid-1980s NBC generated 43% of RCA's \$570 million in earnings—a hugely disproportionate share of the profits for a single division of the conglomerate. In the mergermania of the 1980s, RCA became a ripe target for takeover, particularly given the potential value of the company when broken into its various components. General Electric purchased RCA—and with it NBC—in 1985 for \$6.3 billion. When Tinker stepped down in 1986, G.E. chairman John F. Welch, Jr., named former G.E. executive Robert E. Wright as network chairman. Based on the continued success of the series left behind by Tinker, NBC

dominated the ratings until the late 1980s—when its ratings and profits suddenly collapsed, leaving losses of \$60 million in 1991 and just one show, *Cheers*, in the Nielsen top 10.

Rumors warned that G.E. was about to bail out, selling NBC to Paramount, Time Warner, Disney, or perhaps even a syndicate headed by Bill Cosby. G.E. management came under intense criticism for its sometimes harsh cost-cutting, which many felt had damaged network operations, particularly in the news division. G.E. was also blamed for misunderstanding the business of broadcasting. The network suffered a series of public relations debacles, including a fraudulent news report on the newsmagazine *Dateline* and the bungled attempts to name a successor to Johnny Carson as host of the flagship *Tonight Show*.

But General Electric held onto NBC, and Robert Wright remained in charge. By 1996 NBC is once again the undisputed leader of network television with the five top-rated shows. Under the programming of Warren Littlefield, NBC has solid hits in *Seinfeld*, *E.R.*, *Frasier*, and *Friends*. G.E. has also spent a considerable amount of its own money to guarantee NBC the rights to the most valuable televised sports events, including \$4 billion for the rights to broadcast the Olympics until well into the twenty-first century. In addition, NBC has diversified substantially during the G.E. era. The network owns minor stakes in cable channels such as Arts and Entertainment, CourtTV, American Movie Classics, Bravo, SportsChannel America, and the History Channel. NBC founded a cable network, CNBC, a business-news channel which is valued at more than \$1 billion. From this success it has spun off the cable network America's Talking, which will be converted to an all-news channel thanks to an alliance formed with computer software giant Microsoft. And the network has invested \$23 million in a Europe-based cable and satellite network called Super Channel, which will extend NBC's global reach.

—Christopher Anderson

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See also American Broadcasting Company; Columbia Broadcasting System; Sarnoff, David; Sarnoff, Robert; Kintner, Robert; Wright, Robert



## NATIONAL CABLE TELEVISION ASSOCIATION

The National Cable Television Association (NCTA) is the major trade organization for the American cable television industry, mediating the professional activities of cable system operators, program services (networks), and equipment manufacturers. From its inception, the NCTA has served the dual function of promoting the growth of the cable industry and of dealing with the regulatory challenges that have kept that growth in check. The organization's publications and regular meetings have kept members apprised of new technologies and programming innovations, and its legal staff has played a key role in the many executive, legislative, and judicial decisions affecting the cable industry over the years.

The NCTA first was organized as the National Community Television Council on 18 September 1951, when a small group of community antenna (CATV) operators met at a hotel in Pottsville, Pennsylvania. They gathered in response to concern over the Internal Revenue Service's attempts to impose an 8% excise tax on their operations. These businessmen quickly became aware of other common interests, leading to a series of organizational meetings during September and October 1951 and January 1952. On 28 January 1952 the organization's name officially was changed to National Community Television Association.

The NCTA's growth kept pace with the rapidly expanding CATV industry. Within its first year, close to 40 CATV systems joined the organization. Membership then grew into hundreds by the end of the 1950s and thousands by the end of the 1960s. In 1968, the term "Community Antenna Television (CATV)" gave way to the term "cable," reflecting the industry's expanded categories of service—including local news, weather information, and channels of pay television. Accordingly, the NCTA changed its official name to "National Cable Television Association."

Today, the NCTA is headquartered in Washington, D.C. It represents cable systems serving over 80% of U.S. cable subscribers, as well as cable program services (networks), hardware suppliers, and other services related to the industry. The organization is divided into departments including: Administration and Finance, Association Affairs, Government Relations, Industry Affairs, Legal, Programming and Marketing, Public Affairs, Research and Policy Analysis, and Science and Technology.

The NCTA hosts an annual industry-wide trade show and produces a number of reports and periodicals, including



*Courtesy of NCTA*

*Cable Television Developments*, a booklet with up-to date cable statistics, addresses, and listings. Additionally, the National Academy of Cable Programming, established by the NCTA, oversees the annual Cable ACE Awards. These awards, created in 1979, recognize the best original cable programming, at both local and national levels.

—Megan Mullen

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See also Association of Independent Television Stations; Cable Networks; United States: Cable

## NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION CENTER

The National Educational Television (NET) Center played the dominant role in building the structure on which the U.S. Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) rests. Funded primarily by Ford Foundation grants, NET was established in 1952 to assist in the creation and maintenance

of an educational television service complementary to the entertainment-centered services available through commercial stations. NET initially was designed to function simply as an "exchange center," most of whose programming would be produced at the grassroots level by member stations. This

strategy failed to attract a substantial audience because programming produced by the affiliates tended to be overly academic and of poor quality.

By 1958, NET's programming had acquired a well-deserved reputation as dull, plodding, and pedantic. NET officials recognized that if it was to survive and move beyond its "university of the air" status, NET needed strong leadership and a new program philosophy. They hired the station manager of WQED-Pittsburgh, John F. White, to take over the presidency of NET. An extremely ambitious proponent of the educational television movement, White believed that the system would grow and thrive only if NET provided strong national leadership. Consequently, White saw his task as that of transforming NET into a centralized network comparable to the three commercial networks. First, he moved NET headquarters from Ann Arbor, Michigan, to New York City, where it could be associated more closely with its commercial counterparts. Next, he declared his organization to be the "Fourth Network," and attempted to develop program strategies aimed at making this claim a reality. No longer relying primarily on material produced by affiliated stations, NET officials now sought high-quality programming obtained from a variety of sources, including the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and other international television organizations.

In 1964, the Ford Foundation decided to substantially increase their support of NET through a \$6 million yearly grant. They believed that only a well-financed, centralized program service would bring national attention to noncommercial television and expand audiences for each local station. The terms of the grant allowed NET to produce and distribute a five-hour, weekly package divided into the broad categories of cultural and public affairs programming. The freedom provided by this funding generated a period of creative risk-taking between 1964 and 1968. Their cultural programming included adult drama such as *NET Playhouse* as well as children's shows like *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*. But it was through public affairs programming that NET hoped to emphasize its unique status as the "alternative network." Cognizant that the intense ratings war between the three commercial networks had led to a decline in public affairs programming, NET strove to gain a reputation for filling the vacuum left in this area after 1963. NET producers and directors including Alvin Perlmutter, Jack Willis, and Morton Silverstein began to film hard-hitting documentaries rarely found on commercial television. Offered under the series title *NET Journal*, programs like *The Poor Pay More*, *Black Like Me*, *Appalachia: Rich Land, Poor People*, and *Inside North Vietnam* explored controversial issues and often took editorial stands. Although *NET Journal* received positive responses from media critics, many of NET's affiliates, particularly those in the South, grew to resent what they perceived as its "East Coast Liberalism."

Despite the fact that John White and his staff believed that NET had been making progress in increasing the national audience for noncommercial television, the Ford

Foundation did not share this conviction and began to reevaluate their level of commitment. Between 1953 and 1966, they had invested over \$130 million in NET, its affiliated stations and related endeavors. In spite of this substantial contribution, there was a constant need for additional funding. As Ford looked for ways to withdraw its support, educational broadcasters began to look to the government for financial assistance. Government involvement in this issue led to the passage of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, the subsequent creation of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), and the eventual demise of NET.

Having been at the center of the educational television movement for 15 years, NET believed it would continue as the distributor of the national network schedule. The CPB initially supported NET's role by allowing NET to serve as the "public television network" between 1967 and 1969. But, in 1969, the CPB announced its decision to create a whole new entity, the Public Broadcasting Service, to take over network operations. The CPB's decision lay not only in its awareness that NET had alienated a majority of the affiliated stations, but also in its belief that a hopeless conflict of interest would have resulted if NET continued to serve as a principal production center while at the same time exercising control over program distribution. With the creation of PBS in 1969, NET's position became tenuous. NET continued to produce and schedule programming, now aired on PBS, including the well-received BBC productions, *The Forsyte Saga* and *Civilization*. But NET's refusal to end its commitment to the production of hard-hitting controversial documentaries such as *Who Invited US?* and *Banks and the Poor* led to public clashes between NET and PBS over program content. PBS wanted to curb NET's controversial role in the system and create a new image for public television, particularly since NET documentaries inflamed the Nixon Administration and imperiled funding. In order to neutralize NET, the CPB and Ford Foundation threatened to cut NET's program grants unless NET merged with New York's public television outlet, WNDT. Lacking allies, NET acquiesced to the proposed alliance in late 1970 and its role as a network was lost. The final result was WNET-Channel 13.

The legacy that NET left behind included the development of a national system of public television stations and a history of innovative programming. As a testament to this legacy, two children's shows that made their debut on NET, *Sesame Street* and *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*, continue today as PBS icons.

—Carolyn N. Brooks

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See also Children's Television Workshop; Educational Television

## NATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION AND INFORMATION ADMINISTRATION

### U.S. Policy Office

The National Telecommunication and Information Administration (NTIA), an agency within the U.S. Department of Commerce, was established in 1978. In the years preceding NTIA's inception, the executive branch had established an Office of Telecommunication Policy (headed by Clay T. Whitehead) in order to spearhead administration communication policy in certain areas, notably cable television. The NTIA succeeded this unit, and combined the responsibilities and mission of the president's Office of Telecommunication Policy (OTP) and the Department of Commerce's Office of Telecommunications. Its main responsibilities include managing the federal portion of the electromagnetic spectrum and advising and coordinating various agencies within the executive branch on telecommunications and information policy matters. It is the principal advisor to the president on communication policy, and also operates a research and engineering Institute for Telecommunication Sciences in Colorado.

An organization like the NTIA seemed necessary to some policy makers in the late 1970s insofar as the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) was (and remains) increasingly burdened by the day-to-day matters of spectrum management and regulating the telephone, other common carrier, television and cable industries. The commission was hindered by these routine tasks from developing long range policies that could effectively plan for the increasing range of communication technologies. Moreover, at the same time the Nixon and Ford administrations were highly critical of the media and desired a more powerful, direct hand in their regulation. The Office of Telecommunications Policy was created in 1970 to satisfy President Nixon's concern in this regard, and under

Whitehead OTP quickly took on duties formerly assumed to be the FCC's jurisdiction. For example, the FCC's 1972 cable rules were largely worked out by Whitehead's office through a consensus agreement crafted among the broadcasting, cable and program production industry representatives. Under President Carter, OTP's functions were transferred to NTIA.

Conceived as a planning and policy-generating body within the Department of Commerce, NTIA maintains its



Courtesy of NTIA

advisory agency status, even though it is capable of mustering strong political support for its positions. NTIA's reports and investigations have yielded information and positions important to some Congressional action and to some Administration policies regarding communication industries. Its *Telecom 2000* report (1988), and *NTIA Infrastructure Report* (1991) have been among the most influential of its publications. The first documents the rapid rate of technological change and integrates numerous policy issues across various communication systems that required attention. The second profiles the U.S. telecommunications infrastructure and the growth of networks and offers preferred regulatory responses to certain problems, with particular focus on marketplace solutions to the problems created by technological change.

—Sharon Strover

## THE NATURE OF THINGS

### Canadian Science Program

One of the longest-running television shows in Canadian history, *The Nature of Things* has aired continuously since 6 November 1960. An hour-long general science program, the show began as a half-hour series—an attempt, as the first press release phrased it, “to put weekly science shows back on North American television schedules.” It billed itself as “unique on this continent. On every other television network, the scientist will have stepped aside for the comedian, the gunfighter or the private-eye.” The multi-award-winning show has been broadcast in more than 80 countries, including the United States, on the Discovery Channel and PBS.

The first producer of the show was Norman Caton and the first hosts were Professor Patterson Ivey and his colleague Professor Donald Hume of the University of Toronto. Ivey had co-hosted a series in 1959 called *Two for Physics*, and CBC hoped that the time was ripe for a new science series. The series produced shows on the causes of schizophrenia, a review of space technology, a study on how the brain works, and a study of the controlled isolation of human beings. In keeping with the then-lofty aspirations of the CBC, the show was named after the poem by the Roman philosopher, Lucretius, called “De Rerum Natural”—“The Nature of Things.”

Since 1979, David Suzuki has been the host of *The Nature of Things*. As a biologist and geneticist, he has been very conscious of the nature of evolution and growth. An ardent and vocal environmental conservationist, Suzuki writes a weekly column in *The Toronto Star* and is a social activist for environmental causes. In the beginning, Suzuki appeared an awkward and stilted host, but over the years, his manner has relaxed and his delivery improved to the point that the show is practically synonymous with the former fruit-fly geneticist. In fact, its official title is now *The Nature*

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See also Federal Communications Commission

*of Things with David Suzuki*, and the host is recognized throughout Canada.

Some of the topics which the show has explored over the years are the disintegration of books in libraries, the disappearance of old-growth forests, euthanasia, drugs in sports, chaos theory, the history of rubber, the Penan tribe of Malaysia, farmers' use of pesticides, the use of animals in research, forensic science, air crashes, the James Bay hydro-electric project, endangered species, lasers, global warming, and children's toys. Many individual shows have been produced under the subject headings of endangered species, dimensions of the mind, aspects and diseases of the human body, the global economy and international issues. *The Nature of Things* repeatedly investigates controversial topics long before they become popular in the general press: in 1972 it did a show on acupuncture and in 1969 one on the dangers of pollution. One show was accused of bias by the forest industry and the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce pulled its commercials from the CBC. Another on the global economy and its effect on the environment was also criticized by some groups as being unbalanced. *The Nature of Things*, however, has never been charged with shirking the tough issues.

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of *The Nature of Things* in 1990, Suzuki wrote in *The Toronto Star* that in the gimmicky world of television-land, where only the new is exciting, “the longevity of a TV series is just like the persistence of a plant or animal species—it reflects the survival of the fittest.” In its first 30 years, the program had only three executive producers—John Livingston, James (Jim) Murray, Nancy Archibald, and then James Murray again (from 1979 to the present).

In 1971 Suzuki hosted *Suzuki on Science*, another CBC science show. Suzuki was by this time also heard on CBC



The Nature of Things  
Photo courtesy of CBC

Radio, as host of *Quirks and Quarks*, which remains a popular staple of the national radio network today. In 1979, *Science Magazine*, which Suzuki had hosted since 1974, and *The Nature of Things* were combined into a one-hour show, with Murray as executive producer for the second time. Suzuki has also been an assistant professor at the University of Alberta (Edmonton) and a full professor at the University of British Columbia (Vancouver). In 1977 he was named to the Order of Canada, the country's highest honour.

Ratings dropped somewhat in 1990, but CBC retained the show. The show has changed with the times, often being the first to explore new subject areas, but the fact that it has been so successful can also be attributed to the ability of its makers to make science understandable, interesting and entertaining to audiences who differ widely in age, class, race and cultural background.

—Janice Kaye

#### HOSTS/PRESENTERS

Lister Sinclair, Patterson Ivey, Donald Hume, John Livingston, David Suzuki

**PRODUCERS** David Walker, John Livingston, James Murray, Nancy Archibald, Norm Caton, Lister Sinclair

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

• CBC

1960–1980

1980–

Weekly Half Hour

Weekly One Hour

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## THE NBC MYSTERY MOVIE

U.S. Police/Detective Drama

**T**he *NBC Mystery Movie* aired on the network from 1971 until 1977, and consisted of several recurring programs. Its use of a rotation of different shows under an umbrella title was an NBC innovation during this era. *Mystery Movie* followed on the heels of the network's 1968 umbrella series, *The Name of the Game* (which ran each of its different segments under the same title). In 1969 NBC launched *The Bold Ones* (which included *The New Doctors*, *The Lawyers*, *The Protectors*, and, in 1970, *The Senator*), and in 1970 the network presented the *Four in One* collection of *Night Gallery*, *San Francisco International Airport*, *The Psychiatrist*, and *McCloud*. But the idea behind *Mystery Movie* and similar "wheel format" series had much deeper roots than these NBC versions, and can be traced back at least to ABC's *Warner Brothers Presents*, which debuted in 1955.

The original incarnation of *The NBC Mystery Movie* consisted of three rotating series. *McCloud*, starring Dennis Weaver as a modern-day western marshal who was transplanted from New Mexico to the streets of New York City, was a holdover from NBC's earlier *Four in One* lineup. *McMillan and Wife* starred Rock Hudson and Susan St. James as San Francisco Police Commissioner Stewart McMillan and his wife, Sally. And the most successful *Mystery Movie* segment of all, *Columbo*, featured Peter Falk reprising his role from the highly rated 1968 NBC made-for-television movie, *Prescription: Murder*, as a seemingly slow-witted yet keenly perceptive and doggedly tenacious L.A.P.D. homicide Lieutenant.

The new Wednesday night series was an immediate success for NBC, finishing at Number 14 in the Nielsen ratings for the 1971-72 season. In addition, *Columbo* was nominated for eight Emmy Awards (including all three nominations for dramatic series writing), winning in four categories. For the next season, NBC attempted to parley the *Mystery Movie*'s success in two ways. First, it moved the original *Mystery Movie* lineup of *Columbo*, *McCloud*, and *McMillan and Wife* to the highly competitive Sunday night schedule and, as a fourth installment to this rotation, added *Hec Ramsey*, starring Richard Boone as a turn-of-the-century Western crime fighter. Also, NBC initiated a completely new slate of similar shows, and moved these into the Wednesday time period formerly occupied by the original *Mystery Movie* lineup. Thus, NBC's 1972 fall schedule contained the original *Mystery Movie* shows, now called *The NBC Sunday Mystery Movie*, plus a completely new set of programs, titled *The NBC Wednesday Mystery Movie*.

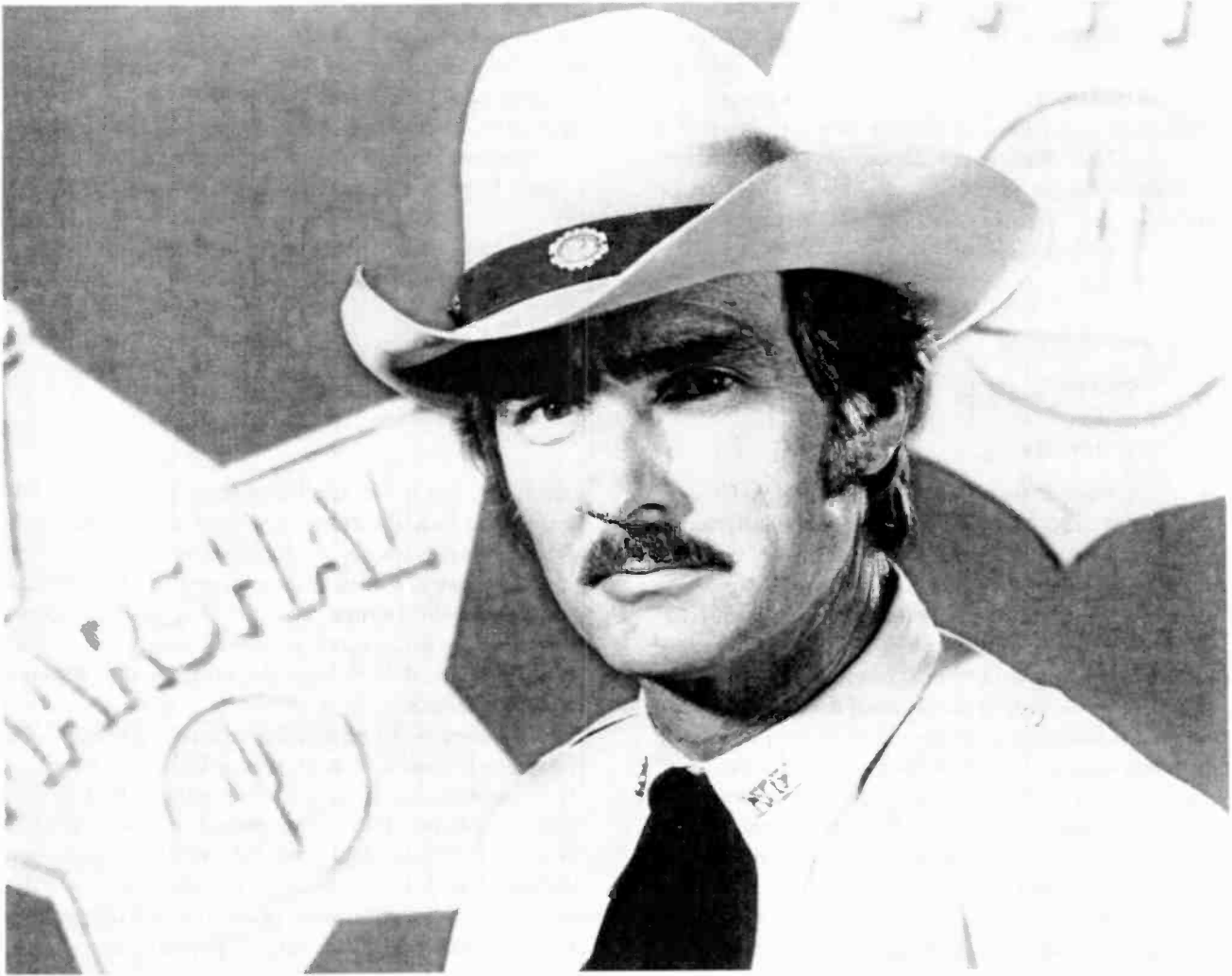
NBC continued to achieve commercial and critical success with its *Sunday Mystery Movie* series. The umbrella program finished tied as the fifth highest-rated series of the 1972-73 season, and *Columbo* garnered four more Emmy nominations to go along with acting nominations for *McMillan and Wife*'s Susan St. James and Nancy Walker. But the *Wednesday Mystery Movie* lineup never was able to realize

a similar degree of success. The new Wednesday series included *Banacek*, starring George Peppard as a sleuth who made his living by collecting insurance company rewards for solving crimes and insurance scams (Banacek's Polish-American heritage was also a featured element of the program); *Cool Million*, a segment that featured James Farentino as a high-priced private investigator and former CIA agent; and *Madigan*, starring Richard Widmark as a New York police detective. While the shows' concepts may have sounded similar to those of the original *Mystery Movie* segments, they lacked the novelty and unique characterizations of the originals, and NBC's attempt to clone its *Mystery Movie* format in such a way that it could fill a second block in its prime time schedule was ultimately unsuccessful. The "knock-off" Wednesday lineup was retooled several times over its two seasons on the air. *Madigan* and *Banacek* were retained for the 1973 fall season, and were joined in the rotation by *Tenafly*, which featured African-American actor James McEachin as a Los Angeles P.I. (the series title was suspiciously similar to the 1972 "blaxploitation" hit film, *Superfly*), *The Snoop Sisters*, which brought Helen Hayes to prime time television as half of a mystery writing/crime solving team of elderly sisters, and *Faraday and Company*, starring veteran film and television actor Dan Dailey. But after seeing no better results in its second year, the *NBC Wednesday Mystery Movie* was dropped for the 1974 fall season.

NBC was not the only network unable to successfully clone the *Mystery Movie* formula. Both ABC, with its 1972 *The Men* series, and CBS, with its 1973 *Tuesday Night CBS Movie* (which rotated made-for-TV movies with the series *Shaft*, featuring Richard Roundtree reprising the title role from the film of the same name, and *Hawkins*, starring the legendary Jimmy Stewart as a small town attorney), failed in similar short-lived attempts. But while its imitators struggled, the three original *Mystery Movie* entries remained strong into the mid-1970s. Over these years, NBC continued to try to find a fourth element that could be added to the *Columbo/McCloud/McMillan and Wife* mix, trying out such shows as *Amy Prentiss*, *McCoy*, and *Lanigan's Rabbi*. Finally, in the fall of 1976, *Quincy, M.E.*, starring Jack Klugman as a Los Angeles medical examiner, joined the rotation. In early 1977, it was spun off as a regular weekly series, and would go on to have a successful seven-year run on the network.

By the end of the 1976-77 season, *The Sunday Mystery Movie* had reached the end of its run, and was replaced on the NBC schedule by *The Big Event*. But *The NBC Mystery Movie* had left a legacy that would not soon be forgotten, and the series served as an inspiration for a future television trend: the recurring made-for-television movie, featuring regular characters and routinized plotlines, which would appear only a limited number of times each season. Ironically, one of the most popular of such recurring programs





NBC Mystery Movie: McCloud

would be *Mystery Movie's* own *Columbo*, which was revived in the late 1980s by ABC and would go on to once again garner high ratings and still more Emmy Awards for its new network.

—David Gunzerath

#### SERIES PRESENTED AS PART OF THE NBC MYSTERY MOVIE

- 1971–1972 [Wednesday] *Mystery Movie: Columbo, McCloud, McMillan and Wife*
- 1972–1973 *Sunday Mystery Movie: Columbo, McCloud, McMillan and Wife, Hec Ramsey*  
*Wednesday Mystery Movie: Madigan, Cool Million, Banacek*
- 1973–1974 *Sunday Mystery Movie: Columbo, McCloud, McMillan and Wife, Hec Ramsey*  
*Wednesday Mystery Movie: Madigan, Tenaflly, Faraday and Company, The Snoop Sisters*  
 [January 1972, series scheduled on Tuesday as *NBC Tuesday Mystery Movie*]

- 1974–1975 *Sunday Mystery Movie: Columbo, McCloud, McMillan and Wife, Amy Prentiss*
- 1975–1976 *Sunday Mystery Movie: Columbo, McCloud, McMillan and Wife, McCoy*
- 1976–1977 *Sunday Mystery Movie: Columbo, McCloud, McMillan and Wife, Quincy, M.E. (through December 1976), Lanigan's Rabbi (from January 1977)*

**PRODUCERS** Various

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

##### • NBC

September 1971–January 1974	Wednesday 8:30–10:00
September 1972–September 1974	Sunday 8:30–10:00
January 1974–September 1974	Tuesday 8:30–10:00
September 1974–September 1975	Sunday 8:30–10:30
September 1975–September 1976	Sunday 9:00–11:00



October 1975–April 1977  
May 1977–September 1977

Sunday various times  
Sunday 8:00-9:30

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See also Action Adventure Shows; *Columbo*; Detective Programs; Police Programs

## NBC REPORTS

### U.S. Documentary

Although not as renowned as *ABC CloseUp*, *CBS Reports*, or *NBC White Paper*, *NBC Reports* offered in-depth investigations in the prestige documentary tradition for nearly two decades and is extensively woven into the history of documentaries and newsmagazines on American network television. Introduced in 1972 as a regularly scheduled series, this collection of investigative reports was designed to probe and expose issues of the day. The series is notable as much for its personnel as for its occasionally controversial content. *NBC Reports* was also instrumental in the shift by network news divisions from a long-form documentary commitment to "infotainment" news hours, and eventually the stream of stylish network newsmagazines that proliferated in the 1990s.

*NBC Reports* initially shared a time slot with the newsmagazine *First Tuesday* and an acclaimed historical documentary series *America*, which was produced by the BBC and Time-Life Films. (*America* moved to PBS for the 1974–75 season.) This scheduling technique became common after 1968 when the networks began experimenting with newsmagazines. News divisions wanted a program format that expanded coverage of the day's headlines but did not warrant the in-depth analysis of a documentary. The newsmagazines were intended to complement the documentary and the evening newscasts. Network executives were also searching for ways to fill programming hours and looked to their news divisions as a source. One solution was to allocate a time slot to the news division, which they filled with a combination of newsmagazine and documentary programs, such as *NBC Reports*.

The series arrived after an era of protest against the media that accompanied network television's coverage of the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago and the anti-media sentiment that emanated from the administration of President Nixon. In this hostile climate, the very first documentary offered by *NBC Reports* provoked strong reactions. *Pensions: The Broken Promise*, which aired 12 September 1972, exposed inadequacies in national pension funds that resulted in severe losses for veteran workers. The report won a Peabody Award and praise from the American Bar

Association. But it was also investigated by the Nixon administration Federal Communications Commission, in response to a complaint, by the conservative media watchdog group Accuracy in Media, that the report was one-sided and thus violated the Fairness Doctrine. The Supreme Court refused to hear the case and in 1976 let stand a lower court ruling in favor of NBC that the program had achieved reasonable balance.

A number of distinguished producers worked on *NBC Reports*, among them, Pam Hill, who did her final work on the series before moving to ABC to produce *ABC CloseUp*; the prolific Robert (Shad) Northshield, who went to CBS News in 1977 and developed the peerless *CBS Sunday Morning*; Lucy Jarvis, who produced NBC documentaries on international and domestic affairs, then left the network in 1976 to become an independent producer; Fred Freed, one of television's outstanding documentarists; and Robert Rogers. Rogers, an award-winning news writer, was a protégé of the documentarian Ted Yates, who was killed in Jerusalem in 1967 while covering the Six-Day War. Rogers continued to produce documentaries and newsmagazines and later became manager of the *NBC White Paper* series.

*NBC Reports* was later called *NBC Report on America*, an irregularly scheduled documentary series that focused on life style and domestic social issues. In 1987 the series aired two infamous documentaries anchored by correspondent Connie Chung: *Life in the Fat Lane*, a program on overeating and weight control, and *Scared Sexless*, which examined American social mores after the occurrence of AIDS and the decline of the sexual revolution of the 1960s.

These programs, produced by Sid Feders, featured stylish treatments, including computer graphics, popular music, quick pacing, and a minimum of information. They also showcased a celebrity news anchor, Connie Chung, and popular entertainers, such as Alan Alda, Marcus Allen, Nell Carter, Dom Deluise, Jane Fonda, Goldie Hawn, Tommy Lasorda, Danny Sullivan, and Oprah Winfrey.

Although these programs shared characteristics with traditional documentaries—in that they incrementally developed a

thesis on a pressing social issue—the decision to team celebrity news reporters with entertainment idols and to evoke an aesthetic look that resembled prime-time entertainment fare was highly successful in attracting large audiences and widespread publicity. Other networks also experimented with this documentary technique, but these *NBC Report on America* broadcasts led the field in 1987 and demonstrated to network management that news divisions could produce profitable programs. By the 1990s, the formula evolved into a rush of prime-time newsmagazines that showcased glamorous correspondents and popular topics on all the major commercial networks.

—Tom Mascaro

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

- NBC

September 1972–September 1973 Tuesday 10:00–11:00

## NBC WHITE PAPER

### U.S. News Documentary

Beginning with its premier in 1960, the long-form documentary series *NBC White Paper* won praise for using the television medium to foster journalistic excellence and an understanding of world affairs. By the 1980s, the “white paper” approach was criticized by some who felt these comprehensive reports chased away viewers and stifled newer documentary forms. This acclaimed series, though, is remembered as one of the prestigious symbols of network news that helped fuel a fierce rivalry between CBS and NBC in the 1960s.

*NBC White Paper* was spawned, in part, by the need of the networks to heal the damage inflicted by the quiz show scandal. CBS initiated *CBS Reports* to showcase quality nonfiction reporting. Irv Gitlin, a prominent producer for CBS, hoped to head the new series, but lost out to Fred Friendly. At NBC, President Robert Kintner sought to bolster the reputation of NBC News and face CBS head-on. Kintner recruited Gitlin to develop a prestige series and *NBC White Paper* debuted on 29 November 1960.

Network competition invigorated documentaries. Within a two-week period in 1960, NBC aired *The U-2 Affair*, about government deception regarding a spy mission over the Soviet Union, CBS broadcast the legendary *Harvest of Shame*, which depicted the squalid lives of American migrant workers, and ABC offered *Yankee, No!* which depicted anti-American sentiment in Central America and Cuba.

Unlike *CBS Reports* in its early years, *NBC White Paper* never had a regular time slot and appeared only a few times each year. Many of its reports, though, were powerful treatments, beginning with the original broadcast. *The U-2 Affair* chronicled the flight and downing of a secret American spy plane over the Soviet Union, along with denials and subsequent admis-

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See also Documentary

sions by U.S. officials that such espionage took place. The pilot, Francis Gary Powers, survived the crash. The Soviets distributed film of Powers and the remains of his airplane and forced President Eisenhower to admit the deception.

Chet Huntley—NBC’s answer to Edward R. Murrow—was the correspondent for many of the *White Paper* reports. Al Wasserman, formerly of CBS, assisted Gitlin as producer-director. The team was often joined by Fred Freed, Edwin Newman, Frank McGee, Robert Northshield, and others.

Although rival CBS enjoyed a more prominent reputation in the documentary field, the *White Paper* series kept pace in both foreign and domestic affairs coverage and demonstrated an equal willingness to probe controversies. Erik Barnouw recounts how *Sit-In* made NBC filmmaker Robert Young a hero in the black community and led to another report from northern Angola in West Africa. Angola was a colony of Portugal, which was attempting to quell a native uprising. Though foreign newsmen were barred from observing the rebellion, Young persuaded NBC to allow him to go with black cameraman Charles Dorkins to the Congo. Armed with letters of reference from prominent African Americans, Young and Dorkins trekked through 300 miles of jungle and shot footage for the 1961 documentary *Angola: Journey to a War*.

The reporters also retrieved fragments of a napalm bomb and shot film of English-language instructions inscribed on the shrapnel. To prevent Soviet use of the report against American interests, Gitlin excised the bomb segment from the final program. The report succeeded, however, in balancing the Portuguese version of events with graphic depictions of native suffering.

With *The Battle of Newburgh*, *White Paper* employed powerful interview techniques to push the envelope of the

editorial function within the documentary form, on a par with CBS' *Harvest of Shame*. A welfare-reform plan by the city manager of Newburgh, New York, intensified debate between liberals who supported children and the underprivileged and conservatives who decried taxation for "social purposes." An extensive *White Paper* investigation discredited Newburgh's claims about welfare fraud. Although the report illustrated both sides of the argument, a dramatic interview with one needy family had a devastating effect. In a conclusion that straddled editorializing and reportage, narrator Huntley rebuked the charge that Newburgh was riddled with cheats.

Irv Gitlin died in 1967, a year in which there were no *White Paper* reports. Fred Freed assumed the role of executive producer and focused the series on domestic issues, as with the three-part *Ordeal of the American City*, which aired in the 1968–69 season.

In 1980, *White Paper* broadcast *If Japan Can . . . Why Can't We?*, which explored how that country recovered from World War II to achieve world-class industrial status. NBC was inundated with requests for transcripts and copies of the program, which was studied by major corporations and universities. Interest began to wane, however, for the "white paper" approach. In a *Los Angeles Times* interview in 1991, David Fanning, executive producer for the PBS documentary series *Frontline* said, "One of the reasons the documentary declined is that the networks didn't allow the form to grow and be innovative. They didn't sense that people might want something beyond the traditional 'White Paper' approach of throwing a net over an important subject and telling us about our troubles."

—Tom Mascaro

## NEIGHBOURS

### Australian Soap Opera

**G**et back to Ramsay Street" was the 1995 promotional line used by the Ten Network, home of *Neighbours* since late 1985. The marketing strategy sought to reorient both the program itself and the audiences who have followed it through uncertain beginnings, extraordinary local and international success, and continuing quiet domestic popularity. The message was clear and reflected a key element in the program's enduring popularity: a decade after it began, after attracting millions of viewers around the world, *Neighbours* is home.

*Neighbours* is almost without doubt the Australian program with the highest international profile in the 1980s. Well over 2000 episodes into production, it still commands worldwide audiences of over 50 million and has helped transform its production company, the Grundy Organisation, into one of the world's most successful television production groups.

**PRODUCERS** Irving Gidin, Fred Freed

### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

• NBC

1960–1980

Various Times

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See also Documentary; Freed, Fred

The program's success, both in Australia and overseas, has always been attributable to a mix of textual and industrial factors. This success lies both in its qualities as a well-developed and executed Australian soap opera and in the ways it has been scheduled both in Australia and in the United Kingdom. The premise for the show is the daily interactions of the people living in a middle-class street in a suburb of Melbourne. It is simple in design, yet allows for any number of narrative possibilities. Significantly, it is the limiting of these possibilities to the realms of the ordinary, the unexceptional, and non-melodramatic that has ensured its success for so long.

Stephen Crofts' detailed analysis of program form and content identifies several key aspects which support these general speculations. These include *Neighbours'* focus on the everyday, the domestic, and the suburban; its portrayal of women as doers; its reliance on teen sex appeal and unrebelle-



Neighbours

*Photo courtesy of Grundy Television*

ious youth; its “feel-good” characters and wholesome neighbourliness. Social tension and values conflict are always resolved, dissolved, or repressed, and the overall ideological tone is of depoliticised middle-class citizenship.

Ramsay Street and its suburb of Erinsborough have provided a pool of characters drawn from the ranks of home-owners and small-business people, school kids, and pensioners. Textually, the program firmly roots itself in the domestic—in the family and the home, friends and acquaintances, and the immediate social contexts in which they are located. The mundane nature of the domestic storylines extends to the geographical reach of the show. Erinsborough is a fictional suburb which constructs the family homes as its hub and the local shops, hotel, surgery, and school as the domain of its characters. While it has been known to send its characters overseas, it has also become notorious for sending its popular players off into the far reaches of Brisbane or the Gold Coast (indeed, it seems that

“overseas” is a place from which it is easier to retrieve its characters from than the depths of Queensland). In keeping with the show’s philosophy of “the everyday” it is the impact that the characters’ interactions with such places produces on other characters that is important to the narrative.

Initially based around three families, the Robinsons, the Ramsays, and the Clarkes, with other local residents thrown in for romance and a touch of conflict, the narrative structures of the program were sufficiently loose to allow for a considerable turnover of characters. In this respect, while the idea of the series is simple, the specifics of the houses in Ramsay Street and the families which inhabit them necessarily change and adapt. The element of continuity lies in the central institutions of the house and home and supporting institutions like small business and public education, and in the performance of small-scale romance and tragedy.

Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of the show is its foundations in the “neighbourliness” of (albeit select

segments of) the local community. This means that the households and the living and working arrangements of the residents of Ramsay Street take precedence over the establishment of any strict boundaries which mark out the "family" and the roles of family members. Intergenerational conflict abounds and, while resolution is almost unfailingly the order of the day, the show provides an interesting mix of the nuclear and the non-nuclear family. In its current form, there is not one complete nuclear family unit—a significant reflection on the boundaries for the exploration of the "social" within the program's narrative framework.

These characteristics intertwine with the industrial features of the program's success. When the Seven Network axed the show in the second half of 1985—one of the monumental mistakes of Australian network programming—Grundys' managing director, Ian Holmes, offered it to the Ten Network. Ten was able to revive the show with new, sexier characters, and shining, enviable domestic sets. The focus on family and community life continued, this time with a little more glamour and in a later time slot—shifting the program from 5:30 P.M. to 7:00 P.M., Monday to Friday. When the show again ran into trouble in 1986, the new network embarked on a massive selling campaign aimed at reviving flagging Sydney ratings. It worked: ratings in Australia soared along with the developing relationship of its stars, Kylie Minogue and Jason Donovan. This in turn led the program into the period of its phenomenal success in the United Kingdom.

Clearly, the amiable middle-class "struggles" of the Ramsay Street residents make for a markedly different narrative to those of the *EastEnders* or the residents of *Coronation Street*. *Neighbours* was the first television program in Britain to be screened twice daily and across all five weekdays by the BBC, which had been commanded into greater economic accountability by the Thatcher government of the 1980s. This strategy, followed soon after by *Home and Away*, was to transform the nature of the program as its cast became international stars: in Australia, the already popular Minogue and Donovan, as well as Craig McLachlan and Guy Pierce, were constructed as cultural exports, with the pop-music careers of the first two building a star status unknown by Australian television actors. Morally unproblematic, the program fit well into a conservative U.K. government agenda that sought a new degree of competitiveness from the BBC at the same time that it valorised conservative themes. The BBC found that this product provided a counterpoint to other television drama like *EastEnders* and *Coronation Street*—and it did so at far less expense. A week's worth of *Neighbours* could be acquired for around £27,000, compared to £40,000 per half-hour episode of *EastEnders*.

While *Neighbours* was winning U.K. audiences of 20 million by the end of 1988 and consistently challenging the two English soaps for the position of highest rating drama on British television, it was also criticised for its bland representation of life in a sunny, relatively trouble-free, seemingly egalitarian Australian suburb. *EastEnders*, partic-

ularly, was attracting commendation for the range of its social representation and, while *Neighbours* had always had its share of strong female characters, *Neighbours* casually overlooked the aspects of multiculturalism fundamental to both Australian and British society as well as other important social subjects like unemployment. With a growing list of Australian film and television exports, Australian television became the target of arguments addressing issues of British cultural maintenance. And while some of these criticisms may be well-deserved, *Neighbours*, along with *Home and Away*, was in turn important to an Australian film and television industry which was itself accustomed to being seen as an import culture dominated by American and British products. It was the leader in a new wave of audiovisual export successes in the 1980s and 1990s which has invigorated and redirected the local industry.

Finally, the program remains a popular domestic soap opera. The *Neighbours* of 1995 fit well the Ten Network broadcasting ethos based around the appeal of a global "youth culture." Ten worked at building a sizeable teen demographic based strictly on ratings and its success in this has seen a turn-around in profits—its level of returns to expenditure exceeds that of its long-term rival, the Seven Network. With another cast of sexier young stars and well-chosen older, more experienced actors *Neighbours* continues as the country's longest-running soap and one of its most successful television exports.

—Stuart O. Cunningham

#### CAST

Melissa Jarett	Jade Amenta
Josh Anderson	Jeremy Angerson
Luke Foster	Murray Bartlett
Faye Hudson	Lorraine Bayly
Michael Martin	Troy Beckwith
Lucy Robinson	Melissa Bell
Gaby Willis	Rachel Blakely
Christina Alessi-Robinson	Gayle Blakeney
Caroline Alessi	Gillian Blakeney
Brett Stark	Brett Blewitt
Cody Willis	Peta Brady
Gemma Ramsey	Beth Buchanan
Madge Ramsey-Bishop	Anne Charleston
Rosemary Daniels	Joy Chambers
Gail Lewis-Robinson	Fiona Corke
Melanie Peason-Mangel	Lucinda Cowden
Luke Handley	Bernard Curry
Jim Robinson	Alan Dale
Sassy	Defah Dattner
Annalise Hartman	Kimberley Davies
Dorothy Burke	Maggie Dence
Paul Robinson	Stefan Dennis
Jamie Clarke	S. J. Dey
Scott Robinson	Jason Donovan
Doug Willis	Terence Donovan
Rick Alessi	Dan Falzon

Karl Kennedy . . . . . Alan Fletcher  
 Cody Willis . . . . . Amelia Frid  
 Bronwyn Davies . . . . . Rachel Friend  
 Sky Bishop . . . . . Miranda Fryer  
 Toby Mangel . . . . . Ben Geurens  
 Cheryl Kratz-Stark . . . . . Caroline Gillmer  
 Nell Mangel . . . . . Vivean Gray  
 Toby Mangel . . . . . Finn Greentree-Keane  
 Sam Kratz . . . . . Richard Grieve  
 Helen Daniels . . . . . Anne Haddy  
 Kerry Bishop . . . . . Linda Hartley  
 Arthur Bright . . . . . Barry Hill  
 Serendipity Gottlieb . . . . . Raelee Hill  
 Andrew Robinson . . . . . Shannon Holmes  
 Glen Donnelly . . . . . Richard Huggert  
 Kris Hyde . . . . . John Hugginson  
 Beth Brennan-Willis . . . . . Nathalie Imbruglia  
 Jane Harris . . . . . Annie Jones  
 Pam Willis . . . . . Sue Jones  
 Des Clarke . . . . . Paul Keane  
 Len Mangel . . . . . John Lee  
 Brenda Riley . . . . . Genevieve Lemon  
 Joe Mangel (1987–90) . . . . . Mark Little  
 Darren Stark . . . . . Scott Major  
 Henry Ramsey . . . . . Craig McLachlan  
 Malcolm Kennedy . . . . . Benjamin McNair  
 Brad Willis (1991–94) . . . . . Scott Michaelson  
 Charlene Ramsey-Robinson . . . . . Kylie Minogue  
 Katerina Torelli (1994–) . . . . . Josephine Mitchell  
 Andrew Mackenzie (1994) . . . . . John Morris (II)  
 Julie Robinson-Martin (1992–) . . . . . Julie Mullins  
 Lou Carpenter . . . . . Tom Oliver  
 Marlene Kratz . . . . . Moya O'Sullivan  
 Matt Robinson . . . . . Ashley Paske  
 Mike Young . . . . . Guy Pierce (II)  
 Jen Handley . . . . . Alyce Platt  
 Philip Martin (1992–) . . . . . Ian Rawlings  
 Debbie Martin (1992–) . . . . . Marnie Reece-Wilmore  
 Hannah Martin (1992–) . . . . . Rebecca Ritters  
 Phoebe Bright-Gottlieb . . . . . Simone Robertson  
 Jesse O'Connor (1994) . . . . . James Ryan  
 Mark Gottlieb (1993–) . . . . . Bruce Samazan  
 Todd Landers . . . . . Kristian Schmid

Harold Bishop . . . . . Ian Smith  
 Billy Kennedy . . . . . Jesse Spencer  
 Aaron O'Connor (1994) . . . . . Greg Stone  
 Ken Naylor . . . . . Peter Tabour  
 Danni Stark (1994–) . . . . . Eliza Szonert  
 Sally Pritchard (1994–) . . . . . Brenda Webb  
 Libby Kennedy . . . . . Kym Valentine  
 Guy Carpenter . . . . . Andrew Williams  
 Adam Willis . . . . . Ian Williams  
 Susan Kennedy . . . . . Jackie Woodburne  
 Logie Nomination . . . . . Anthony Engelman  
 Lauren Carpenter . . . . . Sarah Vandenberg

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

- Seven Network  
 March 1985–November 1985      Weeknights 6:00–6:30
- Ten Network  
 November 1985–March 1992      Weeknights 7:00–7:30  
 March 1992–      Weeknights 6:30–7:00

**PRODUCERS** The Grundy Organization

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See also Australian Programming; *Coronation Street*; *EastEnders*; Grundy, Reg; Soap Opera

## NELSON, OZZIE AND HARRIET

### U.S. Actors

During a period that was to last twenty years, the Nelson family—Ozzie, his wife Harriet Hilliard, and their two sons, David and Ricky—were regarded as the preeminent icon of the ideal nuclear family. From his bandleading days of the mid-1930s through his reign, a generation later, as the bumbling patriarch of television's best-known family, Ozzie Nelson was able to conflate, reduce and transform the

professional activities of his family's personal reality into a fictional domestic banality.

Best-known for their long-running television series, *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, the Nelson family began their successful togetherness with the marriage of saxophone-playing Ozzie to his "girl-singer," Harriet in the 1930s. Ozzie's deliberate hesitancy and self-deprecating



humor were the perfect foil for the sweet and sassy Harriet, who interrupted her songs with sarcastic banter. During the 1940s, Ozzie, Harriet and their band were regulars on radio's Red Skelton show, and in 1944 when Red was drafted into the army, they took over his time slot. For Skelton, the Nelsons stuck to their big band routines with occasional married-couple skits providing non-musical breaks, but when Ozzie conceived the pilot for his own program he decided to venture more into the realm of domestic comedy, writing a script based on his own family life.

Initially the program revolved around the trials and tribulations of bandleader Ozzie and his family. There were many references to Ozzie's rehearsals, road tours, and other musical endeavors, and the comedy sketches were balanced with full-length musical numbers. By 1946 however, these musical interludes were eliminated in favor of a more representational narrative. Until 1949, the roles of their two sons were played by child actors, but a guest appearance by Bing Crosby and his sons convinced Ozzie that he should allow the 13-year-old David and 9-year-old Ricky to play themselves. The boys, especially "the irrepressible Ricky," were an enormous success and lent further potency to the verisimilitude of the purely fictional narratives.

Nelson's business skills were unparalleled (he'd attended law school at Rutgers) and he negotiated with ABC for the "first noncancellable ten-year contract" which guaranteed a basic salary for ten years whether the Nelsons worked or not. The family was thus virtually immune from sponsor or network interference (one of the reasons, certainly, that Ozzie and Harriet were the only television couple allowed a double bed until 1969's *The Brady Bunch*.)

While in the middle of this contractual period, ABC expressed interest in a television program. As a test, they starred the family in a movie *Here Come the Nelsons* for Universal Studios. The film, co-starring Rock Hudson and featuring Ozzie as an advertising executive, was a huge success, and in 1952, the television program began filming at General Service Studios. Interestingly, for the next two years, the radio and television programs continued concurrently, with Nelson insisting on completely different scripts for the television show.

Produced under the banner "Stage Five Productions," which included Ozzie, his brother Don, Bill Davenport and Ben Gershman, *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* was the result of the uncompromising standards and efforts of perfectionist Ozzie Nelson. He was involved in every single one of the program's 435 episodes as head writer, script supervisor, producer, and editor. And, if he didn't direct an episode, his son David did. Story meetings were weekly, all-night affairs (with an 11:00 P.M. break for ice cream) and took place at the Nelson home in the Hollywood Hills, with the production staff and auxiliary writers Jay Sommers, Dick Bensfield and Perry Grant attending.

A stickler for quality, Ozzie was adamant that his program look different from the inferior kinescope products dominating the television schedule, and he hired Academy Award winner



*The Nelsons*

William C. Mellor to shoot the program in the finest 35mm-film stock. With preliminary editing complete, Nelson would then rent a Los Angeles theater and screen two or three episodes back-to-back for audiences in order to gauge the placement and intensity of the laugh track cues.

One of the reasons for the program's tremendous following was that audiences actually believed that the Nelsons were truly playing themselves, a myth the Nelson family helped perpetuate. The exterior of the television house was modeled on the real-life Nelson home, and Ozzie incorporated many real-life events, neighbors, family and hobbies into the program. Thus when David took up motorcycles, or when the boys were interested in the trapeze, these would become the focus for a weekly episode. David's marriage to June Blair and Rick's to Kris Harmon occurred off-screen, but the new season joyfully "introduced" the "newest member of the Nelson family," to the television viewer.

The most significant impact of this blending of fact and fiction resulted from Ricky's interest in rock and roll music. Spurred on by a girlfriend's crush on Elvis Presley, Ricky bragged that he too was about to cut a record, and then quickly enlisted his father to make this boast a reality. In April 1957, the 16-year-old Ricky released a cover version of Fats Domino's big hit "I'm Walkin'." As was his habit, Ozzie integrated this latest



preoccupation of his son into a television episode, and "Ricky the Drummer" aired concurrent with the record's release. One million records sold the first week, and for the next six years, Ricky Nelson was to dominate the pop charts with such hits as "Hello, Mary Lou," "Travelin' Man," and "Fools Rush In," all of which benefited from weekly exposure on the television series. With simultaneous promotion in music trade papers, a new song would "debut" at the end of a completely unrelated episode, tacked on in a pseudo-concert with Ricky singing to a mob of squealing, head-bopping extras. Rick's impact on the rock world was crucial, and his eventual induction into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame legitimized his talented contributions. More important than his actual music, perhaps, was the fact that in giving their blessing to Ricky's career, Ozzie and Harriet demonstrated to millions of timid middle-class Americans that rock and roll was not a satanic threat, but a viable musical alternative. In an unprecedented response to the thousands of irate letters he'd received, Ozzie scripted 1956's "Ozzie the Treasurer," in which Harriet extols the tension-releasing benefits of "rhythm and blues music."

Both Nelson boys attempted film careers and found moderate success in some big-budget 1950s films—David in *Peyton Place*, and Ricky in *Rio Bravo*. By the time of the program's end in 1966, however, the Nelson sons were hard-pressed to find a large popular following. Ricky ventured into country music where he had sporadic success until his 1985 death in a plane crash, and David moved into production, working mainly in commercials and low-budget features. Their parents, too, seemed unable to capture the magic of the earlier years. A boarding-house sitcom, *Ozzie's Girls*, was cancelled during its first season, and the couple semi-retired, making the talk show circuit and living together in Laguna Beach until Ozzie's death in 1975.

From the outset, *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* had a nostalgic feel, resembling Ozzie's 1920s youth in New Jersey more than 1950s Los Angeles. The picket-fenced neighborhoods, the corner drugstore and malt shop featured weekly in this slow-paced half-hour infiltrated American culture at a time of social unease and quiescent distress. In reality, most 1950s fathers were working ten-hour days and commuting long-distances to isolated suburbs. For the Nelsons, however, Ozzie was always home, neighbors still chatted over the back fence, and downtown was a brisk walk away. The Nelsons presented an America that never was, but always wished for, and through their confusion of reality and fantasy worked to concoct an image of American life that is, to this day, mistakenly claimed not only as ideal, but as authentic.

—Nina C. Leibman

**HARRIET NELSON** (Harriet Hilliard). Born Peggy Lou Snyder in Des Moines, Iowa, U.S.A., 18 July 1914. Attended St. Agnes Academy. Married: Ozzie Nelson, 1935; children: David Ozzie and Eric Hilliard. Beauty queen hired as vocalist for Ozzie Nelson's Orchestra, 1932; recording artist for Brunswick, Vocalian, Victor and Blue Bird; as Harriet Hilliard, was a leading lady in film, from 1936; various radio appearances on

Red Skelton's radio program in the 1940s, co-starred with husband Ozzie in radio series *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, 1944; star of television version of *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, 1952–66. Recipient: National Family Week Radio citation by the International Council on Christian Family Life, 1947; Radio and TV Women of Southern California Genii Award, 1960; *Los Angeles Times* Woman of the Year; *TV-Radio Mirror* Reader's Poll Best Husband-Wife Team in TV, seven consecutive years. Died in Laguna Beach, California, 2 October 1994.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1952–66 *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*  
1973 *Ozzie's Girls*

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

1976 *Smash-up on Interstate 5*

#### FILMS

*Follow the Fleet*, 1936; *She's My Everything*, 1936; *Sweetheart of the Campus*, 1941; *Canal Zone*, 1942; *Falcon Strikes Back*, 1943; *Here Come the Nelsons*, 1952.

#### RADIO

Joe Penner's radio show, 1933; Red Skelton's radio show, 1940s; *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, 1944–52.

#### STAGE

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**OZZIE NELSON** (Oswald George Nelson). Born in Jersey City, New Jersey, U.S.A., 20 March 1907. Graduated from Rutgers University, 1927, law degree 1930. Married: Harriet Hilliard, 1935; children: David Ozzie and Eric Hilliard. Formed a successful orchestra, 1930; several guest appearances with wife Harriet on Red Skelton's radio program in early 1940s; radio series *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, 1944–52; starred in ABC-Television's popular *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* 1952–66, also produced, wrote and directed the series; occasional director of episodes for television series such as *Adam 12*. Recipient: National Family Week Radio citation by the International Council on Christian Family Life, 1947; *TV-Radio Mirror* Reader's Poll Best Husband-Wife Team in TV, seven consecutive years. Died in San Fernando Valley, California, 3 June 1975.

#### TELEVISION SERIES (also producer, head writer and director)

1952–66 *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*  
1973 *Ozzie's Girls*

**FILMS**

*Sweetheart of the Campus*, 1941; *Hi Good Lookin'*, 1944; *People are Funny*, 1945; *Here Come the Nelsons*, 1952; *Love and Kisses* (also writer, producer and director), 1965.

**RADIO**

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See also *Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*; Comedy, Domestic Settings; Family on Television

## **NETWORK** See **UNITED STATES: NETWORK**, and **individual networks**

## **NEW ZEALAND**

As observers have noted, there is considerable irony in the fact that New Zealand, the first nation to legislate for state control of sound waves with the Wireless Telegraphy Act of 1903, should have created what the reforming Minister of Broadcasting, Richard Prebble, claimed was "the most open communications market in the world" eighty-six years later. The development of television has been at the centre of this movement from strong state direction to a competitive marketplace.

In 1935, the first Labour administration set up the National Broadcasting Service as a government department to bring the emerging medium under public control. The following year twenty-two private radio stations were nationalised to create a state monopoly.

A government inquiry into the prospects for television was appointed in the 1940s but did not report until 1957. It advocated a public monopoly and a full service was eventually launched in 1960. Its take-off coincided with a major change in the overall organisation of broadcasting when, in 1961, the old National Broadcasting System became the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation (NZBC), an institution closer to the BBC model.

Because of the country's relatively small population, it was clear that the licence fee would not generate sufficient income to cover the costs of the new service and so advertising was allowed from the outset as a supplementary source of income. Consequently, although the NZBC looked to the BBC as a model, it never enjoyed the same relative independence from commercial pressures, or from political overlordship, as its British counterpart.

As a national monopoly it was expected to reflect and foster national culture and national identity. However, its ability to

do this was severely limited by financial constraints. The start-up costs of the new television service were substantial. Constructing a transmitter system across a huge, topographically difficult, land area was particularly expensive. Comparatively little funding was therefore available for original programme production, and scheduling relied heavily on imported material, particularly from Britain. By the late 1960s, NZBC was the largest purchaser of BBC programmes in the world.

In 1972, the organisation successfully fought off a bid to introduce a competitive commercial service and launched a second channel. This made imported programmes even more attractive to cost conscious executives. They were ten to twenty times cheaper than domestic productions and filled the screen for two days for the price of one hour of home produced material. By the mid-1980s, imports were providing the majority of programmes but taking only 4% of the television division's total expenditure. When a UNESCO study calculated local content on television in 1983, Great Britain logged 85%, Australia 50% and New Zealand 25%—including sports, game shows, news and current affairs—strong evidence that in a market of only three million people, financial logic worked powerfully against public television's ability to reflect the full diversity of national life.

Despite the rebuff to the private sector lobby in 1972, a limited form of competition was introduced in 1974 when NZBC's two channels became separate operating companies and entered into vigorous competition for viewers and advertising. This pushed programming towards a more populist, entertainment oriented style. Television viewing increased appreciably.

This fueled renewed pressure from private companies wishing to enter the increasingly lucrative market for televi-

sion advertising. In 1976 the newly elected conservative, National Government, responded positively with a Broadcasting Act which set up a quasi-judicial Broadcasting Tribunal, with the power to licence new stations by issuing broadcasting warrants. However, it took rather longer to break the public monopoly than many early enthusiasts had anticipated. The private consortium that later became the country's first terrestrial commercial service, TV3, lodged an application for a warrant in 1984. It obtained a favourable decision in August 1987 but a judicial review in their favour was not handed down until September 1988. The channel finally went on air in November 1989. It entered a depressed economy encumbered with debts accrued from the protracted Tribunal process and went into receivership after only six months. It had also underestimated the public channels' ability to fight their corner.

In addition to establishing the Tribunal, the 1976 Act had also replaced the old Broadcasting Service with the Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand (BCNZ), a publicly owned institution with two major operating divisions, radio, and Television New Zealand (TVNZ). The two television channels were brought under unified control and run as complementary services. The government also addressed the organisation's mounting deficit produced by the costs of launching the second channel and converting from black and white transmissions to colour. In 1977 they agreed to retire the debt on the condition that future developments were funded from revenues. To underline the point the licence fee was held constant. By 1993 it stood at NZ\$110. If it had been indexed linked to inflation since 1975 it would have been NZ\$280. Faced with a capped income from the licence fee, TVNZ set out to attract more advertising revenue successfully increasing its overall share of the advertising market from 21% to 30% in the ten years from 1977. By 1987 advertising accounted for 80% of its total revenues helping it to record a return on equity of close to 20%.

This more commercially minded attitude ran counter to the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Broadcasting that had sat between 1984 and 1985. It had advocated a strong public service system with limits on advertising levels and a local programme quota. But even as it reported, it sounded like an echo from the past.

As a division within a public corporation, TVNZ was free to retain any earnings and reinvest them. The treasury, however, favoured returning them to the public purse for general use. Its 1984 briefing to the incoming government floated the idea of converting commercially viable public operations into state owned trading enterprises (SOE's), which would function as private sector businesses and return a dividend to the government. The process began in 1986. Nine new SOE's, including telecommunications were established, and at the end of 1988 the principle was extended to radio and television broadcasting.

However, TVNZ's capacity to increase its revenues was affected by a radical shift in the terms of competition in the television marketplace initiated by two key pieces of legislation

passed in 1989. In response to widespread concern about the costs and delays of the Tribunal process for granting new licenses, the government introduced the Radio Communications Act. This allocated radio frequencies by tender, the winning bidder becoming the frequency "manager" for a twenty-year term with freedom to pass the licence on to another party. The first auction of national and regional UHF frequencies in 1990 opened the market to several new services. They included Sky Network, the country's first pay-TV service, rebroadcasting satellite sports, news and film services; a regional service based in Canterbury in the South Island; and a racing channel, Action TV.

Television New Zealand, which had become a separate operating company in December 1988, in preparation for increased competition, responded aggressively in an effort to cut costs and increase revenues. Staffing numbers were cut and employees moved to limited term individual contracts. Much of the programming formerly made in-house was contracted out to independent producers. Internal subsidiaries looked for outside clients. And the organisation moved to spread its interests beyond its traditional business of mass market national broadcasting. It acquired a 35% stake in Sky, formed a partnership with Clear Communications, the second force in the emerging telecommunications market, and entered the burgeoning overseas broadcasting market with a 29.5% stake in Asia Business News.

It also retained its dominant position in the national television market. By October TVNZ's two channels still commanded an 80% share of the television audience as against TV3's 17.3% and Sky's 1.5%. Its share of television advertising however showed a steeper decline, dropping from 100% in 1984, before the advent of competition, to 70% ten years later. At the same time, TVNZ lost its monopoly control over the licence income.

The 1989 Broadcasting Act transferred responsibility for collecting and distributing the public broadcasting fee to a new body, the Broadcasting Commission, with a particular responsibility for funding local production. It later adopted the title New Zealand on Air (NZOA). Although anyone could bid for funds TVNZ held on to its dominant position with 76% of NZOA's 1992 production budget going to programmes made by or for its two channels. A substantial portion of this figure was spent on the medical soap opera *Shortland Street*, NZOA's major prime-time vehicle for representing a changing national culture.

Although the introduction of competition has significantly increased the number of television services available within New Zealand, there is heated debate as to whether it has extended the range of programming on offer.

Critics of the reforms point to the cultural costs of the minimal restrictions on commercial operators, the intensified competition for ratings points, and the shift towards transnational ownership with the removal of all restrictions on foreign holdings in television in 1991. They point to the absence of any quota to protect local programming, to NZOA's inability to compel stations to show the pro-

grammes it has funded in favourable slots, and to the marked increase in advertising time which gives more space to commercial speech and less to other voices. Although the figures are contested, one government report suggested that between 1988 and 1991, advertising on the two TVNZ channels increased from an average of nine to ten minutes an hour to fifteen minutes.

This eclipse of public service ideals by commercial imperatives is, critics argue, part of a pattern of change which has produced plurality without diversity. Whether this pattern will be broken or reinforced by current moves towards multi media convergence and interactivity is the central question for the coming decade.

—Graham Murdock

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## NEWHART, BOB

U.S. Comedian/Actor

Bob Newhart is one of a few television performers to have starred in two highly successful series. His subtle, ironic humor and deadpan delivery served him well as the star of *The Bob Newhart Show* in the 1970s and *Newhart* in the 1980s. In both programs he had opportunity to display his greatest strength as an actor—his ability to be a great reactor. While the characters he portrayed were a bit quirky, those surrounding him were so much more bizarre that he seemed an island of sanity as he responded to their zaniness. This calm, controlled style also allowed him to take on some risky subjects—death, for instance—without offending his audience. As Newhart once told an interviewer, this style "has allowed me to say outrageous things with the facade of someone who didn't look like they would be saying outrageous things."

Newhart became a television star in a rather roundabout fashion. In the late 1950s, following college, army service, and a few short-term jobs, he appeared to have settled into an accounting career, but his hobby was performing comedy routines on radio. Some of his demonstration tapes so impressed Warner Brothers' recording division that Warner signed him to record a comedy album, even though he had never performed on the concert stage. His first album, *The Button-Down Mind of Bob Newhart*, was a major hit of 1960. His humor was intelligent and original; some of his now-classic routines involved an inexperienced security guard reporting King Kong's climb up the Empire State Building, Abraham Lincoln's publicist coaching him on the Gettys-

burg address, and Sir Walter Raleigh's boss hearing about the discovery of tobacco ("...you stick it between your lips...you set fire to it?"). Many of these routines were played out as telephone conversations, of which the audience heard only Newhart's side; often he ended the conversation with an indignant "Same to you, fella!"

Newhart was one of several cerebral comedians who found favor in the early 1960s, but he always seemed more accessible than the others, like the kind of guy people would invite into their living rooms. Soon, that's where he was. On the strength of his first album, he was invited to perform on the Emmy Awards telecast in 1960. His appearance went over so well that NBC gave him his first TV series, a comedy-variety program called, like his 1970s sitcom, *The Bob Newhart Show*. It was critically acclaimed and won an Emmy as Best Comedy Series of the 1961–62 season, but was canceled after that season due to low ratings. (Newhart's subsequent hit series were occasionally nominated for Emmys, but never won, and Newhart himself was nominated for best actor in a comedy series twice, but lost both years to Michael J. Fox.)

In the next decade Newhart performed with great success in nightclubs and on records, and with less success in films, but he remained familiar to television audiences through frequent guest appearances on *The Tonight Show*, *The Ed Sullivan Show*, and other variety programs. When Newhart returned to series television in 1972, he won both critical and popular acclaim as Chicago psychologist Dr. Bob

Hartley in *The Bob Newhart Show*. The show was one of the best of the ensemble comedies, many of them produced by the MTM company, that became so popular in the 1970s. Its humor was sophisticated, but with a twist: it could laugh at Bob's fixation on death after he nearly fell down an elevator shaft, and deal sympathetically with controversial subjects, such as the homosexuality of one of Bob's patients. Unlike programs produced by the Norman Lear organizations, however, it was not primarily concerned with social issues, but with human foibles. It was exceptionally well-written and had well-drawn supporting characters played by talented actors. Each cast member had opportunity to shine, but Newhart was the calm center of it all, reacting dryly to strange characters and events, and patiently trying to explain various situations to people who weren't interested in his explanations. The program also incorporated some of Newhart's most successful standup gimmicks, such as his one-sided telephone conversations.

After six seasons, *The Bob Newhart Show* went off the air—voluntarily—but four years later its star was back with a new series, *Newhart*, in which he played Dick Loudon, a New York writer of "how-to" books who decided to open an inn in Vermont. The premise, in some ways, was not all that different than that of the earlier series. Bob Hartley had to be understanding of all his patients, no matter how difficult they were; Dick Loudon had to be nice to all his guests, despite any pains they caused him. The show had excellent writing and a strong supporting cast, and again Newhart's deadpan, ironic presence was at the center of a universe of eccentric, in some cases truly weird, people.

In the 1990s Newhart again performed primarily in clubs and concerts, but he gave series television another try in 1992 with *Bob*, playing cartoonist Bob McKay. The show had a brief run, was revamped, and had another brief run. Newhart, however, needed stronger supporting characters than this series provided. Despite this failure, Newhart's place in television history is assured by his two successful sitcoms, which in reruns continue to demonstrate that his style of humor has not gone out of date.

—Trudy Ring

**BOB NEWHART.** Born in Oak Park, Illinois, U.S.A., 29 September 1929. Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois, B.S. 1952. Married: Virginia Quinn, 1963; children: Robert, Timothy, Jennifer, and Courtney. Served in U.S. Army, 1952–54. Accountant, U.S. Gypsum Company, 1955; copywriter, Fred Niles Films Company, 1958; rose to popularity with phonograph recordings of comedy routines, many of which featured Newhart in one-sided telephone conversations with prominent persons; numerous television guest appearances as stand-up comedian throughout 1960s; starred in two long-running series, *The Bob Newhart Show* and *Newhart*. Recipient: Emmy Award, 1962; Peabody Award, 1962; Sword of Loyola Award, 1975; inducted into the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Hall of Fame, 1993.



*Bob Newhart*

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1961–62	<i>The Bob Newhart Show</i>
1964	<i>The Entertainers</i>
1972–78	<i>The Bob Newhart Show</i>
1982–90	<i>Newhart</i>
1992–93	<i>Bob</i>

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

1974	<i>Thursday's Game</i>
1980	<i>Marathon</i>
1991	<i>The Entertainers</i>

#### FILMS

*Hell Is for Heroes*, 1962; *Hot Millions*, 1968; *On a Clear Day You Can See Forever*, 1970; *Catch-22*, 1970; *Cold Turkey*, 1971; *The Rescuers* (voice), 1977; *Little Miss Marker*, 1980; *First Family*, 1980; *The Rescuers Down Under* (voice), 1990.

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See also *Bob Newhart Show/Newhart*; *Mary Tyler Moore Show*; *Tinker, Grant*

## NEWMAN, SYDNEY

British Programming Executive/Producer

Sydney Newman has been seen as the most significant agent in the development of British television drama. He was to preside over the transformation of television drama from a dependence on theatrical material and forms to a significant art form in its own right. However, this achievement does not belong to Newman alone; his skill can be located in an ability to successfully exploit the best of already favourable circumstances with an incorrigible enthusiasm and clarity of vision.

Born in Toronto in 1917, he trained initially as a commercial artist, before joining the National Film Board of Canada as film editor, director and executive producer where he made award-winning documentary films and worked with John Grierson. He subsequently spent a year as a working observer for NBC Television in New York, before becoming Supervisor of Drama at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. It was here, working on *General Motors Theatre*, that he developed the policy of working with contemporary dramatists who attempted to confront current issues in their work.

In 1958 he moved to Britain to work for ABC, one of the commercial companies which made up the ITV network. In 1955 commercial television broke the broadcasting monopoly held by the BBC, and ABC Television Ltd. was a regional company given the franchise for supplying weekend programming in the North and Midlands. Even before Newman's arrival as Head of Drama at ABC, the company had acquired a reputation for some of the best ITV drama. Its *Armchair Theatre* anthology was transmitted every Sunday evening, inheriting a large audience from the highly popular variety show *Sunday Night At The London Palladium*.

Newman took over from Dennis Vance as drama head in April 1958. Like Rudolph Cartier at the BBC, Newman arrived in Britain unimpressed with the state of television drama. He also arrived during a sea change of ITV fortunes; after two years of loss the new commercial ITV network companies were just beginning to make substantial profits, and by 1958 television audiences for their programmes reached over 70%. At the same time the renaissance of British theatre was well underway. As Newman admitted:

I came to Britain at a crucial time in 1958 when the seeds of *Look Back in Anger* were beginning to flower. I am proud that I played some part in the recognition that the working man was a fit subject for drama, and not just a comic foil in middle-class manners.

(*Daily Express*, 5 January 1963)

Inspired by his experience in drama at CBC and unimpressed by the BBC's continuing policy of mopping up old theatre scripts (according to Newman) he immediately set



Sydney Newman

Photo courtesy of the British Film Institute

about organising a policy of producing plays written for the medium, plays which would reflect and project the experience and concerns of a new working-class audience. As Newman put it in a 1979 interview, "I said we should have an original play policy with plays that were going to be *about* the very people who owned TV sets—which is really a working class audience."

This explicitly populist "theatre of the people" quickly became characterised by the press as "kitchen sink" drama—unfair considering the wide variety of plays and genres which Newman's *Armchair Theatre* produced. What they did have in common was their ambition to capture contemporary trends and popular experience and reflect these back to the television audience. To this end Newman discovered and nurtured new writers, some of whom were to become the best of their generation, including Clive Exton, Alun Owen, and Harold Pinter.

Newman not only encouraged the transformation of the television landscape in terms of subject matter but also in terms of style. If the content of British television drama consisted of bourgeois theatre and its limited concerns, then—according to Newman—the shooting style was also limited, constrained by a static respect for theatrical performance. Newman collected a group of young directors from North America, such as Philip Saville, Ted Kotcheff, Charles



Jarrott, as well as poaching directors from the BBC. With these directors—in particular Saville and Kotcheff—he encouraged stylistic change as well as a thematic change, insisting on a new, self-conscious, mobile camera style for the drama productions. As Ted Kotcheff remembers, “We wanted to push against the limitations of the medium, the way it was presently covered—to approach the freedom of film, and not to enslave it to the theatrical tradition in which we found it when we arrived here....”

The combination of fresh contemporary material and the freedom Newman gave to his directors (and set designers) to innovate with that material opened up the potential of television drama for all to see. Newman was never far behind them, often photographed on the studio set writing notes, his white-suited swagger suggesting a blazing showbiz evangelist. Contrast the early dramas of “Reith’s BBC” and their “photographed stage plays,” respectfully static and distant, with Newman’s *Armchair Theatre* drama productions: plays like “Afternoon of a Nymph” (1961) have an ingenious mobility, with multiple cameras performing a frantic ballet, prodding their lenses into the action, spiraling in and between the sets and actors, until their movement itself becomes the significant performance. This new spectrum of theme and style can be seen in other plays such as “The Trouble with Our Ivy” (1961), “A Night Out” (Harold Pinter, 1959), and “No Trams to Lime Street” (Alun Owen, 1958).

Newman’s real insight—and the real difference with the BBC of the late 1950s—was his estimation of the television audience as discerning, intelligent and capable to handle new and innovative subject matter. As a producer he saw himself as a “creative midwife” bringing together the best technical and creative skill.

In fact, Newman’s organisational abilities were to find a home at the BBC. In another well-timed move Newman began work as BBC head of Drama Group in January 1963. At this point the BBC under director-general Hugh Greene was beginning a period of modernisation and liberalisation. Newman, in a less hands-on, more executive capacity, re-organised the drama department and oversaw the production of the controversial *The Wednesday Play* drama anthology. Here Newman was able to draw upon a creative team of writers such as Dennis Potter, John Hopkins, Neil Dunn and David Mercer, and directors such as Don Taylor, Ken Loach and Gareth Davies. He left the BBC in 1967 and returned to Canada where he worked for the National Film Board and the National Film Finance Corporation.

In retrospect Newman’s achievements with *Armchair Theatre* and his conscious characterisation of BBC drama output as static and middlebrow is unfair. His counterpart at the BBC during the late 1950s, Michael Barry, also attracted new young original writers (including Paul Scott and John Mortimer), and hired young directors such as John Jacobs and Don Taylor. However, it was the newness and innovation which Newman encouraged in his drama output that is most significant: his concentration on the potential

of television as television, for a mass not a middlebrow audience.

—Jason J. Jacobs

**SYDNEY CECIL NEWMAN.** Born in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 1 April 1917. Attended Ogden Public School, Toronto; Central Technical School, Toronto. Married: Margaret Elizabeth McRae, 1944 (died, 1981); three daughters. Moved to Hollywood, 1938; worked as painter, stage, industrial and interior designer; still and cinema photographer, 1935–41; joined National Film Board of Canada under John Grierson, as splicer-boy, 1941; editor and director, Armed Forces training films and war information shorts, 1942; produced over 300 documentaries; executive producer for all Canadian government cinema films, 1947–52; assigned to NBC in New York by Canadian government to study U.S. television techniques, 1949–50; director for outside broadcasts, features, and documentaries, Canadian Broadcast Corporation, 1953; drama supervisor and producer, General Motors Theatre, 1954; supervisor and producer of *Armchair Theatre*, ABC-TV, England, 1958–62; head of drama, BBC Television, 1963–67; commissioned and produced first television plays from Arthur Hailey, Harold Pinter and others; special adviser, Broadcast Programmes branch, Canadian Radio and Television Commission, Ottawa, 1970; Canadian Government film commissioner and chair, National Film Board of Canada, 1970–75; trustee, National Arts Center, Ottawa, 1970–75; board member, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Canadian Film Development Corporation; director, Canadian Broadcast Corporation, 1972–75; special adviser on film to Secretary of State for Canada, 1975–77; chief creative consultant, Canadian Film Development Corporation, 1978–84; president, Sydney Newman Enterprises, 1981; producer, Associated British Pictures; has since worked as creative consultant to film and television producers. Officer of the Order of Canada, 1981; Knight of Mark Twain (USA). Fellow: Society of Film and Television Arts, 1958; Royal Society of Arts, 1967; Royal Television Society, 1991. Recipient: Ohio State Award for Religious Drama, 1956; Liberty Award for Best Drama Series, 1957; Desmond Davis Award, 1967; Society of Film and Television Arts President’s Award, 1969; Writers Guild of Great Britain Zeta Award, 1970; Canadian Pictures Pioneer Award, 1973; Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers Recognition Award; Venice Award; Canada Award. Address: 3 Nesbitt Drive, Toronto, Ontario M4W 2G2, Canada.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1954	<i>General Motors Theatre</i> (supervisor and producer)
1954	<i>Ford Theater</i> (supervisor and producer)
1954	<i>On Camera</i> (supervisor and producer)
1958–62	<i>Armchair Theatre</i> (supervisor and producer)
1960	<i>Police Surgeon</i> (creator)
1960–61	<i>Pathfinders</i>
1961–69	<i>The Avengers</i> (creator)
1961–69	<i>Doctor Who</i> (creator)



- 1964–70 *The Wednesday Play* (creator)  
 1966 *Adam Adamant Lives!* (creator)  
 1967 *The Forsyte Saga* (creator)

**TELEVISION SPECIALS** (selection; producer)

- 1960 *O My Lena*  
 1962 *Dumb Martian*  
 1963 *Stephen D.*  
 1965 *The Rise and Fall of the City of Mahogany*  
 1965 *Tea Party*  
 1989 *Britten's The Little Sweep*

**STAGE** (producer)

*Flight into Danger*, *Course for Collision*.

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See also *Wednesday Play*, Garnett, Tony; Loach, Ken

## NEWS, LOCAL AND REGIONAL

Local television news in the United States is television at its best, and at its worst. In local and regional newscasts broadcasters and cable companies can fulfill the oft forgotten goal of public service, earning accolades and audience loyalty. But as the site of intense local competition and substantial advertising revenue, journalism and public service often take second place to ratings grabbing gimmickry. Despite taking knocks for its formulaic approach and irresponsible antics, local and regional TV news has grown steadily since the 1970s, and has, with CNN, stolen ratings from network news.

The earliest experiments with television in 1930 included simple newscasts, and the first stations licensed attempted to provide local news. Most local television stations began creating their own newscasts the day they went on the air in the 1950s or 1960s. Doing so provided instant evidence of community involvement and an identity amid otherwise indistinguishable fare. But early local television newscasts were brief and non-visual, for videotape technology, debuting in 1956, was too cumbersome to leave the studio and live news remotes were all but impossible for their cost and complexity. Some stations purchased newsfilm from newsreel companies. 16 millimeter film, while an excellent local newsgathering medium in the field, was costly and required at least three and a half hours to be processed, edited, and set up for the complex process of playing it back into a live newscast.

By the early 1970s color film replaced black and white, for viewers were buying color sets. Visual coverage of national news increased as the networks trusted their principal affiliates to cover important stories and send them to New York for inclusion in network newscasts. Until the mid-1970s quality television news remained the near exclusive domain of the networks, and particularly of CBS, for stations could not match the look or experience of the networks and rarely profited from news. Many stopped trying.

Between the mid-1970s and early 1980s came a local news explosion, attributable to a synergy of technology and economics. Technology led as Sony introduced the 3/4" video cassette recorder, a portable machine capable of recording 20 minutes on a cassette. With it came simple and reliable editing equipment permitting the rapid assembly of stories from the field. Ikegami and RCA produced shoulder borne television cameras to be used with the field recorders. Electronic News Gathering (ENG) was born, and by 1975 65% of local stations in the United States were using ENG equipment, though many continued to use film into the 1980s. The earliest ENG equipment was expensive, so all but the wealthiest stations adopted it slowly. Field camera and recorder were later combined into the most popular news gathering tool of the 1980s and 1990s, the Betacam.

The rapid development of ENG technology was spurred more by local stations than by the networks, a symbiosis between local broadcasters and equipment manufacturers which continues. With the technological revolution came broader conceptions of local news. News could be more visual, immediate, and exciting. ENG allowed for more preproduced material—news packages—allowing for more news and greater advertising revenue. The ability to produce news with greater quantity and appeal caused many stations to add newscasts and those with existing newscasts to expand their news operations. News became a local station's profit center. And with the rapid growth of cable television, many local cable operators established newscasts of their own, often in towns and cities not well served by broadcast TV news.

With an early and late evening newscast, at the very least, to be filled each day, news directors began to develop new strategies, and looser standards of journalism, to fill the time and attract viewers. By the 1990s, many stations produced six hours or more of news daily. The forte of ENG is its ability to record plentiful pictures anywhere, and get them

on the air quickly. That ability brought the beginning of the end of quality television journalism as local TV began to present conflict or minor tragedy (such as accidents and fires—never in short supply) as the news of the day, and to make stories shorter and snappier, especially when they are not easily illustrated. Having exciting visual coverage, especially if the competition didn't, often became the leading criteria for story selection. Reports on city hall or problems in the schools offered little visual excitement and consistently took a back seat to sensational but unimportant news.

From the mid-1970s to the present, newscasts have been fierce battlegrounds for viewer loyalty. Stations earn a substantial portion of their revenue from their newscasts and aggressively promote their news through the day. Popular syndicated entertainment programming leading into newscasts is used to deliver viewers to a station's news product, and a popular newscast, in turn, boosts ratings for an entire evening's programming. Stations peddle newscasts and newscasters with billboards and other local media. But when programming and promotional strategies fail, stations turn to high paid hired guns to deliver the audience.

These "news doctors", or news consultants, are blamed for most of the ills of TV news. As station owners added or expanded newscasts, or launched a new drive for market dominance, they have consistently turned from the expertise of their own managers to the expertise of consultants with a track record of ratings increases and a supposedly scientific approach. The best known consulting firm is Frank N. Magid Associates, but there are dozens of others. For several tens of thousands of dollars these firms conduct viewer surveys and focus groups. The results—a vague indication of what a few viewers think they like—are used to rebuild newscasts from the ground up. Newscasts are made "marketable."

The gimmicks offered by consultants or newly hired news directors have usually included some combination of the following: News sets may be rebuilt to be more modern, homey, or just bigger than the competition's. Newscasters and reporters are often fired and replaced and if not, are always "remade" in appearance and on-air persona. Consultants maintain vast nationwide videotape files of news talent, and records of their respective ratings, to help clients find the perfect personalities. News directors and other managers are often replaced. Music, graphics, and other aesthetic elements are updated, sometimes requiring extravagant equipment upgrades.

Finally, a new format is usually adopted. The most grating of these, known as "happy talk" (usually under the "Eyewitness News" designation), has mercifully died away in most markets. At its height in the late 1970s, the format sacrificed the delivery of information for almost non-stop witty, sometimes prurient, banter between attractive on-air personalities.

Other common formats, some still in evidence, include "Action News", with quick young reporters and barely edited video of the day's highly visual carnage, or "News

Center", emphasizing reporting and relevance to viewers. Live news coverage, as stations acquire the technology, is invariably made the newscast's *raison d'être*. This often puts reporters in ridiculous situations, filing live reports from long deserted locations, without the depth and quality a pre-produced report would provide. These trends evidence the emphasis on entertainment which has pervaded local and regional TV news.

Despite these variations in theme, the genre of local news in the U.S. has maintained an astounding consistency of format from its earliest days. Newscasts are divided into four or more segments, separated by commercials. News, broadly defined, generally comes in the first two segments, often including a superficial recap of world and national events when local news is sparse. News is delivered by one or two anchors (usually male and female), and contains a mix of readers (with the anchor delivering the story with an over-the-shoulder graphic providing a one word or one picture summary), voice-overs (with anchors narrating over videotape), packages (pre-produced stories by reporters), and live reports.

The third and fourth segments are usually sports and weather (with the one of greatest local interest coming first). Weather finds either a telegenic weathercaster or somewhat less telegenic meteorologist, maneuvering in front of a chroma-key wall, causing them to appear over computer generated maps and graphics. Stations unable to afford computers will chroma-key paper maps behind the weathercaster, a method one step removed from the earliest technique of sticking magnetic cloud and sun symbols on a large metallic map. Sports is usually anchored by an athletic male, who voices over endless video highlights of local and national games and "scoreboard" graphics. Finally, the news anchors conclude with a light or humorous human interest story, and a friendly farewell. Hour-long news formats and 24-hour regional formats have more segments, but add little in variety apart from extra feature stories.

If the lack of challenges to its conventions are an indication, local and regional television news achieved stagnation a decade ago, yet the genre continues to flourish. That is because it has long served a number of purposes apart from pleasing its audience—a task it rarely does well. Its most urgent task is to persuade audiences of its own relevance to their lives. For its very survival it attempts to demonstrate it is something that national newscasts, and other TV fare, are not. But localism alone is no guarantee of relevance, so occasionally local news resorts to exaggeration. Routine storms are presented as threats to life and limb, errant teenagers as deadly gangs. Populist or consumer advocacy stories often pose as news. Coverage of mundane school sports is used to draw children and their ratings-providing parents. In a trend of the 1990s, some stations have merged the content and aesthetics of tabloid news-magazine shows with a colloquial reporting style in hopes of attracting a young audience.

Quality journalism is not entirely absent in television news, but rarely does it come before economic considera-

tions. Active discovery of news, especially that which society's powerful prefer hidden, is inherently costly, giving rise to the common allegation that TV news legitimates the status quo. Such journalism requires the allocation of station resources and personnel over long periods to produce a single story, when the same resources can be allocated toward producing many stories selected through passive discovery. Thus passive discovery, the dependence on police scanners, wire services and other media, and press releases and news conferences, is the norm. Under the Reagan administration, enforcement of the Fairness Doctrine ended, and the Doctrine itself was suspended in 1987. Without the threat of official sanction for imbalanced reporting, news operations had the ability to move toward more biased and sensational coverage which could be more economical than attempts to provide balance, and more appealing to targeted audiences.

Television news prefers brief and simple stories and preexisting frames of explanation, for providing explanation and context costs time and money. Television's inbuilt advantage over other media—visual explanation—is rarely used well in local newscasts, and occasionally misused. Images provided to stations at no cost by corporate public relations firms ("Video Press Releases"), or by government, often find their way into local stories without credit, and ancient, irrelevant, but costless, "file footage" often illustrates reports. TV news writing is too frequently cliché ridden, uninformative, and of little relevance to accompanying visuals. Corrections and retractions are rare. But excellence in television news does exist, and is recognized in annual awards by the Associated Press and numerous industry organizations. In rare but remarkable instances local television news goes on the air full time to report on local disasters or major events. When it resists sensationalism and premature reporting, such coverage can provide vital public service beyond the means of other media.

Television news operations are fairly autonomous departments within broadcast or cable companies. The senior manager of the news department is the news director, and may be assisted by one or more executive producers. These individuals are responsible for controlling the general look and feel of their newscast while satisfying the demands of their corporate superiors. Control of day to day newsgathering operations is the domain of the assignment editor—an individual with the unenviable task of keeping apprised of all the news, all the time, and ensuring that everything of importance is covered. As the center of incoming information and the dispatcher of a station's news coverage resources, the assignment editor has considerable power to determine what gets covered.

The successful production of each newscast is the responsibility of a producer, who in the smallest markets may double as anchor or news director. The producer must ensure that every element of the production is ready at airtime, and deal with any problems or changes while the newscast is on the air. In large news departments this involves the coordination of dozens of reporters,

videographers (often also known as photojournalists or photographers), writers, feature producers, videotape editors, graphic artists, and other specialized staff. They work closely with the on-air talent—the anchors and sports and weathercasters—to develop the lineup (story order) of the newscast and write portions of the show not provided by reporters or news writers.

The technical production of a newscast is usually accomplished by a staff independent of the news department. Studio production is supervised by a studio director (or newscast director), who works closely with the producers and talent to ensure that each production is flawless. A well directed newscast is one that calls no attention to its complex technical elements. In larger markets the studio director coordinates a large production team, but in some small markets may perform a remarkable solo ballet of switching, mixing audio, timing, and myriad other tasks. This accounts for the occasional dead air or miscued videotape in these markets. It is becoming increasingly common for larger news operations to cut back on production staff through the installation of robotic studio cameras and other automation.

Local television news is highly dependent on new technologies, regional news even more so. Without the latest technology stations can neither gather news as efficiently or broadly as their competition, nor present as professional an image. But while some basic production equipment provides higher quality at lower cost than a decade ago, other important technologies require massive investment beyond the reach of smaller news departments. The next major development after the field recorder was the rapid increase in use of microwave systems to transmit live or taped stories from remote locations (also called ENG). Now all but the smallest stations operate one, and often many, microwave equipped vehicles.

Some technologies like newsroom computerization have improved the state of television journalism. By the late 1980s most news departments were using computers to write and archive scripts, at the very least. Many had begun to use integrated news production software designed to simplify writing TV news scripts, arrange them for a newscast, and deliver them to teleprompters for the news anchors to read. Television journalists now make extensive use of computerized information retrieval services and databases, and many television stations have established their own Internet addresses to provide on-line services and encourage viewer feedback.

The technology which most changed the television news industry in the last decade was Satellite News Gathering (SNG). SNG made regional television news possible, permitted local stations to cover national and international events, and dramatically extended the newsgathering reach of stations. Local TV news was thereby de-localized. One entrepreneur, Stanley E. Hubbard II, deserves credit for beginning the SNG revolution. Domestic satellites launched in the early 1980s had the new capability of handling signals at a higher, more efficient, frequency band than before—the

"Ku band". Hubbard began Conus Communications to purchase time on these satellites and offer it to a "cooperative" of local stations. The stations would be able to cheaply reserve satellite time in five minute increments to "uplink" a story from the field to their studio and to the rest of the stations in the cooperative. Stations began to purchase sophisticated Satellite News Vehicles (SNV) to drive to the scene of major stories anywhere and transmit localized reports. Not coincidentally, Hubbard also sold SNVs. The networks established plans to help affiliated stations with the cost of purchasing SNVs (at around \$ 300,000 each) in order to create their own cooperatives of live sources nationwide and to ensure that they alone would receive any important story a network-funded SNV produced.

SNG has contributed to a massive proliferation of visual sources for television news during the last decade. Stations may receive stories from one or more satellite cooperatives they belong to, their own network (if an affiliate), CNN (if they have an exchange agreement, as many do), international video news agencies (at the largest operations), other specialized subscription services, public relations firms, and their own news gathering resources. Stations may not always have the perfect visuals to illustrate a story, but visuals are never lacking. Many stations also encourage viewers to submit "news" they have recorded with their home camcorder. A final TV news innovation has emerged as the gimmick of the 1990s—helicopter news coverage. Larger stations buy or lease helicopters to get videographers to distant events quickly, to provide live aerial coverage of breaking news, especially the ever-popular police chase, and to serve as airborne microwave relays, extending a station's live coverage range. They have often become news themselves by interfering in and participating in emergency situations.

The proliferation of sources and the ability to instantly and inexpensively send and receive stories within virtually unlimited geographic areas gave rise to regional news, which has emerged in several forms. An early example of regional television news was an agreement between seven SNG-equipped Florida television stations to share resources and personnel, presenting an image of seamless statewide coverage to their audiences. In 1986 News 12 Long Island was started by Cablevision and other investors. Using a mix of ENG and SNG, the cable news channel presents 24-hour news coverage, often live, of the vast Long Island area. Other local and regional 24-hour cable news operations have since been created, including some carried by different cable operators spread over a large area, such as New England Cable News. Twenty-four-hour news stations, usually on cable, have been established in several large cities.

With the flurry of station sales and purchases taking place during the 1980s, station ownership by non-local investors became common. In a sharp contrast to the heavy investment in news of the 1970s, many news departments are run on shoestring budgets to maintain the illusion of community service at little cost to the corporation. In many

small and medium markets, news departments operate with a staff of a dozen or fewer, and eager young reporters work as "one man bands," acting as videographer and reporter on the several stories they cover daily. Their salaries are among the lowest for college graduates. Owners unwilling to invest in news quality often close their news departments and counter the competition's newscasts with syndicated programs. Some news departments are experimenting with new ways to pay their own way. News or weather programs are provided to other stations in the same market which have no news department of their own. Videotapes of news stories are sometimes offered for sale.

Although brave attempts are made, television news rarely gains the audience loyalty it constantly seeks, for as many researchers have pointed out, it rarely understands its audience. Local television journalists produce their product daily with little knowledge or concern about who is watching and why (though they do better in this regard than their national counterparts). When stations do research their audience, they ignore the substance of their newscast for the superficialities. It is rarely determined how much viewers actually learn from TV news, but existing research suggests it is very little, and quite possibly not what producers intend. Distant ownership makes the lack of connection with audiences more acute. While television news has come far, a reorientation toward genuine local public service and away from entertainment and marketability must emerge before the genre can be considered mature.

—Chris Paterson

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See also Cable News Network; Craft, Christine; News, Network; Programming

## NEWS, NETWORK

Television news in the United States was born of network radio. The National Broadcasting Company (NBC) began network radio service in November 1926 and CBS signed on 25 September 1927. Both networks began broadcast news by focusing on events, matters of public concern such as political conventions, election results and presidential inaugurations, and from this earliest period, broadcast journalism was rooted in various forms of competition.

Early in the history of radio NBC had cornered the best entertainment talent. CBS President William Paley countered by emphasizing news. He guessed, correctly, that listeners would want information. But both networks faced other major competitors, the newspaper publishers, who tried to eradicate news on radio. Indeed, broadcast journalism was truly born of this battle. The "press-radio war" began in 1922 when the Associated Press asked its newspaper members to stop letting radio stations use their stories. Eventually the dispute led to an embargo which broadcasters defeated. Two decades later broadcast news came out of World War II strong, proven under fire by young men and women who risked their lives to record history. By this time the public, the broadcasters—and the newspapers—realized that broadcast news was central to contemporary life. The next step was television.

CBS and NBC licensed commercial TV stations in 1941 and the CBS station in New York City began almost immediately presenting two daily 15-minute news broadcasts on weekdays. Television was ready for its full-scale launch, but the demands of the war kept the new medium at parade rest until 1945.

It was 1947 before the television networks were formed, even though the networks' stations in New York presented some news programming in 1946. NBC launched its network TV news programming with a 10-minute weekday broadcast, *The Camel Newsreel Theater*, in February 1948. John Cameron Swayze, seldom seen on camera, read news

copy while film images filled the screen. In August 1948 CBS began *The CBS-TV News*, a 15-minute program anchored by Douglas Edwards, each weekday evening. NBC expanded its news to 15 minutes in February 1949 when the program became *The Camel News Caravan*.

ABC Television, which traced its heritage to the forced sale in 1943 of one of NBC's two radio networks, began regular news broadcasts in 1948. A struggling fourth network, DuMont, broadcast news from 1947 to 1949, halted news programming until 1953, then went out of business in 1955.

In this developmental period the growth of network television news was hindered by the decision of the Federal Communication Commission (FCC) to "freeze" new TV licenses between 1948 and 1952, until it could sort out channel allocations and decide on a standard for color TV. In 1948, at the beginning of the freeze, there were only 34 TV stations broadcasting in 21 cities to about one million TV sets.

Early television news broadcasts were crude, hindered by the lack of technology. Much of the newsfilm came from newsreel companies. Even these companies, long-practiced in producing newsreels for theatrical exhibition, used film cameras designed for the static, slower pace of Hollywood filming. Moreover, there was no adequate recording medium for preserving television pictures other than the fuzzy and inadequate kinescopes.

Still pictures were mounted on easels so that studio cameras could photograph them. Developing film for moving pictures and transporting it to New York usually meant that the film available for newscasts was outdated by the time of broadcast. Other experiments during this period included attempts to syndicate national news programs. For more than twenty years, for example, Paul Harvey prepared a daily national roundup to be inserted into local news programs. But network organizations quickly expanded their scope and influence.

When Don Hewitt, who later developed *60 Minutes*, became the regular director of *Douglas Edwards with the News*, he developed techniques to project slides on a screen behind

the news anchor. Still, Edwards' audience ratings lagged behind *The Camel News Caravan* with John Cameron Swayze until the early 1950s. And in 1956 Chet Huntley and David Brinkley were teamed by NBC to replace Swayze, creating one of the most successful news programs of the time.

By 1951 Edward R. Murrow and Fred Friendly were producing *See It Now* on CBS television. The series tackled controversial subjects, including an exposé of the histrionic tactics of controversial anti-Communist U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy. After receiving the blessing of CBS board chairman William Paley, *See It Now* broadcast a direct attack on McCarthy on 9 March 1954. The Senator was offered an opportunity to reply, which he accepted. His response was broadcast on 6 April. In some views this response, as much as Murrow's analysis, undermined McCarthy's support. By June, he was mired in the disastrous Army-McCarthy Hearings, and in December 1954, he was censured by the U.S. Senate. Three years later, McCarthy was dead—and by 1961 Murrow was pressured out of the news organization he helped create and with which he set standards still used as the hallmarks of television news.

Technology, as much as personality, has played a crucial role in the development of a distinctive form for television news. After early suffering with Hollywood film equipment, TV news organizations converted to portable 16-mm film. As a result of this new mobility, newsfilm became more interesting, and both networks and their affiliates installed their own film developing equipment. "Reversal" film, which came out of the processor as a positive print, was introduced in 1958, reducing time in film editing and making fresher, more timely stories available for broadcast.

Two major remaining roadblocks to making TV news truly current were the lack of fast transportation and the networks' inability to do live coast-to-coast broadcasts. These delays were remedied in 1951, when a coaxial cable link, connecting the West and East coasts, was completed. The cable enabled the electronic, rather than physical, transportation of television news stories.

Another major technological revolution for TV news began when the Ampex Corporation introduced the videotape recorder in 1956. Although these early videotape machines were too large for portable use, it was still possible to record in-studio interviews, and delay the news for West Coast viewers.

By 1960 a gradual shift to color reversal newsfilm had begun. This development followed the implementation and diffusion of color television transmitters and home receiver sets, and added another level of "realism" to television news.

During the same period, directors and producers were perfecting their craft, developing techniques to take advantage of television's unique quality of telling stories with pictures. And stories there were. Already, in the 1950s the war in Korea was covered on film which had to be flown to the United States. In 1961 FCC Chairman Newton Minow's "vast wasteland" remarks led to a renewed emphasis on news by the networks, and enhanced news coverage by local television stations. That

same year, President John F. Kennedy allowed the networks to broadcast a presidential news conference—live.

The 1960s have been called television's Decade of the Documentary. The civil rights struggle in the south received the skilled attention of some of television's great documentary producers, including Fred Friendly (CBS), John Secondari (ABC), and Robert "Shad" Northshield (NBC). ABC launched the documentary series "Close-up". CBS broadcast "Harvest of Shame," chronicling the life of migrant workers.

Regular daily broadcasts were changing during this period. CBS led the expansion of the evening news to 30 minutes in 1963. NBC's Huntley-Brinkley news quickly followed. ABC, struggling financially and journalistically, waited until 1967.

It took only a few seconds in November 1963, for network television to capture the eyes of an America which witnessed the horror of the events in Dallas, the first Kennedy assassination. All three networks, ABC, CBS and NBC, canceled their entertainment schedules. For much of the next four days they provided a stunned and grieving nation with live news reports. Prompt coverage of overwhelming news stories became a trademark of network news. "Live" became a defining word, indicating the powerful advantage television news was developing over print media.

The networks got the chance to demonstrate the power of "live" coverage many times. In 1968, they presented two more tragic assassinations—of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in Memphis and Robert Kennedy in Los Angeles. In 1971, the march on Washington by 13,000 anti-war protesters was seen by the nation. In 1974 President Richard Nixon resigned following extensive Congressional Hearings into the Watergate Affair, hearings presented live on television.

All these events were broadcast in the context of one of television's longest running news stories. Many call the Vietnam War the "television war". It was the first time that television news was able to cover a war, relatively unfettered by military control. The time gap between the occurrence of the news and the news broadcast was closing. Film was still the medium used to acquire pictures, but once developed, the film could be relayed by fast aircraft to the nearest television cable terminus to be fed to the network.

Correspondents had more freedom of movement in Vietnam. They went on patrol with the teenage draftees who had been thrown in to fight North Vietnam's tough, tenacious regular army, and the equally dangerous guerrilla Viet Cong. The story became less and less pleasant. When word came of the U.S. Tet offensive in 1968, CBS News anchorman Walter Cronkite flew to Vietnam. He ended up in the midst of street fighting, steel pot helmet on his head, talking with young marines trying to win the city of Hue back from the Communists. Cronkite returned to New York, and in a rare commentary, told his audience the United States must negotiate an end to the war, not as the victor, but as "honorable people who lived up to their pledge to defend democracy and did the best they could."

One month later, President Lyndon Johnson called for peace talks. Then the president announced that he would not run for reelection.

Another story offered television a far more conventional narrative, one of trial, contest, and triumph. The exploration of space was television's story. Television showed the giant rockets launch astronauts on their orbiting tours, live television pictures of men working in space, and finally, on 20 July 1969, live pictures of men walking on the moon. But the triumphant video of men on the moon was replaced on 28 January 1986, when the spaceship *Challenger* exploded.

The telling of these compelling stories continued to improve, aided by better cameras and more dramatic color. Film disappeared almost overnight as videotape became the medium for hard news coverage. Sony introduced 3/4-inch wide videotape cassettes to the consumer market in 1968, but the quality of the tape was not up to the standards the government imposed on broadcasters. Introduction of the digital time base corrector in 1972 allowed broadcasters to improve the quality of 3/4-inch tape.

By the mid-1970s the networks were rapidly converting to tape as the medium for acquiring news pictures. Tape was closing the gap between the time a story was shot and when it could be shown on the air. No more delay for film processing. Tape was ready, once shot, for editing and playback.

The switch to videotaping of events began a true technological revolution for TV news. Lightweight microwave electronics were installed in small vans, which were equipped with telescoping masts. Stories could be videotaped and relayed back to the newsroom or broadcast live. Yet another technological development, the successful launch and application of domestic and foreign satellite channels, had taken place during the 1970s. The satellites made it possible to receive prompt, if not live, feeds from around the world and across the nation.

Television news was increasingly becoming a "now" medium. By the early 1980s, the networks added mobile satellite uplinking vehicles to their tool kit. Major breaking stories around the world were being covered live, transmitted to network headquarters for immediate viewing.

At the same time, the combined efforts of scenic designers, lighting experts, producers and engineers were shaping a distinctive "look" for TV news. Rear screen pictures were replaced by still and moving video inserted into the picture so that it appeared to be behind the anchor desk. Slides and still pictures were stored on videotape and optical disks, so they could be recalled to illustrate news stories. A whole new art form—news graphics—developed, requiring the skills of computer artists. Those same computers added sparkle to broadcasts, creating "page turning" effects, and promotional "bumpers" between segments of the broadcasts.

The faces presenting the news changed. John Chancellor had reigned at NBC since 1971. In 1982 NBC moved Tom Brokaw from the successful morning program *Today* to the anchor desk of the *NBC Nightly News*, at first teamed with Roger Mudd, and a year later, solo.

Walter Cronkite took over the anchor slot of *CBS Evening News* in 1962 and for 19 years he was the man to beat in the race for ratings. After years of palace intrigue, Dan Rather bested Roger Mudd for Cronkite's position in 1981. A decade later, and under fire from every direction, CBS News added Connie Chung briefly to the *Evening News* anchor desk.

*ABC News* struggled to prove itself against its wealthy opponents. The perennially third-place network tried a succession of anchors, including network television's only tri-anchor combination. Peter Jennings finally took the post in 1983, his second time occupying ABC's anchor chair.

Network news, in the traditional sense, peaked in the early 1980s. Technology continued to improve, making the network news departments faster at delivering stories. But circumstances beyond their control were reshaping the television business.

Cable television had signed up more than half of the households in America. Increasingly, viewers found fewer distinctions between the cable feeds and the traditional networks. Entrepreneur Ted Turner planted the seeds for a significant weakening of the traditional network news departments when he founded the Cable News Network in 1980. CNN was not a major competitor during the early and mid-1980s, but the network, staffed by young people and led by network veterans, was on the air 24 hours a day. CNN used satellite technology to cover major stories from hostage standoffs to the fall of the Berlin Wall. Coverage was live, hour after hour, while the Big Three dipped in and out of regular programming. CNN's on-scene open eye became the channel to seek when significant news broke.

The proliferation of channels, in cable and independent local stations, had a major impact on the networks. ABC, CBS and NBC all changed owners. In 1985, Capital Cities Communications, a little-known media company, put together a deal with Warren Buffett's Berkshire Hathaway Corporation to buy ABC. Laurence Tisch, who had already invested heavily in CBS, took over as chief executive officer in 1986. The RCA Corporation was sold to General Electric in 1985, giving GE control of NBC.

The new corporate leaders found their properties losing audience and revenue to cable networks. Round after round of budget cutting and layoffs followed. Audience decline in the late 1980s and early 1990s brought about radical restructuring of the network news departments. They became leaner, depending more on contributions from affiliates, cost-sharing through pooling of coverage and exchange agreements with other major broadcasters. The networks also placed greater dependence on news agencies for foreign video coverage.

New strategies developed. The news departments became profit centers, producing moderately rated prime time programs which were profitable because they were relatively inexpensive to produce. The big-three expanded their news offerings, moving into late evening, then overnight, early mornings, and weekend mornings, building on the strengths of their morning news and information programs.



Corporate heads realized their news departments were vast storehouses of knowledge. They packaged archival material for resale. New alliances were struck. NBC invested in direct satellite broadcasting in Europe and Asia and developed cable networks in the United States. ABC already owned a good portion of the popular ESPN sports network, and invested in other cable, programming, and interactive media ventures. CBS sold off acquisitions.

Against a background of internal disruption, the three broadcast network news departments and CNN brought the Gulf War into American households, covered the sensational murder trial of athlete O.J. Simpson, and chronicled the destruction of a major federal office building in Oklahoma City.

The three major network news organizations, with CNN, continue to hold a position of extraordinary prominence in the public life of the United States. Though beset by financial retrenchment and often criticized for an apparent emphasis on celebrity and personality "performer-journalists," they provide a significant and continuing flow of information to a huge viewing audience. That information is, for the most part, a view from the center, from the mainstream. Rarely critical of major institutions, the news organizations nevertheless present controversy and conflict from within their own safe boundaries. Their version of the journalist as monitor of public life may not meet the standards of those wishing for more fundamental critique of the structures and institutions of American life—or life in any other society—but they remain the site of one form of accepted public discussion. It is almost impossible now to imagine that life, or that discussion, without television's version of "the news."

—Phillip O. Keirstead

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- See also Australian Programming; Brinkley, David; British Programming; Canadian Programming in English; Brokaw, Tom; Cable News Network; Chung, Connie; Craft, Christine; Cronkite, Walter; Documentary; Huntley, Chet; Kuralt, Charles; Murrow, Edward R.; News, Local and Regional; Programming; Reality Programming; Seavard, Eric; Smith, Howard K.; Walters, Barbara

## NEWS CORPORATION, LTD

The News Corporation, Ltd. is one of the world's largest media companies. It holds interests in broadcast, satellite, and cable television, film, newspapers, magazines, book publishers, and on-line services, across four continents. News Corp. is headed by its primary shareholder, Rupert K. Murdoch, who built the company from an initial base of two small Australian newspapers in the early 1950s into a global media conglomerate.

News Corp.'s primary television properties in the United States include the FOX Broadcasting Company (FBC) television network, the 20th Century-Fox production studios, eight owned-and-operated FOX television stations, and the cable network FX. In addition, it owns a controlling interest in the United Kingdom's direct broadcast satellite television service British Sky Broadcasting (BSkyB), Europe's Sky Channel television programming service, and Asia's DBS service, Star Television. But it is impossible to isolate any one form of media as News Corp.'s core business, because its growth has been fueled by the idea of creating synergies among the company's different components. The resulting economies of scale make the value of the company's whole greater than that of the sum of its parts. A good example of this strategy in action was the combination of News Corp.'s purchases in the mid-1980s of the 20th Century-Fox studios and Metromedia's large market U.S. television stations. The combination of production facilities and distribution outlets led directly to the creation of the FOX television network.

FBC remains News Corp.'s most prominent presence in American television. It launched in October 1986, with the premiere of *The Late Show Starring Joan Rivers*, and began its

regular schedule of prime-time programming in early 1987. While some of its first shows, like *Rivers*, were critical and commercial disappointments, FBC was slowly able to gain audience share and expand its program schedule. FBC ultimately carved out a solid niche as the fourth broadcast network by targeting the 18 to 34 year-old audience, and attracting these viewers through programs that were often offbeat and sometimes audacious. *The Simpsons*, *Married... With Children*, and *COPS* were among FBC's most prominent early hits, and exemplify the unconventional nature of FOX network programming. Indeed, FBC's *COPS* and *America's Most Wanted* were largely responsible for the wide proliferation of a new television genre known as "reality television."

In addition to its regular programs, FBC also made its presence felt in the U.S. television market through a series of bold strategic maneuvers aimed at acquiring special programming and new affiliate stations. As early as 1987, FBC paid a record license fee to telecast the Emmy Awards (the television industry's awards program), which previously had rotated among the Big Three networks. The network also attempted to obtain the rights to the National Football League's *Monday Night Football* television package. Though unsuccessful in the latter effort, FBC was later successful with its record-setting bid for the NFL's National Conference games, wresting the package from longtime rights holder CBS prior to the 1994 NFL season. FBC used the opportunity created by its acquisition of this NFL package to woo new affiliates to the network, which led to the most dramatic realignment of network affiliates in U.S. television history. FOX's agreement with New World Communica-

tions, announced in May 1994, represented the largest single affiliate switch ever, but was considered controversial because many saw the agreement—in which FOX paid New World \$500 million and 12 New World stations changed their affiliations to FBC—as a vehicle by which FOX was able to circumvent FCC limitations on the number of stations a single company is permitted to own.

Another News Corp. property vitally important to the U.S. television industry is *TV Guide*, the largest selling weekly magazine in America. News Corp. purchased *TV Guide*, along with *Seventeen* and *The Daily Racing Form*, in 1988 from Walter Annenberg for a reported price of more than \$3 billion. It was News Corp.'s largest single purchase to that time, and represents another instance of the company's willingness to pay a premium price for a unique media property that fits into a synergistic global scheme. News Corp.'s plans to develop an interactive, on-screen version of *TV Guide* in a joint venture with cable television industry giant TeleCommunications, Inc., is another demonstration of the company's desire to fully exploit and build upon the potential of the assets it holds.

News Corp.'s involvement with DBS service in Europe put the company at great financial risk, but appears to have been a wise long-term investment. News Corp. initially launched a DBS service called Sky Television in 1989, which competed in the United Kingdom with another DBS service, British Satellite Broadcasting. In 1990 the two merged, with News Corp. assuming control. The start-up costs associated with this venture put great strain on News Corp.'s financial stability, and the losses it encountered in BSkyB's early days, combined with the overwhelming short-term debt load News Corp. had accumulated from its years of aggressive acquisitions, nearly forced the company into financial ruin in 1990. However, News Corp. was able to negotiate with its creditors for more favorable debt terms, and thereby averted disaster. The emergence of BSkyB in the early 1990s as an extremely profitable venture, along with the growing success of FBC in the United States, helped News Corp. back to financial health in a relatively short time.

Today, News Corp. stands among the foremost media companies in the world, and continues to be aggressive in its pursuit of new media and communications properties. Its wide range of media holdings in many countries of the world puts News Corp. in a central position among a handful of corporate behemoths that could dominate the global media landscape for many years to come.

—David Gunzerath

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See also *America's Most Wanted*; Australia; British Sky Broadcasting; FOX Broadcasting Company; *Marryed...with Children*; Murdoch, Rupert; *Simpsons*; Sports on Television; Star-TV

## NICHOLS, DANDY

British Actor

Dandy Nichols is remembered above all for one role only, that of the long-suffering Else, wife of the appalling Alf Garnett, in the long-running series *Till Death Us Do Part*, and the rather milder follow-up *In Sickness and in Health*, both written by Johnny Speight.

The role of Else Garnett (or Ramsey as the family was called in the beginning) went first to Gretchen Franklin when a pilot episode of *Till Death Us Do Part* was made in 1965, but Nichols took over when the series got under way and she quickly proved the perfect foil to the bigoted and abusive Garnett, played by Warren Mitchell. The rapport between the two ensured the show's immediate, if controversial, success, and the programme was destined to attract top ratings for 10 years before a weary Nichols complained that she could work with Warren Mitchell no longer and she called it a day (in the series it was explained that she had left for Australia to visit her sister). She came back, however, as Else in the sequel, *In Sickness and in Health*, though by now confined to a wheelchair because of arthritis and with only months to live.

As Else, Alf Garnett's dimwitted "silly old moo" of a wife, Dandy Nichols repeatedly demonstrated the command of technique and timing that she had learned from her long apprenticeship in the theatre (she appeared, for instance, in the original Royal Court Theatre cast of David Storey's *Home* in 1970 and acted in the West End with the likes of John Gielgud and Ralph Richardson). She also appeared in some 50-odd films, which ranged from *Carry on Doctor* and *Confessions of a Window Cleaner* to *Nicholas Nickleby* and *Scott of the Antarctic*. Film directors cast her initially as cockney maids and charwomen, but it was not long before her skills as a character actress were recognized and she was occasionally allowed to extend herself in more varied parts.

Born in Hammersmith, Nichols was quite at home with the East End locale of the Garnett series, and she proved inimitable in the character with which she became most closely identified. Deadpan in the face of Garnett's unforgivable verbal abuse, and resigned to her role as the target of much of her husband's frustration and invective, she could be, by turns, hilarious and pathetic, and she quickly became a firm favourite of the British viewing public. Treasured memories of her performances included the carefully-managed moments in which she would bring a careering Alf Garnett to a sudden stop in mid-tirade with some artlessly innocent observation or other, apparently oblivious of the inevitable result that she would draw the full venom of her husband's ire upon herself. Else was a type that many people recognized from real life, and she provided some necessary warmth and pathos to contrast with the monstrous Alf's aggression and viciousness. Without Else, and in a changed climate under the Thatcher government, the later series faltered and failed to resonate with viewers as earlier episodes had done.



Dandy Nichols

Photo courtesy of the British Film Institute

Success in the role of Else Garnett, though it came relatively late in her career, brought Nichols the opportunity to play both starring and supporting roles in many other classic television shows. In the sitcom *The Trouble with You*, Lillian, for instance, she was equally effective as Madge, teamed up with the redoubtable Patricia Hayes. Among the other classic series in which she appeared to acclaim were *Emergency-Ward 10*, *Dixon of Dock Green*, *No Hiding Place*, *Mrs. Thursday*, and *Bergerac*. The critics also lavished praise on her performance in a television adaptation of the William Trevor play *The General's Day*, in which she starred opposite Alastair Sim.

—David Pickering

DANDY NICHOLS (Daisy Nichols). Born in Hammersmith, London, England, 1907. Divorced. Worked for 12 years as a secretary in a London factory, taking acting lessons; professional actor, from late 1930s; participated in six-week tour with ENSA during World War II; film debut, 1947; played maids, housewives, and other roles for many years on both stage and screen, before her greatest success opposite Warren

Mitchell, as Else in the long-running series *Till Death Us Do Part*. Died 6 February 1986.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1965–75 *Till Death Us Do Part*  
 1971 *The Trouble with You*, Lillian  
 1985 *In Sickness and in Health*

#### FILMS

*Hue and Cry*, 1947; *Nicholas Nickleby*, 1947; *Woman Hater*, 1948; *Portrait from Life*, 1948; *The Fallen Idol*, 1948; *The Winslow Boy*, 1948; *Here Come the Huggetts*, 1948; *The History of Mr. Polly*, 1948; *Scott of the Antarctic*, 1948; *Don't Ever Leave Me*, 1949; *Now Barabbas was a Robber...*, 1949; *Tony Draws a Horse*, 1950; *Dance Hall*, 1950; *The Clouded Yellow*, 1950; *White Corridors*, 1951; *The Holly and the Ivy*, 1952; *The Happy Family*; *Mr. Lord Says No*, 1952; *Mother Riley Meets the Vampire*; *Vampire Over London*, 1952; *Emergency Call*; *Hundred Hour Hunt*, 1952; *The Pickwick Papers*, 1952; *Woman of Twilight*; *Twilight Women*, 1952; *Street Corner*; *Both Sides of the Law*, 1953; *The Wedding of Lili Marlene*, 1953; *Meet Mr. Lucifer*, 1953; *The Intruder*, 1953;

*Time Is My Enemy*, 1954; *The Crowded Sky*, 1954; *Mad About Men*, 1954; *Where There's a Will*, 1955; *The Deep Blue Sea*, 1955; *A Time to Kill*, 1955; *Lost Tears for Simon*, 1955; *Not So Dusty*, 1956; *The Feminine Touch*; *The Gentle Touch*, 1956; *Yield to the Night*; *Blonde Sinner*, 1956; *The Strange World of Planet XI*; *Cosmic Monsters*, 1958; *Carry On Sergeant*, 1958; *A Cry from the Streets*, 1958; *Don't Talk to Strange Men*, 1962; *Ladies Who Do*, 1963; *The Leather Boys*, 1963; *Act of Murder*, 1964; *Help!*, 1965; *The Amorous Adventures of Moll Flanders*, 1965; *The Knack... and How to Get It*, 1965; *The Early Bird*, 1965; *Doctor in Clover*, 1966; *Georgy Girl*, 1966; *How I Won the War*, 1967; *Carry On Doctor*, 1968; *Till Death Us Do Part*, 1968; *The Bed Sitting Room*, 1969; *First Love*, 1970; *Home*, 1972; *The Alf Garnett Saga*, 1972; *O Lucky Man!*, 1973; *Confessions of a Window Cleaner*, 1974; *Three for All*, 1974; *Kate the Good Neighbour*, 1980; *The Plague Dogs* (voice only), 1982; *Britannia Hospital*, 1982.

#### STAGE (selection)

*The Clandestine Marriage*, *Plunder*, *Home*.

See also *Till Death Us Do Part*

## NIELSEN, A. C.

U.S. Media Market Researcher

Arthur Charles (A.C.) Nielsen established, and gave his name to, the world's largest market research organization and to the principal U.S. television ratings system. After working as an engineer in the Chicago area, in 1923, with investments from former fraternity brothers, he established a firm which reported surveys of the performance and production of industrial equipment. A decade later—during the Great Depression—faced with reduced manufacturing on which to study and report, the company launched the Nielsen Food and Drug Index. Begun in 1933 and 1934, these regular reports on volume and price of packaged good sales in a national sample of grocery stores and pharmacies became essential to the packaged goods industry. And A. C. Nielsen Company became the preeminent U.S. marketing research firm.

Because the Depression was also a period of rapid growth for radio and radio advertising, Nielsen was encouraged to begin measuring radio audiences. In the spring of 1936 he attended a meeting of the Market Research Council in New York, at which the speaker was Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) instructor Robert Elder. Elder described the use of a mechanical recorder which could be attached to the tuning mechanism of a radio receiver, providing a continuous record of the stations to which the set was tuned. The device had been developed independently by Claude Robinson while a student at Columbia University and by Elder with Louis F. Woodruff at MIT. Nielsen quickly acquired the meters that had so far been produced, as well as patent rights and trademark registration for the Audimeter, as the device was known. Regular audience surveys

conducted with the Audimeter (the Nielsen Radio Index or NRI) began in December 1942. The Audimeter became the principal form of radio ratings when in March 1950 Nielsen purchased C. E. Hooper's radio and television ratings services.



Arthur C. Nielsen  
 Photo courtesy of A.C. Nielsen Company

In 1939 the A. C. Nielsen Company Ltd., had been organized in London. The internationalization of the company increased, especially after 1957 when A. C. Nielsen, Jr., became company president.

In 1963 Congressional Hearings studying ratings and their influence upon programming in television focused considerable criticism upon the ratings industry and on the reliability of audience measurement surveys. In that same year Nielsen had discontinued radio Audimeter reports because the increased number of radio stations on the dial made it difficult for the device to distinguish among them. As a stop-gap measure, the company began a diary survey method for radio measurement (Audiologs). Weaknesses in this method attracted unfavorable attention during the hearings. Nielsen shut down the Audiolog operation, designed what he considered a reliable radio audience measurement system and attempted to market it to the radio industry. Finding much resistance, he never brought this service into use.

By 1963 Nielsen was out of the radio ratings business, preferring to concentrate on the relatively young national and local television audience measurement services—the National Television Index (NTI) and Nielsen Station Index (NSI), respectively.

In June 1980 A. C. Nielsen died in Chicago. In 1984 his company merged with information giant Dunn and Bradstreet.

—James E. Fletcher

ARTHUR CHARLES NIELSEN, SR. Born in Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., 5 September 1897. Educated at University of Wisconsin, B.S. summa cum laude 1918. Married: Gertrude B. Smith, 1918; three daughters, two sons. Served in U.S. Naval Reserve, 1918. Worked as electrical engineer, Isko Company, Chicago, 1919–20, and H. P. Gould Company, Chicago, 1920–23; president, 1923–57, and chair, 1957–80, A. C. Nielsen Company; established numerous Nielsen offices in the United States and abroad. Recipient: silver medal, Annual Advertisement Awards Committee, 1936; award for outstanding service, Chicago Federated Advertisements Club, 1941; Paul D. Converse Award, American Marketing Association, 1951 and 1970; elected to Hall of Fame in Distribution, 1953; Knight in Order of Dannebrog, 1961; Parlin Memorial Award, 1963; annual award, International Advertisement Association, 1966; marketing Man of the Year, 1970; elected to National Lawn Tennis Hall of Fame, 1971; elected to the Advertising Hall of Fame, 1986. Died in Chicago, Illinois, 1 June 1980.

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See also A.C. Nielsen Company; Demographics; Ratings; Share; Market

## NIELSEN COMPANY See A.C. NIELSEN COMPANY

## NIXON, AGNES

U.S. Writer/Producer

Often termed the “queen” of contemporary soap opera, Agnes Nixon is best known, and most honored, for introducing social issues into the soaps. Like William Bell, creator of *The Young and the Restless* and *The Bold and the Beautiful*, Nixon apprenticed in radio with Irna Phillips, soap opera’s creator, writing dialogue for *Woman in White*. In the early 1960s, in her first head writing job, with *The Guiding Light*, she had the heroine, Bert Bauer (Charita Bauer), develop uterine cancer. Typical of this storyteller, she was also personally motivated: a friend had died of cancer and Nixon hoped to encourage women to have Pap smears.

The real beginning for the presentation of issues in television soap opera, however, was the first show Agnes Nixon created, *One Life to Live* (1968), written for ABC, which was then attempting to get into the soap game. In 1968 social structures and attitudes were changing, and *One*

*Life* was rich in issue stories and characters: leads who were Jewish, up-from-poverty Irish-American, Polish, and the first African-American leads, Carla Gray (Ellen Holly), doctor-to-be, and Ed Hall (Al Freeman, Jr.). Gray’s story, for example, had her develop from a character who was passing as white to one who embodied black pride, with white and black loves along the way, to antagonize racists. Ironically, when Holly and Freeman brought Carla and Ed back to *One Life* in the mid-1980s, they seemed out of place in by-then WASP-ish Llanview, Pennsylvania. “Color” in this era was created not by race, but by style, in the persons of the nouveau riche, *Dallas*-style oil family, the Buchanans. By the democratic mid-1990s, however, interracial and Hispanic families had become central characters.

Agnes Nixon created *One Life to Live* for ABC in order to obtain the opportunity to write her “dream” story, *All My Children* (1970). *AMC* was more personal than *One Life*, but

social issues were still tackled: child abuse (again tied to a real organization in Philadelphia, and again drawing a strong and practical response); the Vietnam War; and the first legal abortion, Erica Kane's, in May 1971. Assuming the audience would be shocked, *AMC*'s writers gave Erica a "bad" motive (she wanted a modeling job), and, following the abortion, septicemia (planned as educational as well as "poetic justice"). But Susan Lucci's fan mail cheered Erica on, and urged her to take the modeling job in spite of the objections of her then-husband.

Nixon wrote into scripts political nonconformity, very rare in prime-time television, rarer still in daytime drama. When *All My Children* debuted in 1970, it featured Amy Tyler (Rosemary Prinz) as a peace activist. Next Nixon had the young hero, Phillip Brent, drafted against his will and later missing in action. Political pages in U.S. newspapers took note of a speech against the war by Ruth Martin (Mary Fickett), who had raised Phillip as her son: even the mothers on those escapist soap operas were against the war, the newspapers said. Fickett won the first Emmy given to a daytime performer, for her work during the 1972-73 season. In 1987, Agnes Nixon remembered simply, "I didn't feel that took so much courage. It was like a mother speaking. Like *Friendly Fire*." But *Friendly Fire* was not published until 1976. In 1974, Nixon turned to humanizing the Vietnamese, showing Phillip, in one of the few war scenes on TV soap opera, being rescued by a young Vietnamese, played by a man who had been adopted by one of Nixon's friends.

Nixon's stories characteristically show both sides of the issues on which she focuses: problems of the teenage prostitute, the drug addict, even the wife beater. When she feels there should be no sympathy for the other side, she works toward empathy—as in the 1988 AIDS story in which she had a lead character, Skye Cudahy (Robin Christopher), become so irrational with AIDS fear that she almost killed Cindy (Ellen Wheeler). Nixon sees both sides, and usually has a third type of character—perhaps in a position similar to that of most viewers—who is pulled in both directions.

Characteristic of Nixon's soaps (and William Bell's *The Young and the Restless*, in the same mid-1970s period), *AMC* hooked young people and men. The focus on young adult characters included not only romance—and sex—but also the characters' growing pains. *AMC*, from its earliest days, presented Erica Kane, the willful but winningly vulnerable teenager who, in the hands of Agnes Nixon and Susan Lucci, has grown through multiple lovers (usually husbands) and careers. She has found her "lost" father, a surprise daughter, and even some women friends. In the early 1980s, *AMC*'s popularity soared as young people raced home (or to their dormitory lounges) at lunch time to watch the classic star-crossed romance of Jenny Gardner (Kim Delaney) and Greg Nelson (Lawrence Lau). The issue was class: Jenny was from a troubled, lower-class family; Greg's mother, Enid Nelson, was Pine Valley's stereotypical snob. Equally popular were Angie Morgan (Debbi Morgan) and Jesse Hubbard (Darnell



Agnes Nixon

Photo courtesy of Agnes Nixon

Williams), soap opera's first African-American super-couple. Delaney and Williams, an Emmy winner, were given daytime drama's highest honor when they left *AMC*: their characters were killed off so no other actor could play them.

The character of Tad (Michael Knight) epitomized another Agnes Nixon gift to soap opera: humor, the "lighter" moment amid the *Sturm und Drang*. Tad became *AMC*'s incorrigibly susceptible male adventurer, representative of another reason Nixon is known as the queen of soap opera writing. A waif-foundling, Tad is an archetypal character, his story a myth, or fairy-folk tale. He has two sets of parents. His biological parents consist of an evil father, Ray Gardner (dead since the 1980s), and a loving but ditzzy mother, Nixon's famed comic creation, Opal Gardner. But Tad was raised by Joe and Ruth Martin (Ray McConnell and Mary Fickett, retired in the mid-1990s and replaced by Lee Meriwether), after his father abandoned him in a park. Joe and Ruth Martin are the central father and mother of *AMC*, and in folk-myth terms, they are the good parents, as steadfast as Tad's blood parents are unreliable and frightening.

Nixon's other archetypal creations include "tentpole" characters, usually older women such as Erica's mother Mona Tyler (the late Frances Heflin) and Myrtle Fargate (Eileen Heckart). Tentpole characters, says Nixon, are "the Greek chorus, in a sense ..., telling the audience how to feel."

Besides folk myth, Nixon also draws on the religious and mystical. One of her favorite tales is from the third soap opera she created (with the late Douglas Marland), *Loving*



(ABC, 1983; now *The City*). Archetypal good-bad twins Keith and Jonathan (John Hurley) battle, and in one twist, evil Jonathan, fallen from Golden Gate Bridge, returns with supernatural powers. Nixon says Jonathan made a pact with a devil. Wisely, the pact-making was not shown, and the evil one, though shown, was unlabelled—he left the Bridge area, slithering away like a snake. For this story, she cites as sources *Faust* and C.S. Lewis's *Screwtape Letters*.

Agnes Nixon, in her long and much-honored tenure as queen of soap opera, has created a treasure trove of characters and stories as rich as Aladdin's, tales from the deepest depths of our fears and the starriest heights of our dreams. She is indeed "the storyteller."

—Carol Traynor Williams

AGNES (ECKHARDT) NIXON. Attended Northwestern University. Married: Robert Nixon; four children. Freelance writer for radio and television; creator, packager, and head writer for various daytime television series. Member: International Radio and TV Society; National Academy of TV Arts and Sciences; Friars Club; Board of Harvard Foundation. Recipient: National Academy of TV Arts and Sciences Trustees Award, 1981; Junior Diabetes Foundation Super Achiever Award; Wilmer Eye Institute Award; American Women in Radio and TV Communicator Award, 1984; American Academy of Achievement Gold Plate Award, 1993; Television Hall of Fame, 1993. Address: 774 Conestoga Road, Rosemont, Pennsylvania, 19010, U.S.A.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1951      *Studio One*

1952–54      *Robert Montgomery Presents*  
1957–59      *As the World Turns*  
1959–65      *The Guiding Light* (head writer)  
1965–67      *Another World* (head writer)  
1968–      *One Life to Live* (creator, packager)  
1970–      *All My Children* (creator, packager, and head writer)  
1983–      *Loving* (later called *The City*; creator, packager)

#### TELEVISION MINISERIES

1981      *The Mansions of America* (creator)

#### TELEVISION SPECIAL

1952–53      *Hallmark Hall of Fame*

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See also Soap Opera; Phillips, Irna

## NORDIC TELEVISION

Nordic television is currently experiencing a revolutionary transition from a system of predominantly public service broadcasting monopolies to a multichannel system with satellite delivery, national private stations, public service stations, and local stations. This transition causes fundamental changes, because the public service tradition historically has been rooted in the public sphere where parliamentary and direct politics, citizens' interests groups, and artists took an active role in determining the structure and content of television. In the new television systems these concerns are far more market-oriented.

The Scandinavian countries (Sweden, Denmark and Norway) all had public service television monopolies until the mid-1980s. Finland has had an exceptional co-operation between a commercial and a public service provider, while Iceland with a quarter of a million inhabitants has had a mixed and limited television service.

The television systems in the Scandinavian countries have been strictly regulated for political and cultural reasons. Television has been seen as a powerful medium, and the

political parties have wanted to control television as they had controlled radio. Therefore the existing radio monopolies were extended for the provision of television. The main ideology was, and to a certain extent still is, that television should be used as a public service in the interest of the citizens in a democratic society. The Social Democratic parties, the labour movement, and very strong popular movements have all seen radio and television as a great opportunity for enlightenment, as media which could pass on art and culture to all people in an egalitarian society. In the 1960s and 1970s television was an integrated part of the development of the Scandinavian welfare state model. Even though the idea of public service television has changed over time due to cultural, political and management transformations, television in the Scandinavian countries has been ruled by some basic public service principles.

Public service television has to be available nation-wide to all at an equal low price (the cost of the licence fee and an antenna). In Sweden, for example, this means that, by law, television must reach 99.8% of all residents. This principle

of universal access has proved costly for broadcasters, because they also had to secure transmission in the vast, remote, sparsely populated areas in the northern part of the Nordic countries, where commercial television would never have been profitable.

Public service television is also obliged to provide a many-sided and manifold programming policy. An overall ambition has been to enlighten the audience culturally and to serve the public with sufficient information, so they can participate in the democratic process. Programming must be critical and put all authorities and institutions under scrutiny, and the programming must cater to various interests and needs of small as well as large population groups.

The public service stations are obliged to broadcast a substantial amount of nationally produced programs, to participate actively in the creative arts, and to promote artistic and cultural innovation. These principles are important in the relatively small Nordic countries because national programs are much more expensive than imported fare. Traditionally the public service monopolies have fulfilled this obligation by providing more than 50 percent national programming. Most of the national productions have been produced "in house," by national broadcasters. The broadcasting monopolies, then, have also been production monopolies.

Public service has to be independent of all vested interests as well as of specific political interests. Historically this goal has led to problems. The main issue has been the conflict between the Parliament's legitimate right to create certain general obligations in the public interest and the attempts of the government and the different parties to cultivate specific interests. Organisationally this problem has been solved differently in the Scandinavian countries. Some have formed state-owned companies while others have relied on independent non-profit companies. In either case, the broadcasters have been financed by a compulsory license fee paid by all set owners.

The demand of independence from all vested interests resulted in the prohibition against any advertising in Scandinavian television until 1988, when the second Danish terrestrial channel, TV 2, started out as a partly commercial and partly licence-fee-financed station. Finland's mixed system programmed advertisements in the mid-1950s.

Apart from the more classical public service programs, art and high culture, Nordic television from the very beginning broadcast entertainment such as quiz shows, variety shows, sports, and foreign popular drama. In Sweden *I Love Lucy* was broadcast on the first night of regular transmission in September 1956. The two types of programming have been broadcast side by side, but in the public debate popular entertainment has generally been depreciated.

In the early years of television the Scandinavian television stations only broadcast a few hours each day, and even in the 1970s and 1980s the normal broadcasting time was between 5 P.M. and 11 P.M., a time period extended slightly during the weekends. Today the public service stations have

expanded the schedule to a few more hours daily, while some of the private stations broadcast day and night.

The programming in the monopoly era consisted mainly of single programs from among various genres. Only the news was scheduled at the same time every day. A typical schedule resembled this one, from Danmarks Radio Wednesday, 14 November 1984.

9.30-10.00 A.M.	<i>Ude på noget (Are you up for it).</i> Children's programming (rerun).
10.00-11.00 A.M.	<i>Kvit eller dobbel.</i> (The 64.000 Kroners Question). Quiz program (rerun).
5.00-5.20 P.M.	<i>Eventyrets verden (The World of Fairy Tales).</i> Feature from a museum.
5.20-6.00 P.M.	<i>Dig og musikken (You and the Music).</i> Youth music program.
6.00-6.50 P.M.	<i>Skole-TV (School Television).</i> Two educational programs on sports and on psychology and love.
7.20-7.30 P.M.	<i>Programoversigten (Program Schedule).</i> Tonight's schedule.
7.30-8.00 P.M.	<i>TV-Avisen.</i> News
8.00-8.55 P.M.	<i>Ungdomsredaktionen (The Youth Magazine).</i> Genre-mixed youth program.
8.55-9.30 P.M.	<i>Ugens gæst (Guest of the Week).</i> Political interview.
9.30-11.10 P.M.	<i>Fodbold (Soccer).</i> National soccer match.
11.10-11.20 P.M.	<i>TV-Avisen.</i> News.

People checked the schedule and turned on the set whenever they found something of interest, and as a natural choice turned off the set afterwards. Concepts such as scheduling, program flow, and formats did not play any significant role. The concept of the program, was the decisive factor in terms of its content, form and duration, and only a small part of the schedule was serialised. The popularity of a program was secondary to the program idea, and even successful series were scheduled for only six or twelve shows—or as long as the producers enjoyed producing them.

To some degree public service television succeeded in Scandinavia in the monopoly era, but it also created some problems. The TV stations developed a paternalistic attitude toward the audience, partly due to their assignment to educate the public. Another contributory cause of this form of paternalism was that the general public was not the primary audience for the TV stations. It was instead the politicians, who decided the size of the licence fee, and the critics and public opinion makers, who gave the only public feedback. The general public was rarely heard, and there were no regular ratings. This attitude and a bureaucratic organisation have made it difficult for the public service monopolies to adjust to the new competitive television situation. The competitors are addressing the audience as consumers in a market instead of as citizens in a democratic society, and the public service stations are struggling to find

new roles as players in the marketplace despite their non-commercial objectives.

The transition from a monopoly to a multichannel system began in 1982, when *Eutelsat* (the regional European satellite) decided to open up transponders for satellite television in Europe. The political reaction in some of the Nordic countries was to ban the reception of the satellite signals. In free democratic societies such a strategy was obviously problematic, and within a few years all countries had legalised the reception. The "threat" from the sky instead caused the Nordic countries to strengthen the national terrestrial output as a protection against the influence from foreign TV stations.

The establishment of new national television stations took place within a changed political climate. A general strengthening of the right wing and a growing dissatisfaction with the bureaucratic and paternalistic monopolies called for real change and competition. Satellite television had introduced commercial television in Scandinavia, but it was not until a fierce political fight had been settled that Denmark was the first Nordic country to launch a partly commercially financed terrestrial TV station in 1988. The rules for advertising on *TV 2* were very strict, and even though the rules have been modified several times, commercials still may appear only in between programs. *TV 2* is a non-profit organisation subject to the same public service obligations as Danmarks Radio. *TV 2* in Norway, launched in 1992, and *TV 4* in Sweden, also launched in 1992, are private companies financed by commercials, but they are also subject to public service obligations. An ongoing debate focuses on whether it is possible for commercially financed TV stations to fulfill public service obligations. So far the commercially financed stations in Denmark and Sweden and to a lesser degree in Norway have in general fulfilled their obligations.

The commercially financed public service stations have a great variety of programs, but they rely more on standardised program formats and a more serialised programming policy. *TV 2* in Denmark has had a Danish version of the game show *Wheel of Fortune* airing daily since its launch in 1988. *TV 2* has also had extended regional programming, but the station lacks sufficient national drama and other expensive program types to adequately fulfill its public service requirements.

Scandinavian television policy has been successful in containing the influence from foreign television stations. The transnational satellite stations have established only a marginal position. The Nordic people want to watch national programs because of the languages and the cultural heritage, but subtitled foreign programs (American and British) are a significant and popular part of the program supply on the national channels.

The main challenge to the public service stations has instead come from private satellite channels aimed at the Scandinavian market. The most successful provider is the Swedish-owned *TV3* (*Kinnevik*). The channel was launched in 1987 from England and has a special feed to each of the

Scandinavian countries. *TV3* is under English jurisdiction and is therefore allowed to broadcast commercials within single programs. In the beginning *TV3* consisted mainly of American series and some high profile sports events. Gradually the channel has increased the national output of cheaply produced but very popular entertainment shows mostly based on international formats, and the ratings have increased steadily.

The national commercial and public service television institutions are fighting for positions now and will do so in the future within this changing media system. The public service companies are still important players, and they are undertaking political lobbying to secure more financial and operational freedom that will allow them to make strategic alliances in an international media system which is becoming more and more dominated by huge international media conglomerates.

### Sweden

Sweden is the largest of the Nordic countries with 8.5 million inhabitants. Swedish television began in September 1956 after a two-year trial period. Television was established as a continuation of the radio monopoly Radiotjänst.

In 1924 a major policy debate occurred in Sweden to consider how the radio medium should be organised. Radio amateurs, the press, and private companies were all interested in being broadcasters. The policy makers were divided on the question of monopoly or competition. Some found radio too important to be controlled by one company, while the prevailing opinion was that the state and the general public had an interest in controlling the medium.

The Parliament gave Radiotjänst an exclusive licence to broadcast under certain public service obligations. Radiotjänst (later renamed Sveriges Radio AB) was owned by three different groups: the association of newspaper owners, which also owned the national press agency (with a 40% share), different popular movements and special interest groups (40%), and the electronics industry (20%). The Parliament controlled both the revenue (licence fees) and the expenditures of the company, and the government appointed half of the board in accordance with the political parties' representation in the Parliament.

When television was introduced in Sweden in the early 1950s, some large scale industries, the advertisers' association, and some liberal and conservative parties challenged the monopoly model and advocated a commercial TV system, while Radiotjänst wanted to extend its monopoly to television. The press strongly supported Radiotjänst, because the newspaper owners feared the competition for advertising revenue from a commercial television system. The Social Democratic government decided to maintain the public service monopoly mainly because of the same political and cultural arguments heard in the debate about radio three decades earlier.

The print press has played an important role in Swedish radio and television, and until 1956 the press association's news agency delivered and thus controlled the news coverage

on the radio. It is possible to argue that this influence was caused by the special ownership of the company, but it is more likely that it was caused by the general political and cultural influence of the press in the Scandinavian countries. In Denmark, as in Sweden, the Danish press agency delivered news to Danmarks Radio until 1964, even though there was no ownership relation.

Swedish television experienced a rapid growth. In 1959 there were around 400,000 set owners in Sweden, and in 1960 the number had increased to one million. There was very little audience research at the time, but the rapid growth indicates that television immediately became a success, and box office in the cinema was halved within the first decade of television.

The programming was characterised by great variety. Beside newscasts, there were many national social and political reports and documentaries. From the mid-1960s and onwards there was an increasing number of international reports, e.g. critical coverage of the Vietnam War. National drama productions were an important part of programming, first in live broadcasts, then taped. From the very beginning Ingmar Bergman produced several plays, e.g. August Strindberg's *Ovåder* (*Thunder in the Air*, 1960). In 1966 Sveriges Radio had a huge audience success with a serial based on Strindberg's *Hemsöboerna* (*The Natives of Hemsö*). Children's programming had top priority with both educational programs and artistically successful dramatic series based on Astrid Lindgren's books, including two of the most well-known *Alla vi barn i Bullerbyn* (*Children of Noisy Village*) and *Pippi Långstrump* (*Pippi Longstocking*).

In 1969 Sweden decided to launch a second independent television channel within Sveriges Radio. The two channels were to coexist in a form of coordinated competition. The aim was to present the viewers with an actual choice. The two channels broadcast contrasting programs, instead of direct competition of similar program types.

The viewers used the new possibilities to choose more entertainment and less political programs. These program preferences created some concerns, and some skeptics complained that the two channels competed more in terms of ratings than in terms of quality. In any event, the programming policy did not change radically, although the more artistic documentaries gradually were replaced by more magazine programs containing a mixture of entertainment and social and political reports. The dramatic productions were also changed from TV theatre to TV films and series; even Ingmar Bergman started to produce serials. The second channel also had a formal obligation to put more emphasis on regionally produced programs.

From an overall point of view, the two-channel monopoly has been a unique two-decade-long period in Scandinavian television. The coordinated competition gave the audience a choice between different program types within a general public service ideology.

Cable and satellite penetration in Sweden increased rapidly from the late 1980s. In 1991 penetration was 40% and, in 1994, 57%. Here, as throughout Europe, a great number of

cable and satellite stations are available in Sweden. The most important satellite channel is the above mentioned TV3 (Kinnevik), but there are several providers aimed at Sweden. Scandinavian Broadcasting System (SBS), an American company partly owned by ABC/Disney and operating from Luxembourg, has launched a basic cable station, Femman, which provides a schedule consisting predominantly of subtitled second-rate American series and talk shows. Kinnevik has launched two low-budget niche stations, ZTV and TV 6, which like TV3 have special feeds to Denmark and Norway. The latter mainly carries subtitled programs aimed at women, while ZTV is aimed at young people. ZTV was first launched as a local station in Stockholm, and the station has many low-budget national productions. Even though the ratings are insignificant, ZTV has been able to create public awareness and critical acclaim for being very innovative aesthetically, with new formats of talk shows. Beside these basic cable stations, there are three film pay-channels.

Sweden was the last Nordic country to introduce national commercial television. TV 4 started out in 1992 after a short trial period on satellite from 1991. TV 4 is a private company owned by a consortium consisting of Kinnevik, 25%, Wallenberg, 23%, and some smaller shareholders. The station is subject to public service obligations, and as a part of the concession conditions TV 4 must pay Sveriges Radio (now renamed SVT) \$7 million and between 20% and 50% of the advertising revenue, amounting to more than \$100 million. In 1995 the Parliament was discussing the conditions for a fourth national channel.

SVT has been reorganised several times to be prepared for the competition. In 1987 the regional aspect of the company was given a higher priority in the independent second channel. From January 1996 the two channels will merge to make the most of the combined resources. So far SVT has done very well in the new competitive situation.

In 1994 the average viewing time in Sweden was 139 minutes per day per person. Out of this time each of the two SVT channels had 27%, or a combined share of 54%. TV 4 had 26%, TV3 had 9%, Femman had 3%, and all the rest combined 8%. The three public service channels had a combined share of 80%.

SVT has maintained a traditional public service programming policy and even increased the amount of news and social and cultural reports. Since 1987 SVT has also given top priority to the production of national drama. The public service tradition, with prestigious high-profile productions, has been kept alive with works such as *Den goda vilja* (*The Best Intentions*, 1993) directed by Bille August and based on a script by Ingmar Bergman. Apart from that the station has purposefully developed popular series (soaps, situation comedies, and crime serials), which traditionally have been neglected in the Nordic countries.

## Denmark

Denmark is a small country with 5 million inhabitants. It is the most continental of the Nordic countries and has been a

member of the European Union since 1972. The first Danish television experiments started in the late 1940s in the radio monopoly Statsradiofonien (later renamed Danmarks Radio), and from 1951 there were 3 hours of transmission weekly for a trial period. In 1954 public service television was inaugurated officially in Denmark. One of the main reasons for this delay was a tight economic situation in the post-war period. The minister of finance in a liberal-conservative government was against spending money on television until the electronics industry had convinced him that domestic broadcasting would support the export of television sets.

In 1953 a new Social Democratic government removed the remaining opposition against television by referring to the "threat" of cultural influence from German television. A similar argument was used 30 years later for establishing a second TV station. Danish television was mostly conceived as part of industrial and financial policy, but since then television policy has indisputably been viewed as a matter of cultural policy.

Television developed slowly in Denmark because of the economic situation and very high prices on television sets. In 1953 the number of licensed viewers was 800, in 1956 16,000, and in 1959 250,000. In the beginning Danmarks Radio used every opportunity to broadcast popular programs as a tool to attract new viewers, so it could increase the revenue. The transmission time per week was extended from 10 hours in 1954 to 25 hours in 1961. From the mid-1960s television was well established with about one million set owners, and gradually the programming policy was changed to one of more classical public service programming.

Even though there has in general been political consensus for maintaining public service television in Denmark, the programming policy has been discussed fiercely within a political and a cultural framework. The formal responsibility for the programming policy in Danmarks Radio was placed in a Radio Council, where the members were appointed by the political parties in accordance with their representation in the Parliament. This organisational construction resulted in a politicized television environment, both externally and internally. Danmarks Radio had a privileged position and therefore was under constant monitoring, especially in terms of news coverage and journalistic programs. Politicians from both the right and the left complained over a biased programming policy, and there were continuous debates over whether a given single program should be impartial, or whether it was the total output which should be balanced. This question was never solved, and after some fierce battles in the Radio Council in the late 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, it seemed that the producers gave up progressive ideas and began to practice forms of self-censorship in order to avoid further trouble.

The department of youth programming had, since the late 1960s, produced many controversial programs that depicted essential political and cultural issues in a provocative way. *Det er en kold tid* (*It is a cold time*) from 1981 discussed the problems of youth unemployment using the aesthetic codes of a journal-

istic report—but the report was fictitious. In the "report" one small municipality had solved youth unemployment by freezing young people in large cold storage houses (a process depicted in realistic visual codes). When society needed more workers, the young people would be defrosted. This was an innovative and controversial way of using the medium to demonstrate in a symbolic and disturbing way that young people were frozen out of society.

The cultural conflict was caused by Danmarks Radio's paternalistic attitude. Under shelter of the public service obligations to educate, enlighten, and give the public access to a unified culture, the station presented the middle- and high-brow stance of the cultural elite in Copenhagen, and the station showed contempt for the popular culture and the popular products from the entertainment industry. Growing public pressure in the late 1970s caused some changes in the programming policy, but even in the 1980s popular programs were canceled, and when *Dynasty* turned out to be a huge success in Denmark, the programmers tried to diminish the series' popularity by scheduling the show in odd time slots. National drama production has also demonstrably avoided popular genre formats. This cultural conflict has been essential, and it is one of the main reasons why Danmarks Radio has had many problems in adjusting to the new competitive situation.

When TV 2 was conceived in 1987 the right wing politicians wanted a private alternative to the monopoly, which in their view was biased in favor of the Social Democratic Party. They succeeded in breaking the monopoly but had to compromise on the financial part, and TV 2 was launched in 1988 as a non-profit public service station partly financed by commercials and partly by licence fees.

TV 2 has proved an innovative force in Danish television with a commercially inspired programming strategy and a more forthcoming attitude towards the audience. As a result, the channel has been a popular success. The most significant rating successes have been persistent scheduling of copies of former Danmarks Radio and commercial formats. Furthermore, TV 2 has a great variety of programs and extensive regional programming, so the service has in broad outline fulfilled its public service obligations.

The Danish cable and satellite situation resembles the Swedish one with a few exceptions. In 1995 the penetration was 57%. The transnational satellite stations are the same, but in Denmark the cable systems retransmit programmes from many of the neighboring countries' TV stations. Kinnevik's three stations, TV3, ZTV, and TV 6 all have special feeds to Denmark, but ZTV in Denmark does not have quite as many national programs as the Swedish version.

During the 1980s there have been many experiments with Danish local television. Most of the stations can best be described as public access channels with limited significance, but in Copenhagen Kanal 2 has been a successful commercial local station. Kanal 2 is controlled by Scandinavian Broadcasting System (SBS), and the station is used as a spearhead in a loosely organised network, Kanal Danmark,

of local stations totaling 60% national coverage. Because actual networking is prohibited, the Kanal Danmark construction is problematic in terms of meeting legislative requirements.

In 1994 the average viewing time in Denmark was 154 minutes per day per person. TV 2 had a 41% share of the viewing time, Danmarks Radio had 30%, TV3 had 10%, all local stations including Kanal 2 had 6%, and all the rest had a combined share of 8%.

In 1993 70% of TV3's programming was American (mostly drama series and films) and only 6% was Danish. At that time TV3 only had a 7% share, but since then the station has increased the national productions (entertainment) significantly and the ratings have increased proportionally. Therefore TV3 in the future seemingly will become a real challenge to the two public service stations and financially a threat to TV 2's revenue from commercials.

### Norway

Norway is a large mountainous country with only 4 million inhabitants. Contrary to the other Nordic countries Norway has successfully supported the economic development of even remote regions, and culturally, both national and local popular culture has been preserved. In 1993 the Norwegians for the second time voted no in a referendum on joining the European Union.

Norwegian television was not inaugurated until 1960, and then with only two hours of daily service, but there had been a limited trial period since 1954. The discussion about television was basically an echo of the discussion in Denmark and Sweden, and Norwegian television followed the Scandinavian model with a licence-fee-financed public service monopoly established within the radio monopoly Norsk Rikskringkasting, NRK. The company was state-owned until 1988, when it was converted into an independent foundation.

Television spread rapidly in Norway during the 1960s, but NRK was in a very difficult financial situation because of the relatively small population and the very high cost of increasing national coverage in the mountainous country. Therefore the question of advertising as a supplementary source of revenue was raised several times during the 1960s. Even within the management of NRK, there were people supporting the idea, but the Broadcasting Council wanted to maintain the fundamental public service principles based on financing with licence fees, thereby avoiding influence from vested interests.

In many ways NRK's programming policy was comparable to the public service tradition in the other Scandinavian countries. The main news program has been a monumental entry to prime time for decades and the enlightenment project has been central to Norwegian television. During the 1960s a new management supported an innovative and controversial programming policy. The general idea was to challenge the viewers with new ideas and to encourage progressive cultural development. The drama

department produced modernist and experimental single plays by international authors such as Eugene Ionesco, Harold Pinter, and Samuel Beckett, and by contemporary national playwrights.

This programming policy caused political and cultural criticism, and particularly some influential religious groups fought for a preservation of the more traditional values. In a paradoxical way NRK has been able to follow a double programming strategy. Apart from the innovative and progressive high-culture programs, the broadcaster has produced popular programs supporting national and regional identity. The popular programming has brought along a very broad popular support despite the paternalistic and elitist programming.

The transition from the NRK monopoly to the new competitive television system began in 1988, when two commercial television stations were launched—the pan-Scandinavian TV 3 (Kinnevik) based in England, and the nationally owned local station TV-Norge (TVN), which quickly expanded to cable. In 1991 the two commercial stations had a national coverage well over 30% and an audience share of approximately 8% each. In 1993 TVN was taken over by Scandinavian Broadcasting System (SBS). SBS is violating Norwegian media laws by using local television stations in a network to retransmit TVN's programming.

In 1990 the Norwegian Parliament decided to establish a new private terrestrial station starting in September 1992. Both TV3 and TVN applied for the concession for the second channel, but it was given to a consortium consisting of Schibstedt, the largest newspaper owner in Norway, and Egmont, the largest media company in Denmark, as the two largest share holders.

TV2 was already profitable in its second full year of operation, but the station has not been as popular as the new terrestrial stations in Denmark and Finland, even though the station in many ways copied TV 2 in Denmark, yet without being as dedicated to public service programming. TV2 started out in a very competitive situation. On the one hand TVN and TV3 had some success with national entertainment game shows, and therefore the TV2 game shows were less popular. On the other hand NRK had, since the huge success of TV 2 in Denmark, prepared itself for the new competition with a more streamlined scheduling policy, a greater emphasis on popular long-running formats and a further strengthening of the regional programs. NRK has been able to design an innovative programming policy, and especially affect the station's image, by a continuation of the previously mentioned paradoxical programming policy combining traditional paternalistic public service programming with popular programs. NRK has therefore maintained a very high, if decreasing, audience share. As a way of maintaining this leading position in Norwegian television, NRK has obtained the Parliament's permission to launch a new complimentary satellite and cable channel that will enable the company to give the audience an actual choice between different types of programs. Danmarks Radio is



launching a similar channel, but because of the limited reach, the two public service stations are breaking one of the fundamental public service principles: namely that the services must be available *to all* at an equal low price.

The Norwegian cable and satellite situation is, with a few exceptions, similar to those in Denmark and Sweden. In 1995 the penetration was 52%. The transnational stations are the same, but retransmitted Swedish television plays a significant role. Besides Kinnevik's three channels TV3, TV 6 and ZTV, and TVN, Schibstedt has also launched a channel aimed at women. In 1994 the average daily viewing time in Norway was 140 minutes. NRK had an audience share of 48%, TV2 26%, TVN 8%, TV3 6%, and local stations and the cable and satellite stations all together 12%.

### Finland

Finland has 5 million inhabitants. The country is bilingual with Swedish an officially recognised second language and a Swedish speaking minority of 6%. Finland is geographically situated very close to Russia, but is culturally closer to the Scandinavian countries. Still, because of significant differences from the other Scandinavian countries in terms of culture and language, Finland has maintained a distinctive position.

From the beginning Finnish television was different from the model employed by the other Scandinavian countries. Finland has had a public service radio monopoly, Oy Ylesradio Ab, (YLE), since 1926, so the point of origin was similar to that of the other Scandinavian countries. When television was in the making, YLE wanted to establish a television monopoly as well, but the company was reluctant to start television at that time for financial reasons. The private sector took advantage of this reluctance, and from 1956 Tesvisio-TV, TES-TV, broadcast commercially financed programs three evenings a week. Thus YLE was forced to develop its own television service, and in January 1958 YLE's station was inaugurated. Because of a very tight economic situation YLE feared that television could not be exclusively financed by licence fees and the company entered into a contract with a newly founded private company, Mainos-TV, MTV. The contract gave MTV the possibility of buying certain time periods for broadcasting commercially financed programs on the YLE television channel. This construction gave YLE revenues from commercial television as well as from licence fees without being directly involved in the "dirty" business of advertising.

From 1957 to 1964 the YLE/MTV channel competed with TES-TV, which was operating in Helsinki and Tampere. The programming policy was characterized by competition. TES-TV broadcasts consisted predominantly of news, entertainment, and foreign series and films, while YLE/MTV had a variety of other types of programs as well as examples of these same programs. In 1964 TES-TV surrendered and was bought by YLE. The next year YLE used the TES-TV network to start a second, partly independent channel operating from Tampere.

The odd cooperation between YLE and MTV was continued in the new two-channel system, and a coordinated competition between the two providers was established. In the late 1960s YLE developed a more traditional public service programming policy with a strong emphasis on news and informational programs, and, as something special, the company wanted to be an active force in the modernisation of Finnish society (Nordenstreng, 1974). MTV had a complementary programming policy which stressed entertainment and dramatic series, and until 1980 was prevented from broadcasting news and political programs.

The two programmers had conflicting aims and policies and disagreed several times on the assigned time slots and the economic conditions for the co-operation, but they have until recently coexisted quite well and to mutual benefit.

Finland was the first Nordic country to take action against the new competition from satellite television. In 1985 the company Kolmostelevisio was established in a joint venture between YLE, MTV, and the electronics company Nokia. The following year a third national YLE channel was launched with commercial programming provided by Kolmostelevisio. In the beginning of the 1990s there has been some organisational reshuffling, which has ended in termination of the co-operation between YLE and MTV. Now YLE has two public service channels, while MTV has an independent competing commercial channel. The former coordinated programming policies have been dropped in favor of real competition. The organisational differences between the two stations are causing different programming policies. YLE still has a majority of so-called serious programming even though the amount of entertainment and dramatic series has increased. MTV now has news, sports and current affairs within a commercially streamlined programming schedule. Both broadcasters have a majority of national programming, while the percentage of American programs in the total share of foreign programs has increased dramatically, and the American daytime soap *The Bold and the Beautiful* is a major hit on the MTV prime-time schedule.

In 1994 the average viewing time in Finland was 138 minutes per day per person. MTV had a 43% share of the viewing time, YLE 1 had 24%, YLE 2 had 19%, while YLE's Swedish language programming, a special Swedish channel with programs from SVT, and all local and satellite channels had a combined share of 14%. Cable and satellite penetration was 38% in 1995. The satellite channels are all transnational.

The Finns prefer to watch Finnish language channels, and the most highly favored programs are national productions. It has been argued that there is a rise of nationalism in the mental climate in Finland, and a return of the national past in certain programs. Both YLE and MTV have produced serials about the recent past. The highly successful *Metsolat* (*The Metsolat Family*) from 1993 on YLE 2 has described the recent major transitions in Finnish society as it changed from an agricultural to an industrialized society. *Metsolat* is a realistic soap about a family with both urban and rural members struggling both to



survive financially and to maintain the traditional cultural values.

### Iceland

Iceland is a miniature welfare state with 267,000 inhabitants. The country is geographically isolated, a large mountainous island in the Atlantic Ocean. The geographical conditions and the small population have marked out limitations for Icelandic broadcasting. In 1925 a private radio monopoly was established, but after two years this station closed down. In 1930 a state-run public service station *Ríkisútvarpið* (RUV) was launched. RUV was financed partly by licence fees and partly by announcements, either commercials or different kinds of information, read from the station.

RUV's radio monopoly was broken in 1951, when the American NATO forces in Keflavik launched a station that could be received in Reykjavik. The station mainly broadcast popular music and was immediately popular among young people. Other groups saw the station as a threat to the national cultural heritage, and the station was an important issue in the debate on the presence of American NATO forces in Iceland. The debate was fueled when the military base in 1955 launched the very first television service in Iceland. In the beginning the transmission was limited, but better transmitters increased the cultural influence of American television in Iceland without any national counterpart.

In October 1966 RUV established a limited television service three days a week, later increasing to six days a week. RUV maintained a television-free day each week until 1987, and until 1983 RUV did not broadcast in July. The television-free day, which also existed in Sweden in the early days of television, was meant to protect the traditional social and cultural life of society.

RUV is financed by both licence fees and commercials, but the small population is a limited financial foundation, and the national programs make up only 30-35%. RUV is trying within the limited budget to offer a small-scale public service programming policy. The station is even producing

national drama and is thus maintaining an Icelandic literary tradition.

Despite the insufficient financial foundation for television the Parliament allowed for new television stations in an extensive deregulation of the broadcasting policy in 1986. The same year Stöð 2 was launched as a private pay-channel with commercials. After a rocky start the station is now consolidated with almost 50% of the households as subscribers. Stöð 2 is offering a traditional commercial programming with only a very limited national production of news, current affairs, and entertainment. The main part of the programming consists of American and British series, films, entertainment, and current affairs.

In 1993 the broadcasting policy was further deregulated, so that it is now legal to retransmit programming from foreign television stations by microwaves without changing anything in the programs, and to establish cable-fed local stations. Stöð 2 is distributing several foreign channels, and in Reykjavik there is a small religious television station. So far these channels play an insignificant role in the Icelandic television consumption. RUV and Stöð 2 have a sort of duopoly, and it is difficult to see how new television services would be profitable in Iceland.

—Poul Erik Nielsen

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## NORTH OF 60

### Canadian Drama Series

Born of the heightened consciousness of the First Nations in the late 1980s this hour-long CBC series is one of the first in North America to focus almost exclusively on contemporary First Nations characters and situations. Created by Wayne Grigsby and Barbara Samuels, the series is currently in production for a fourth season. Aboriginal writers such as Jordan Wheeler (also a story editor) and novelist and film writer Thomas King have provided some of the scripts. The cast stars Tina Keeper as Michelle Kenidi, a constable in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police

(RCMP). Tom Jackson plays her brother, chief (later ex-chief) of the Lynx River community. George Tootoosis portrays the bootlegger, Albert Golo, subsequent chief of the community and the Kenidis' constant antagonist. Dakota House is Tee Vee Venya, the restless teenager, new father, and runner for the younger Golo. Other continuing characters include Elsie, Tee Vee's very direct and widely respected grandmother; Joe, the self-exiled hunter who camps outside of the settlement; Rosie, who is determined to run her own store; and her carpenter husband Leon; Gerry, the

exploitative owner of the store; and Harris, the band manager who changes sides but is genuinely in love with Tee Vee's self-destructive mother, Lois.

In the first two seasons the cast was also headed by John Oliver as Sergeant Eric Olsen, a white, burnt-out RCMP drug cop from Vancouver who has requested this posting as a change of pace. His (usually inadvertent) way of misunderstanding the Cree community of Lynx River provided the early plot lines. As he is educated by the community to the very different values and apparently incomprehensible behavior of the "Indians," so also is the multicultural audience "south of 60."

The series has raised many sensitive issues: the abuses of the residential schools and the many forms of self-hatred and anger which resulted; the decimation of the aboriginal way of life in the wake of animal rights protesters; runaways who head south to Vancouver to become street prostitutes; AIDS; land claims (and anthropologists "working" on those lands); interracial marriages. Alcohol abuse, with its effect on the entire community, and unemployment are running motifs. But this is not a series about victims. It is about a community in transition, a community whose core values are threatened, but still are able to withstand the coming of fax machines and satellite television.

By the third season the series had built up a solid audience outside of the First Nations peoples. There was truth to the complaint that the series in the early seasons was much too serious, lacking the characteristic, often ambivalent, sometimes oblique, and often very earthy humour of many First Nations. The third season, without Olsen, was a little more lighthearted. Sarah, the white nurse, in a rich and unexpected plot twist took refuge, after a nervous breakdown, with Albert, now the chief. Her non sequiturs, together with a generally more confident cast and group of writers, developed a thread of subtle, ironic, and unexpected humour.

The struggles of Michelle, her attempts to befriend her own people while policing them and her conflicts with her teenaged daughter Hanna, created situations any working parent could relate to. But the series also creates unexpected solutions to the usual domestic problems. Rather than simply relying on an unchanging, winning combination of characters, for example, Thomas King's script gave Peter Kenidi, even with his master's degree, a reason for staying in Lynx River. An unplanned vision quest is derived from too little sleep, extensive work on the history of the local families and the stories told by the elders, and worry about the offer of a well-paying and influential job in Ottawa. Kenidi has visions of a small boy who eventually wounds him with the stone from a sling-shot. As he comes to see, the "boy" is his younger self running away from residential school—but the cut on his forehead is "real." This larger sense of reality gives him a reason to become part of the Lynx River community and to try to find his place in it.

These topics, and others like them, explore difficult cultural concerns. Like *Cariboo Country* in the 1960s and *The Beachcombers* in the 1970s and 1980s, *North of 60* uses sensitivity and humor to address such issues of cross-cultural contact and conflict, specifically that between mainstream



North of 60  
Photo courtesy of CBC

and indigenous cultures. In doing so, this series and the others have demonstrated the participation of popular television in the complexities of Canadian life and society.

—Mary Jane Miller

#### CAST

<i>Corporal Eric Olsen</i> (1992–94)	John Oliver
<i>Michelle Kenidi</i>	Tina Keeper
<i>Peter Kenidi</i>	Tom Jackson
<i>Sarah Birkett</i>	Tracey Cook
<i>Albert Golo</i>	Gordon Tootoosis
<i>Leon Deela</i>	Errol Kinistino
<i>Tee Vee Venya</i>	Dakota House

**PRODUCERS** Wayne Grigsby, Barbara Sears

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

##### • CBC

November 1992–March 1993	Thursday 8:00-9:00
November 1993–March 1994	Thursday 9:00-10:00
November 1994–March 1995	Thursday 9:00-10:00
November 1995–March 1996	Thursday 9:00-10:00

See also Canadian Programming in English

## NORTHERN EXPOSURE

U.S. Dramedy

**N**orthern Exposure, perhaps the best example to date of a crossbred television "dramedy," began inauspiciously as a CBS replacement series in the summer of 1990 and quickly garnered critical acclaim as well as an audience sufficient to warrant its return for a short stint the following year. Its popularity grew, and for its first complete season, 1991-92, *Exposure* received ratings in the top twenty, the Emmy for Best Television Drama, and an unusual, two-year commitment from the network. During its fourth full year, 1994-95, the show's future appeared questionable. The mid-season departure of one of its key players, Rob Morrow, and a move from its established Monday night time slot to Wednesday, contributed to a decline in ratings and reputation. The program was canceled by the network at the end of the season.

Set in the fictional hamlet of Cicely, Alaska, this unique, contemporary, hour-long series was created by Joshua Brand and John Falsey, whose earlier brainchild, *St. Elsewhere*, had also become a surprise hit. Location shooting in and around the towns of Roslyn and Redmond, Washington, offered scenic panoramas invoking cultural images of unspoiled American frontier. Into this haven comes the proverbial "fish out of water," Joel Fleischman (Morrow), compelled to serve as town doctor in order to repay the state of Alaska for his medical school tuition. His initial disdain for Cicely's outwardly unsophisticated inhabitants is exceeded only by his desire to return to his beloved Big Apple where his ambition, cosmopolitan tastes, and Jewishness might have free reign.

The frontier theme is extended and personified in many of the town's multi-cultural, multi-generational denizens. Former astronaut and wealthy entrepreneur Maurice Minnifield (Barry Corbin) is forever devising ways to exploit Cicely's natural wonders. No-nonsense septuagenarian Ruth-Anne Miller (Peg Phillips) operates Cicely's General Store, where Native American Ed Chigliak (Darren E. Burrows) helps out while aspiring to be a filmmaker and, eventually, a shaman. Broadway star John Cullum plays French-Canadian immigrant Holling Vincoeur, who owns and manages Cicely's watering hole, The Brick. He is assisted by girlfriend-turned-wife Shelly Tambo (Cynthia Geary), an ex-beauty queen some forty years his junior. Joel's receptionist, Marilyn Whirlwind (Elaine Miles), orients her "boss," a man of science, to her Native American customs and spirituality while keeping him in line with the slightest grimace or glare. Chris Stevens (John Corbett), ex-con and deejay for Cicely's KBHR "Kaybear" radio, peppers the narrative with eclectic musical selections, self-taught philosophy, and Greek chorus-like commentary. Finally, Maggie O'Connell (Janine Turner), a local bush pilot and Joel's landlady, engages him in a tangled romance reminiscent of 1930s and 1940s screwball comedy. When Joel exited the scene during the 1994-95 season, Dr. Phillip Capra (Paul Provenza) and his journalist-spouse Michelle (Teri Polo) were introduced.



Northern Exposure

It is around intermittent characters that some of *Exposure's* most ground-breaking episodes and themes have emerged. Chris's African-American half-brother Bernard (Richard Cummings, Jr.) and Marilyn's healer cousin Leonard Quinhagak, played by noted film actor Graham Greene (*Dances With Wolves*), deepen and enhance the show's representation of multi-culture. Gender and sexuality are explored through Ron (Doug Ballard) and Erick (Don R. McManus), proprietors of the local inn, whose gay wedding was a prime-time first. Ron and Erick's arrival also helped to provide a larger context within which to recollect the town's founding by a lesbian couple, Roslyn and Cicely, later featured in a flashback episode. Eccentric bush couple Adam (Adam Arkin) and Eve (Valerie Mahaffey) allude to the ongoing battle of the sexes rendered center stage by Joel and Maggie and, with their exaggerated, back-to-nature facade and conspicuously consumptive habits, poke lighthearted fun at *Exposure's* "yuppie" audience.

The "fish out of water" narrative exemplified by Joel's gradual softening toward Cicely, Cicelians, and small-town life is replicated again and again in episodes about visitors who give of themselves in some fashion while becoming enriched by their

interactions with worldly wise, innately intelligent, and accepting locals. Humanity's place within the larger natural environment is another significant thematic thread running through the program's extended text. Behavior and temperament are often seen to be influenced by phenomena such as seasonal winds, Northern Lights, midnight sun, and ice breaking in springtime. The lesson is clear: nature tames human beings—not the other way around.

A cult favorite, *Northern Exposure* has inspired several fan clubs as well as its own internet newsgroups and other cyberspace bulletin boards—forums for spirited discussion by an international following. Although its network run was short-lived, it has extended its audience in syndication and has clearly made its mark with innovative storytelling and character-driven themes crystallizing new and ongoing debates about cultural values weighing heavily on a viewing public facing the uncertainty of a new millennium.

—Christine Scodari

#### CAST

<i>Dr. Joel Fleischman</i> . . . . .	Rob Morrow
<i>Maggie O'Connell</i> . . . . .	Janine Turner
<i>Maurice Minnifield</i> . . . . .	Barry Corbin
<i>Chris Stevens</i> . . . . .	John Corbett
<i>Ed Chigliak</i> . . . . .	Darren E. Burrows
<i>Holling Vincoeur</i> . . . . .	John Cullum
<i>Shelly Tambo</i> . . . . .	Cynthia Geary
<i>Marilyn Whirlwind</i> . . . . .	Elaine Miles
<i>Ruth-Anne Miller</i> . . . . .	Peg Phillips
<i>Rick Pederson</i> (1990–91) . . . . .	Grant Goodeve
<i>Adam</i> (1991–95) . . . . .	Adam Arkin
<i>Dave the Cook</i> (1991–95) . . . . .	William J. White
<i>Leonard Quinhagak</i> (1992–93) . . . . .	Graham Greene
<i>Bernard Stevens</i> (1991–95) . . . . .	Richard Cummings, Jr.
<i>Mike Monroe</i> (1992–93) . . . . .	Anthony Edwards
<i>Walt Kupfer</i> (1993–95) . . . . .	Moultrie Patten
<i>Eugene</i> (1994–95) . . . . .	Earl Quewezance
<i>Hayden Keyes</i> (1994–95) . . . . .	James L. Dunn
<i>Dr. Phillip Capra</i> (1994–95) . . . . .	Paul Provenza
<i>Michelle Schowdoski Capra</i> (1994–95) . . . . .	Teri Polo

**PRODUCERS** Joshua Brand, John Falsey, Charles Rosin, Robert T. Skodis

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 88 Episodes

• CBS

July 1990–August 1990

Thursday 10:00-11:00

April 1991–December 1994

Monday 10:00-11:00

January 1995–March 1995

Wednesday 10:00-11:00

July 1995–96

Wednesday 9:00-10:00

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See also *Dramedy*

## NOT ONLY...BUT ALSO...

### British Comedy Program

**N**ot Only...But Also... was among the most influential comedy programmes seen on British television in the 1960s. Starring former *Beyond the Fringe* partners Peter Cook and Dudley Moore, this fondly-remembered comedy-revue series had a considerable impact upon television comedy of the era, with its innovative and often eccentric brand of anarchic humour.

The series, first broadcast on BBC2 in 1965 and then repeated on BBC1, was conceived after Dudley Moore was asked to do a single comedy show for the BBC. Moore recruited Cook to help him write the sketches and Cook responded with "Pete and Dud," who were destined to become the show's greatest success, and another sketch in which a man explained his life's mission to teach ravens to fly underwater. The resulting show persuaded the BBC to commission a whole series from the duo.

Moore and Cook set about developing sequences of lively comedy sketches linked by musical interludes and other set-piece events featuring themselves or guests. Among the most successful of these latter items was Poets Cornered, in which invited comedians were required to compose (without hesitation) instant rhyming poems, or risk being plunged into a vat of gunge—the first appearance of the so-called "gunge tanks" that became such a feature of zany quiz shows and children's programmes in the 1980s and 1990s. Among those to brave the gunge were Frank Muir, Spike Milligan, and Barry Humphries. Guests in sketches included John Lennon, who appeared in the uniform of a nightclub commissioner, and Peter Sellers.

Other unique characteristics of the show included its opening sequence, for which the cameras were set up at some unexpected location, such as London's Tower Bridge, to film Moore playing the signature tune on his piano, and the closing song "Goodbye" (which was successfully released as a single in 1965, reaching number 18 in the pop charts).

The undoubted highlights of the *Not Only... But Also...* shows were the appearances of Cook and Moore in the roles of "Pete and Dud"—two rather dimwitted characters in long raincoats and cloth caps who mulled over affairs of the day and the meaning of life itself as they sipped pints of beer or munched sandwiches. These hilarious routines were frequently enlivened by bursts of ad-libbing, particularly by Cook, and on several uproarious occasions both men collapsed in fits of giggles, to the delight of audience and viewers.

A second series of *Not Only... But Also...* was broadcast in 1966 and its effect was evident upon many subsequent comedy shows, notably in the head-to-head dialogues of Mel Smith and Griff Rhys Jones some 20 years later, which harked back unmistakably to the classic "Pete and Dud" format.

—David Pickering



Not Only . . . But Also . . .

Photo courtesy of BBC

#### REGULAR PERFORMERS

Dudley Moore  
Peter Cook  
John Lennon  
Barry Humphries  
Peter Sellers  
Una Stubbs  
Eric Sykes  
Henry Cooper  
Cilla Black  
Dusty Springfield  
Spike Milligan  
William Rushton  
Frank Muir  
Ronnie Barker

**PRODUCERS** John McGrath, Dick Clement, John Street, James Gilbert

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 23 Episodes

• BBC2

January 1965–April 1965

7 45-minute Episodes

January 1966–February 1966  
 Christmas Special  
 February 1970–May 1971

7 30-minute Episodes  
 25 December 1966  
 7 45-minute Episodes

Live Performance *Show of the Week*

14 March 1973

See also British Programming

## NOT THE NINE O'CLOCK NEWS

### British Satirical Review

This fast-paced contemporary satire series launched many successful TV careers and bridged the gap between the surrealist comedy of the *Monty Python* generation and the anarchic new wave comic revolution of the 1980s. In 1979 radio producer John Lloyd, frustrated that many of the radio shows he had worked on (such as sitcom *To the Manor Born*) had transferred to television without him, approached BBC-TV light entertainment heads and pitched for a TV series. John Howard Davies (head of comedy) and Jimmy Gilbert (head of light entertainment) offered Lloyd a six-show slot with no real brief, but with a stipulation that he collaborate with current affairs expert Sean Hardie, who had been recommended to the comedy department because of a quirky sense of humour that didn't always sit comfortably within the confines of current affairs programming. Lloyd and Hardie found they worked well together and quickly began developing formats. One possible program was called *Sacred Cows* and each week would have humorously dissected a modern day trend, e.g. feminism, similar to the way the *Frost Report* (BBC 1966–67) had operated. However, they finally settled on a contemporary sketch show that would take a "scatter-gun" approach dealing with all sorts of targets.

A pilot show was produced in March 1979 with the team, consisting of Rowan Atkinson, Chris Emmet, Christopher Godwin, John Gorman, Chris Langham, Willoughby Goddard and Johnathan Hyde. The pilot was never transmitted. A general election was imminent, and on viewing the program the BBC was concerned about its overtly political nature. They sent Lloyd and Hardie back to the drawing board and gave them six extra months, which both agreed was a big advantage. Lloyd and Hardie embarked on forming a new team with only Atkinson and Langham surviving from the pilot. Lloyd in particular was keen to get a woman aboard but finding a suitable player was proving difficult. They approached comedienne Victoria Wood, who felt (rightly) that her future lay as a solo artiste, and actresses Alison Steadman and Susan George, to no avail. Finally, John Lloyd met Australian actress Pamela Stephenson at a party and was convinced they had found their woman. Mel Smith was brought in to make up the team and once they were all together the shape of the show became clearer. As a bonus Lloyd found that the cast was willing to become actively involved in moulding the material, helping with the selection of sketches and occasionally writing or rewriting pieces.

The first series aired late in 1979 and attracted just enough of an audience overall to convince the BBC to go

ahead with a second series the following year. At the end of the first series it was agreed that Chris Langham didn't quite fit in with the rest of the team and he was replaced by Griff Rhys Jones, who had played some of the extra parts in the first series. Pamela Stephenson had discovered an unexpected talent for mimicry and her impressions of the female newsreaders of the day proved to be a highlight of the show. Atkinson excelled at visual comedy and verbal gymnastics, and Mel Smith and Griff Rhys Jones brought a natural acting technique to the sketches. The second series firmly established the show and one episode won the Silver Rose for innovation at the Montreux Festival. The third and fourth series consolidated their success. Some of the written material for the show came from a central team of regular writers, but the show also operated an open-door policy, which meant that virtually anyone could send sketches in and have them read. This policy provided a fertile training ground for new talent and many budding writers had their first televised work via *Not the Nine O'Clock News*. To the writers, the show may have seemed fairly flexible but Lloyd and Hardie had some firm parameters. The show was contemporary rather than topical, although its recording schedule (taped Sunday evening for transmission the following day) meant that some last-minute material could be added to give an extra edge. Short sketches were preferred. (In its



Not the Nine O'Clock News

Photo courtesy of BBC



entire run only a handful are over a minute and a half). Although it returned to the idea of using punchlines (a tradition some critics thought had been eradicated for good by the Python team), the show was markedly post-Python and unashamedly modern. If a sketch took place in a pub, it would be a modern-day pub with Space Invaders machines instead of dominoes, if a sketch took place in a hospital it would be a modern understaffed hospital with harassed doctors and nurses. This sensibility, combined with the show's pace, its revoicing of bought-in footage, its news-style filming and use of new visual equipment and techniques (such as Quantel), created a unique and recognisable look.

Memorable skits included the parody of the emerging pop video industry ("Nice Video, Shame About the Song"); the satirical comment on the religious furor surrounding *Monty Python's Life of Brian*, in which Pythonists accuse the Bible of blaspheming against the Flying Circus; a beauty contest sketch featuring an unusually candid contestant (Host: "And why do you want to be Miss World?" Contestant: "I want to screw famous people"); and the interview with an intelligent and urbane talking gorilla called Gerald (Trainer: "When we captured Gerald he was of course wild." Gerald: "Wild? I was absolutely livid").

In 1982 the team amicably decided to call it a day, feeling that they had gone as far as they could with the format (they had also produced audio recordings of the show which had proved highly popular, and spin-off books which sold in vast numbers). Although it only ran for twenty-eight episodes, the intensity and density of each show, some containing as many as thirty sketches, meant they had used a lot of material and covered a lot of ground. The careers of many of the creative personnel from the show continued to flourish afterwards: Pamela Stephenson worked in Hollywood; Mel Smith and Griff Rhys Jones joined for a number of series of *Alias Smith and Jones* and independently proved very popular in a number of ventures. (Smith has since directed movies in Hollywood.) Rowan Atkinson became a household name on both sides of the Atlantic, scoring heavily in the sitcom *Blackadder*, the irregular series of *Mr. Bean* comic films, and in feature films. Producer John Lloyd went on to initiate many hit series, perhaps the most notable

being the satirical puppet caricature series *Spitting Image*. Many of the show's writers went on to further successes, including David Renwick, who wrote the most popular British sitcom of the 1990s, *One Foot in the Grave*. Richard Curtis co-wrote the *Blackadder* series and scripted the most successful British film in history, *Four Weddings and a Funeral*. In 1979, although it had finished five years previously, *Monty Python's Flying Circus* was still exerting a huge influence on British TV comedy; *Not the Nine O'Clock News* was the first comedy sketch programme to shine successfully in the large shadow that *Python* cast.

In 1995 the producers returned to the original shows and began the mammoth task of editing them for retransmission and eventual video release. A U.S. version of the series called *Not Necessarily the News* (*Not the Network Co. Inc.*) was syndicated in the 1980s.

—Dick Fiddy

#### PERFORMERS

Rowan Atkinson  
Pamela Stephenson  
Mel Smith  
Griff Rhys Jones  
Chris Langham

**PRODUCERS** Sean Hardie, John Lloyd

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 28 30-minute episodes

#### • BBC

17 October 1979–20 November 1979	6 Episodes
31 March 1980–12 May 1980	7 Episodes
27 October 1980–15 December 1980	8 Episodes
1 February 1982–12 March 1982	7 Episodes

#### FURTHER READING

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See also Atkinson, Rowan; British Programming; *That Was the Week that Was*

## NYPD BLUE

### U.S. Police Drama

Amid controversy about Steven Bochco's intent to produce network television's first "R-rated" series, *NYPD Blue* premiered on ABC in September 1993. The innovative police drama survived a serious onslaught of protest to emerge as a popular and critically acclaimed series. *Blue* (as it was sometimes promoted) deliberately tested the boundaries of broadcast restrictions on partial nudity and adult language. Praise for the show's finely crafted storytelling and engaging style soon overtook initial condemnations of its

occasional flashes of skin and salty dialogue. By the end of its first season, *NYPD Blue* had revived Bochco's reputation as a risk-taking producer of "quality television."

As a gritty, downbeat cop drama filmed against a backdrop of urban decay, the program was seen as a return to form for Bochco, who had co-created the groundbreaking *Hill Street Blues* and *L.A. Law*. Attempts to repeat the success of his law and order shows faltered (*Bay City Blues*, *Cop Rock*, *Civil Wars*) until *Hill Street* writer-producer David Milch



teamed with Bochco to revitalize the genre once again. Arguing that the networks had to compete with cable TV for the adult audience, the producers persuaded ABC to approve content previously forbidden. The pilot episode concluded with a dimly-lit lovemaking scene. While mild by motion-picture standards, its partial male and female nudity stirred controversy.

Three months before the debut of such "blue" material, ABC screened the pilot for affiliates and advertisers. Although Bochco agreed to trim fifteen seconds from the sex scene, adverse reactions threatened the show's broadcast run. Conservative watchdog the Rev. Donald Wildmon and his American Family Association (AFA) led a national campaign against *NYPD Blue*, calling on affiliates not to air the program and on citizens to boycott products advertised during the show. A quarter of ABC's 225 member stations preempted the first episode.

Despite the unprecedented number of defections, *Blue* scored well in the ratings. Most blackouts had been in small markets (representing only 10 to 15% of potential viewers); Wildmon's campaign provided extra publicity in larger ones. Furthermore, *NYPD Blue* maintained its large audience, leading most advertisers and affiliates to cease their opposition. By the end of its first season, ABC's new hit drama survived a second round of attacks from the AFA and won endorsements from Viewers for Quality Television, the People's Choice and Emmy Awards, and most reviewers.

After all the hype about sex, violence, and profanity, what viewers and critics discovered was a compelling series that was "adult" in the best rather than worst sense. It was mature and sophisticated, not libertine. Instead of inserting racy language and showy sex for the sake of sensation, this story of career cops featured complicated human characters. Charges of excessive violence also proved unfounded. As a new round of protests against TV violence circulated in 1993, critics tagged this latest *bête noire* of television as a prime offender. Yet, particularly for a realistic police show, *NYPD Blue* seldom depicted violent acts. When it did, it tended to dramatize the terrible consequences of such actions. (Eventually, ABC responded to public and congressional pressures by adding an advisory announcement, though it did not mention violence: "This police drama contains adult language and scenes with partial nudity. Viewer discretion is advised.")

Again like *Hill Street*, *NYPD Blue* excelled with a potent combination of writing, acting, and directing. The look of the show was both realistic and stylized. New York City location shooting made the show's feel for big-city street life palpable, while the jumpy editing and nervous, hand-held camera movement (already a convention of the genre) heightened the dramatic tension of scenes in the precinct offices, the place where an ensemble of characters' lives intertwined. Unlike the innovative police drama to which it is often compared, Barry Levinson's *Homicide*, *NYPD Blue* kept its stylistic flourishes in check, letting actors control scenes. In fact, actors familiar from past Bochco produc-



*NYPD Blue*

tions, Charles Haid, Eric Laneauville, Dennis Dugan, Jesus S. Treviño, often directed episodes.

But it was another set of alumni from the Bochco stock company who stood out above the ensemble cast. Dennis Franz emerged as the scenery-chewing mainstay of the show, reinventing his seedy, sharp-tongued Norman Buntz character from *Hill Street Blues* as Detective Andy Sipowicz. The lesser known David Caruso quickly became a star and sex symbol playing Sipowicz's partner, John Kelly, a throwback, red-headed Irish cop. Early in the show's run Caruso received more publicity, largely because he was the first of the male leads to do a nude scene. However, he left *NYPD Blue* at the start of the second season to pursue a movie career. *L.A. Law* star Jimmy Smits replaced Caruso as Sipowicz's new partner, Bobby Simone. The series' smooth transition into a successful new phase testified to the storytelling skills of Milch, Bochco, and their collaborators.

Individual episodes introduced new cases for the detectives of New York's 15th Precinct and blended them with ongoing melodramatic storylines about personal relationships. Entanglements of professional and personal affairs were always imminent as every detective in the precinct became romantically involved with a co-worker (usually during a divorce): Sipowicz with assistant D.A. Sylvia Costas, Kelly with Detective Janice Licalsi, Gregory Medavoy with office secretary Abandando, and detectives Martinez and Lesniak with each other.

Even with so many couples, male characters dominated *NYPD Blue*. Their tough-guy machismo, however, was always tempered by a caring side. Rather than playing to good cop/bad cop stereotypes, Sipowicz, Kelly, Simone, and their fraternal colleagues exemplified that emerging archetype of nineties television: the sensitive man. Like TV cops of the past they were moral, yet hard enough to crack down on criminals. To this "guy" image the men of *NYPD Blue* added a dimension of sensitivity. Here were sentient cops. The replacement of the Cagneyesque John Kelly with empathetic widower Simone heightened this aspect. These were working men concerned with emotion. The boys in *Blue* had feelings and discussed them, with both their professional and romantic partners. Women's roles, even nominally feminist ones, tended only to be supportive of men's and lacked depth.

As with other Bochco productions, *NYPD Blue* leavened its mixture of police drama and soap opera with comic relief, often interjecting moments of irreverent, even scatological, humor. The show's controversial uses of nudity and language often played at this level. Naked bodies appeared in awkward, comic scenes as well as erotic ones. And writers seemed self-conscious in inventing colorful, funny curse words for Sipowicz to spew at criminals.

Whatever the length of its run, *NYPD Blue* made history with its breakthrough first season. While not a model for commercial imitation, the series proved that risky, adult material could be successfully integrated into network television programming.

—Daniel G. Streible

#### CAST

*Detective John Kelly* (1993–94) . . . . . David Caruso  
*Detective Andy Sipowicz* . . . . . Dennis Franz  
*Lieutenant Arthur Fancy* . . . . . James McDaniel  
*Laura Hughes Kelly* (1993–94) . . . . . Sherry Stringfield  
*Officer Janice Licalsi* (1993–94) . . . . . Amy Brenneman  
*Officer/Detective James Martinez* . . . . . Nicholas Turturro  
*Assistant District Attorney Sylvia Costas* (1994–) . . . . . Sharon Lawrence  
*Detective Greg Medavoy* (1994–) . . . . . Gordon Clapp  
*Donna Abandando* (1994–96) . . . . . Gail O'Grady  
*Detective Bobby Simone* (1994–) . . . . . Jimmy Smits

**PRODUCERS** Steven Bochco, David Milch

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

##### • ABC

September 1993–August 1994	Tuesday 10:00–11:00
October 1994–	Tuesday 10:00–11:00

#### FURTHER READING

- "Alan Brydon Reveals Why His Video is Set to Record Every *NYPD Blue* Episode." *Campaign-London* (London), 10 March 1995.
- Brodie, John. "ABC Affils Ponder: How Blue is *Blue*?" *Variety* (Los Angeles) 21 June 1993.
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- Seibel, Deborah Starr. "Jimmy Smits Hits the Streets Of *NYPD Blue*." *TV Guide* (Radnor, Pennsylvania), 12–18 November 1994.
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See also Bochco, Steven; *Hill Street Blues*; Police Programs



O

## O'CONNOR, CARROLL

U.S. Actor

Best known for his portrayal of cantankerous Archie Bunker on the long-running CBS series *All in the Family*, Carroll O'Connor has been one of television's most recognized actors for over twenty years. For his work on *All in the Family* and *In the Heat of the Night*, the actor has received five Emmy Awards, eight Emmy nominations, a Golden Globe Award and a Peabody Award.

O'Connor's acting career began while he was a student in Ireland in the 1950s. Following experiences in American and European theatre, he established himself as a versatile character actor in Hollywood during the 1960s. Between films he made guest appearances on television programs such as the *U.S. Steel Hour*, *Kraft Television Theatre*, the *Armstrong Circle Theatre* and many of the filmed series hits of the 1960s. But O'Connor became a television star with his portrayal of outspoken bigot Archie Bunker, the American archetype whose chair now sits in the Smithsonian Institution.

In 1968, ABC, which had the first rights to the series, financed production of two pilot episodes of *All in the Family* (then under the title *Those Were the Days*). But the network's trepidation about the program's socially controversial content led ABC to reject the show. Producer Norman Lear sold the series to CBS, where *All in the Family* was broadcast for the first time on 12 January 1971 with O'Connor as Archie Bunker. By using humor to tackle racism and other sensitive subjects, *All in the Family* changed the style and tone of prime-time programming on television. It may also have opened the door for political and social satires such as *Saturday Night Live* and other controversial programs.

Through its thirteen seasons the show gained immense popularity (in its heyday, it was said to have reached an average of fifty million viewers weekly), and maintained a groundbreaking sense of social criticism. Archie Bunker's regular stream of racial epithets and malapropisms catalyzed strong reaction from critics. *All in the Family* was attacked by conservatives who thought that the show made fun of their views, and by liberals who charged that the show was too matter-of-fact about bigotry. The show's successor *Archie Bunker's Place* was broadcast on CBS from 1979 to 1983, and the earlier show also begat two successful spinoffs, *Maude* and *The Jeffersons*, one of television's longest-running series about African Americans.

From 1988 to 1994 O'Connor starred in and served as executive producer and head writer for the hit prime-time drama *In the Heat of the Night*. Set in fictional Sparta, Mississippi, but shot on location in Covington, Georgia, *In the Heat of the Night* may be seen as a continuation of O'Connor's association with television programs designed to function as social commentary by addressing issues of racism and bigotry. O'Connor plays Bill Gillespie, a Southern police chief whose top detective (played by Howard Rollins) is African American. In its 1993 season, the show also featured the marriage of Chief Gillespie to an African-American city administrator. The series has received two NAACP Image Awards for contributing positive portrayals of African Americans on television. When the series version of *In*



Carroll O'Connor

Photo courtesy of Carroll O'Connor

*the Heat of the Night* ended, O'Connor produced several made-for-television movies using the same locations and characters.

In 1995, O'Connor's son and co-star on *In the Heat of the Night*, Hugh O'Connor, died of a drug overdose. O'Connor chose to speak out publicly about his grief and his views on the legalization of drugs, and gave a number of well-publicized interviews on these topics on television. He continues to devote much of his time to the social problems surrounding drug addiction.

—Diane M. Negra

**CARROLL O'CONNOR.** Born in New York City, New York, U.S.A., 2 August 1924. Educated at the University of Montana; National University of Ireland, B.A. 1952; University of Montana, M.A. 1956. Married: Nancy Fields, 1951; child: Hugh (deceased). Stage actor in Ireland, 1950–54; substitute teacher in New York, 1954–56; appeared in plays *Ulysses in Nighttown*, 1958, and *The Big Knife*, 1959; character actor in numerous motion pictures, 1961–71, including *Fever in the Blood*, 1961, *Cleopatra*, 1963, and *Kelley's Heroes*, 1970; star of television series *All in the Family*, 1971–79; star of *Archie Bunker's Place*, 1979–83; co-executive producer and star of *In the Heat of the Night*, 1988–94. Recipient: Golden Globe Award; Emmy Awards, 1973, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1989; George Foster Peabody Award, 1980; named to Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Hall of Fame, 1990. Address: Lionel Lerner Ltd., 130 West 57th Street, Suite 10A, Culver City, California 10019, U.S.A.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

- |         |  |
|---------|--|
| 1971–79 | <i>All in the Family</i>                                   |
| 1979–83 | <i>Archie Bunker's Place</i>                               |
| 1988–94 | <i>In the Heat of the Night</i><br>(co-executive producer) |
| 1994    | <i>Party of Five</i>                                       |
| 1996–   | <i>Mad about You</i>                                       |

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

- |      |                     |
|------|---------------------|
| 1969 | <i>Fear No Evil</i> |
| 1985 | <i>Brass</i>        |

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| 1986 | <i>Convicted</i>                                     |
| 1987 | <i>The Father Clements Story</i>                     |
| 1994 | <i>In the Heat of the Night: A Matter of Justice</i> |
| 1995 | <i>In the Heat of the Night: Grow Old with Me</i>    |
| 1995 | <i>In the Heat of the Night: By Duty Bound</i>       |

#### TELEVISION SPECIALS

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| 1972 | <i>Of Thee I Sing</i>                             |
| 1973 | <i>Three for the Girls</i>                        |
| 1977 | <i>The Last Hurrah</i>                            |
| 1981 | <i>Man, Myths and Titans</i> (writer)             |
| 1991 | <i>All in the Family 20th Anniversary Special</i> |

#### FILMS

*Fever in the Blood*, 1961; *By Love Possessed*, 1961; *Lad a Dog*, 1961; *Lonely are the Brave*, 1962; *Cleopatra*, 1963; *Not With My Wife, You Don't*, 1966; *Warning Shot*, 1967; *What Did You Do in the War, Daddy?*, 1968; *Marlowe*, 1969; *Death of a Gunfighter*, 1969; *Kelley's Heroes*, 1970; *Doctors' Wives*, 1971; *Law and Disorder*, 1985.

#### STAGE

*Ulysses in Nighttown*, 1958; *The Big Knife*, 1959; *Brothers*, 1983; *Home Front*, 1984.

#### FURTHER READING

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See also *All in the Family*, Comedy, Domestic Settings; Lear, Norman

## THE ODD COUPLE

### U.S. Situation Comedy

Although often positioned in the shadow of such ground-breaking series as *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* and *All in the Family*, *The Odd Couple* is one of the early examples of sophisticated, well-written, character-driven sitcoms that came to dominate the 1970s. Like *M\*A\*S\*H*, it is also one of the few successful TV sitcoms to be based on material from another medium, in this case a successful Broadway play and film. Although critically acclaimed, it did not receive popular recognition until syndication.

Originally conceived by Neil Simon, who based the play on his brother Danny's true-life experience, *The Odd Couple*

concept is best described in the one-sentence treatment Simon submitted to Paramount, who financed the stage play sight-unseen: "Two men—one divorced and one estranged and neither quite sure why their marriages fell apart—move in together to save money for alimony and suddenly discover they're having the same conflicts and fights they had in their marriages."

*The Odd Couple*, in all forms, is truly a popular culture phenomenon. Simon's wildly successful play ran from 1965 to 1967, and, as Rip Stock notes in his book *Odd Couple Mania*, it is most likely being produced right now by any number of community theater groups across the

country. In 1968, the play was made into a successful film starring Walter Matthau as unkempt sports writer Oscar Madison and Jack Lemmon as anal-retentive commercial photographer Felix Unger. Naturally, Paramount wanted its TV division to cash in on this success; while Simon had signed away his TV rights, Paramount enlisted *Dick Van Dyke Show* alumni Gary Marshall and Jerry Belson to produce the series for television, which debuted on ABC in September 1970.

The sophisticated style and attention to character that Marshall and Belson had learned during their *Dick Van Dyke* days paid off, and *The Odd Couple* became one of TV's first relevant sitcoms, dealing with such issues as the generation gap and sex in an adult fashion. Of course, the primary focus was its characters. Jack Klugman and Tony Randall made for a perfect Oscar and Felix, and, indeed, have become more closely linked with their characters than their movie counterparts. While both actors won Emmy awards for their roles, the series failed to capture a wide audience. Third-place network ABC had little to lose by airing a marginal show, of course, and remained committed to the sitcom for five seasons before giving it the ax. The series, however, blossomed in syndication, appearing in major domestic and foreign markets to this day.

The names of those connected with the series, both on and off screen, reads like a Who's Who of television. Producer Gary Marshall used the respect he had gained from the series to create such less respectable programs as *Happy Days*, *Mork and Mindy*, *Laverne and Shirley* and *Joanie Loves Chachi*. Indeed, it was through his experience with *The Odd Couple* that Marshall learned a valuable lesson—in order to be a major hit, a show must have kid appeal, a formula Marshall soon had down to an art. While Marshall graduated to feature films, Jerry Belson remained in TV, eventually serving as co-producer and co-creator of *The Tracey Ullman Show*.

Klugman, after his first of several bouts with throat cancer, returned to his dramatic roots by starring in NBC's *Quincy*. Randall moved over to MTM to star in *The Tony Randall Show*, as well as the critically acclaimed NBC series *Love, Sidney*. Penny Marshall, Gary's sister, launched her acting career as Oscar Madison's whining secretary Myrna Turner (a name which rhymed when she pronounced it in her heavy New York accent).

*The Odd Couple* has enjoyed a number of spin-offs, which included an animated version in 1975 featuring a neat cat and a sloppy dog. In 1982, Jerry Belson revived the series for prime time, featuring African American actors Ron Glass and Demond Wilson in the Felix and Oscar roles. Using many of the same plots from the original episodes, *The New Odd Couple* lasted only one season. In 1992, Klugman and Randall reprised their roles in a special two-hour reunion episode. Given the American public's captivation with the series, it is likely that further versions will continue to surface.

—Michael B. Kassel



The Odd Couple

#### CAST (1970–75)

<i>Felix Unger</i>	Tony Randall
<i>Oscar Madison</i>	Jack Klugman
<i>Murray Greshner</i>	Al Molinaro
<i>Speed</i> (1970–74)	Garry Walberg
<i>Vinnie</i>	Larry Gelman
<i>Roger</i> (1973–74)	Archie Hahn
<i>Roy</i> (1970–71)	Ryan McDonald
<i>Cecily Pigeon</i> (1970–71)	Monica Evans
<i>Gwendolyn Pigeon</i> (1970–71)	Carol Shelly
<i>Dr. Nancy Cunningham</i> (1970–72)	Joan Hotchkis
<i>Gloria Unger</i> (1971–75)	Janis Hansen
<i>Blanche Madison</i>	Brett Somers
<i>Myrna Turner</i> (1971–75)	Penny Marshall
<i>Miriam Welby</i> (1972–74)	Elinor Donahue

#### CAST (1982–83)

<i>Felix Unger</i>	Ron Glass
<i>Oscar Madison</i>	Demond Wilson
<i>Murray</i>	John Schuck
<i>Speed</i>	Christopher Joy
<i>Roy</i>	Bart Braverman
<i>Cecily Pigeon</i>	Sheila Anderson
<i>Gwendolyn Pigeon</i>	Ronanda Douglas
<i>Maria</i>	Liz Torres
<i>Mona</i>	Jo Marie Payton-France

**PRODUCERS** Gary Marshall, Jerry Belson, Harvey Miller, Sheldon Keller, Tony Marshall, Phil Mishkin

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 114 Episodes

## • ABC

September 1970–January 1971	Thursday 9:30–10:00
January 1971–June 1973	Friday 9:30–10:00
June 1973–January 1974	Friday 8:30–9:00
January 1974–September 1974	Friday 9:30–10:00
September 1974–January 1975	Thursday 8:00–8:30
January 1975–July 1975	Friday 9:30–10:00
October 1982–February 1983	Friday 8:30–9:00
May 1983	Friday 8:00–8:30
May 1983–June 1983	Thursday 8:30–9:00

**OHLMEYER, DON****U.S. Media Executive**

Donald W. Ohlmeyer is president of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), West Coast—a position he assumed in 1993. He recently signed a new contract with the network extending his tenure there until after the year 2000. As president of the West Coast division, Ohlmeyer is responsible for the operations of NBC Entertainment and NBC Productions—both of which produce television programs for the network and other venues. American television network production of such internally-developed programming has increased since the Federal Communications Commission relaxed its financial syndication (fin-sin) regulations which previously limited such self-production.

Ohlmeyer is a veteran television producer-director who has won many Emmy Awards from the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences. He started his career at ABC Sports in 1967, and moved up the career ladder working on *Wide World of Sports*, a ground-breaking program in terms of technological broadcast innovation and breadth of coverage. At ABC, he directed three Olympic broadcasts in addition to producing *Monday Night Football*, an early ratings success and one of the first U.S. prime-time network sports programs (boxing excepted).

Ohlmeyer moved to NBC in 1977 as executive producer of sports and worked on network coverage of the World Series and the Super Bowl. During his careers at ABC and NBC, he has produced or directed television coverage of championships in every major sport in the United States.

While at NBC, Ohlmeyer branched out into feature film production with *The Golden Moment: An Olympic Love Story*, an award-winning made-for-TV movie. He left NBC in 1982 to form his own production company, Ohlmeyer Communications, which produced made-for-TV films, award programs for MTV, and network series. In the latter category, *Lifestories* was an early reality-based series that garnered positive reviews from television critics for its story

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See also Comedy, Domestic Settings; Randall, Tony

treatment, but failed to generate a large enough audience for renewal. Ohlmeyer won an Emmy as producer of *Special Bulletin*, a harrowing 1983 depiction of nuclear terrorism that utilized a television news approach for verisimilitude.

Ohlmeyer is a rarity among American television executives in that he has moved into senior management from the production side of the business. As producer-executive



Don Ohlmeyer  
Photo courtesy of Don Ohlmeyer



Grant Tinker also demonstrated at NBC, this type of background can be valuable in assessing potential projects and encouraging program submissions from producers. Ohlmeyer has leveraged his knowledge of sports, feature films, and special event coverage into a key position managing the production efforts of NBC at a time when the broadcast networks have an economic incentive to develop more of their own programming.

—Peter B. Seel

DONALD WINFRED OHLMEYER, JR. Born in New Orleans, Louisiana, U.S.A., 3 February 1945. University of Notre Dame, B.A. in communications, 1967. Married: Adrian Perry, 1978; children: Kemper Perry; by previous marriage: Justin Drew, Christopher Brett, and Todd Bivens. Associate director, ABC Sports, New York City, 1967–70; director, ABC Sports, 1971–72; producer, ABC Sports, 1972–77; president, Roadblock Productions, from 1977; executive producer, NBC Sports, 1977–82; formed Ohlmeyer Communications Company, Los Angeles, 1982; chair of the board and chief executive officer, from 1982; president, NBC West Coast, since 1993. Member: Directors Guild of America; Academy of TV Arts and Sciences. Recipient: numerous Emmy Awards; Cine Golden Eagle Award, 1979; Miami Film Festival Award, 1979; Humanitas Prize; National Film Board Award for Excellence. Address: NBC 3000 West Alameda Avenue, Burbank, California 91523, U.S.A.

#### TELEVISION SERIES (selection)

- 1972–76 *Monday Night Football* (producer)  
1990 *Lifestories* (director and executive producer)

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

- 1980 *The Golden Moment: An Olympic Love Story*  
1983 *Special Bulletin* (executive producer)  
1986 *Under Siege*  
1987 *Right to Die*  
1989 *Cold Sassy Tree* (executive producer)  
1992 *Crazy in Love*

#### TELEVISION SPECIALS

- 1972 *The Olympic Games* (director)  
1976 *The Summer Olympics* (director)  
1976 *The Winter Olympics* (director)  
1977 *Us Against the World* (also director)  
1980 *The Olympic Games* (executive producer)  
1988 *Crimes of the Century*  
1988 *John Denver's Christmas Special in Aspen*  
1988 *Season's Greetings—An Evening with John Williams and the Boston Pops Orchestra*  
1989 *Walt Disney World's 4th of July Spectacular* (also director)  
1990 *Disney's Christmas on Ice*

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See also Olympics and Television; Sports and Television

## OLYMPICS AND TELEVISION

Since their first telecast in 1960, the Olympic games have enjoyed a mutually beneficial relationship with television. TV has popularized the event to the point that the global audience is now estimated at one billion viewers. Over the years, however, American television networks have become mired in a high-stakes bidding war for broadcast rights. The stiff competition has kept rights fees inordinately expensive and, as a result, America contributes much more money than any other country to support the Olympics. In 1996, the Summer games in Atlanta were priced at \$456 million, a figure that did not include the cost of the production itself, which has been estimated at another \$150 million. All of the Western European nations combined paid \$250 million in fees for the same games.

It can also be argued that network coverage of the games has expanded to the point of excess in the attempts to recoup spiraling costs by selling more commercial time. Nevertheless, the ratings, advertising revenue, and prestige associated with broadcasting the games have established the Olympic

rights as among the most coveted and expensive in all of television.

Simultaneously, the International Olympics Committee (IOC) has become increasingly dependent on income derived from American television. Even the scheduling of the games has been changed, in part, to accommodate the U.S. media. In 1994, the IOC adopted a two-year staggered schedule; the Winter Olympics in Lillehammer were followed by the 1996 Summer games in Atlanta. This eased the strain on corporations who were beginning to find the price of quality Olympic advertising prohibitive. At hundreds of thousands of dollars for a thirty-second spot, or hundreds of millions for a sponsorship package, neither the Committee nor the networks could afford to lose these clients. Spacing the Summer and Winter Olympics two years apart thus allowed sponsors to spread out their costs and also to invest in more high-profile packages. The revised schedule also granted the IOC more time to effectively allocate the revenue.



*Bruce Jenner at the 1976 Olympics  
Photo courtesy of API World Wide Photos*

The conditions now surrounding the televised contests derive from increased attention to the Olympics that began in the late 1960s. The games first attracted a significant television audience during the 1968 Summer games when Roone Arledge was at the helm of ABC Sports. The combination of his in-depth, personalized approach to sports broadcasting (embodied by ABC's *Wide World of Sports*) and the technological advances in the field, such as satellite feeds and videotape, set the standard for Olympic telecasts. Utilizing inventive graphics and personal profiles of the athletes, Arledge slated forty-four hours of coverage, three times as many hours as the previous Summer games. He packaged a dramatic, exciting miniseries for the television audience and successive producers have continued to expand on his model.

The 1972 Summer Olympics in Munich, West Germany showed further growth in costs and coverage. However, the drama of the games was overshadowed by the grisly murder of eleven Israeli athletes at the hands of Palestinian terrorists. Viewers watched in horror as the events of the 5th and 6th September massacre unfolded, and television turned into an international forum for the extremist politics of the

Black September Organization. This event became the single worst tragedy in the history of sports broadcasting.

The Olympics have also given television sports some of its most glorious moments and endearing heroes. Few will ever forget the U.S. hockey team's thrilling victory over the Soviets in 1980, Nadia Comeneci's perfect performances, or the dedication and perseverance of athletes like Mark Spitz, Carl Lewis and Dan Janssen. Typically, the top American athletes become media celebrities, winning lucrative endorsement and commercial deals along with their medals.

Aside from catapulting the athletes to media stardom, the Olympic games are a ratings boon for their host network. Customarily, that network captures 50% of the television audience each night for the two-and-a-half weeks of the Olympic telecast. Furthermore, this habitual pattern establishes a relationship between the viewers and the network which translates into increased ratings for regularly scheduled programming. This springboard into the new season, along with the hefty sums commanded by Olympic advertising time are the reasons that the broadcast rights are so sought after and so expensive.

YEAR	GAMES	LOCATION	NET	HRS.	RIGHTS FEES
1960	Winter	Squaw Valley	CBS	15	\$50,000
	Summer	Rome	CBS	20	\$394,000
1964	Winter	Innsbruck	ABC	18	\$597,000
	Summer	Tokyo	ABC	14	\$1.5 million
1968	Winter	Grenoble	ABC	27	\$2.5 million
	Summer	Mexico City	ABC	44	\$4.5 million
1972	Winter	Sapporo	NBC	37	\$6.4 million
	Summer	Munich	ABC	63	\$7.5 million
1976	Winter	Innsbruck	ABC	44	\$10 million
	Summer	Montreal	ABC	77	\$25 million
1980	Winter	Lake Placid	ABC	54	\$15.5 million
	Summer	Moscow	NBC	150	\$87 million
1984	Winter	Sarajevo	ABC	63	\$91.5 million
	Summer	Los Angeles	ABC	180	\$225 million
1988	Winter	Calgary	ABC	95	\$309 million
	Summer	Seoul	NBC	180	\$300 million
1992	Winter	Albertville	CBS	116	\$243 million
			TNT	50	\$50 million
	Summer	Barcelona	NBC	161	\$401 million
1994	Winter	Lillehammer	CBS		\$300 million
			TNT		\$50 million
1996	Summer	Atlanta	NBC		\$456 million
1998	Winter	Nagano	CBS		\$375 million

Possibly, however, the situation has gotten out of control. For example, the Squaw Valley games in 1960 cost CBS only \$50,000 in rights fees. Twenty years later, NBC bid an astonishing \$87 million for the 1980 summer games in Moscow. This price was almost four times the fee for the previous summer rights. Unfortunately for NBC, the U.S. boycott of the games destroyed hopes of a windfall and sabotaged the scheduled 150 hours of planned coverage. Still, rights fees have continued to climb. The Summer broadcast rights almost tripled from 1980 to 1984 (\$87 million to \$225 million) and both Winter and Summer rights have gone for \$300 million or more since 1988.

Traditionally, networks lose money on the Olympics. Bids are made knowing that the result will be millions of dollars lost. The games have become such an emotionally charged part of a network's inventory, however, that profit is no longer the chief concern. Broadcasting the Olympics, much like broadcasting professional sports, is more about network prestige than about making sound business decisions.

These exploding costs have sent networks looking for alternative strategies to ease the financial burden. In 1992, NBC made an ill-fated attempt at utilizing pay-per-view subscriptions. The "Olympic Triplecast" was organized in conjunction with Cablevision and intended to sell packages of commercial-free, extensive programming. The plan was a

failure, mainly due to viewers' reluctance to pay to see some events when network coverage of others was free of charge.

CBS has had more success in reducing their outlay by joining forces with TNT (Turner Network Television). The Winter Olympics of 1992 began the collaboration between the two networks which gave TNT 50 hours of programming in exchange for \$50 million towards rights fees. The arrangement was so successful that it was renewed in 1994 for the Lillehammer games. The sharing of broadcast duties and costs seems to hold a promising future for both the quality and cost of Olympic coverage.

—Jennifer Moreland

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Sandomir, Richard. "Lights, Cameras, Psycho-Dramas, Dysfunction! (NBC's Coverage of the 1992 Olympics)." *New York Times*, 28 July 1992.

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See also Arledge, Roone; Ohlmeyer, Don; Sports and Television

## OMNIBUS

### U.S. Cultural Series

**O***mnibus* was the most successful cultural magazine series in the history of U.S. commercial television and a prototype for the development of programming on educational television. Developed by the Television-Radio Workshop of the Ford Foundation, *Omnibus* generated both corporate sponsorship and a loyal, but limited, network audience for intellectual programming over nine years (1952 to 1961) on all three networks.

*Omnibus* was the vision of Robert Saudek, a former ABC vice-president of public affairs who became director of the Workshop in 1951. Commissioned to devise an innovative series for network television, Saudek created a variety show for the intellect, a compendium of the arts, literature, science, history, and even some pure entertainment. Saudek hired journalist Alistair Cooke to serve as master of ceremonies. Cooke was known for his literate commentary on *Letter from America*, a BBC radio series heard throughout Great Britain. With initial underwriting from the Ford Foundation, which *TV Guide* called "risk capital" for the untried, Saudek also secured financing from advertisers to produce a weekly, ninety-minute series, first airing 4:30-6:00 P.M. on Sunday afternoons. *Omnibus* premiered on 9 November 1952 over CBS. The first installment featured Rex Harrison and Lilli Palmer as Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn; William Saroyan narrating an adaptation of his short story "The Bad Men"; and the first images of X-ray movies, an inside look at the working human digestive system.

Saudek and his producers, among them Fred Rickey, William Spier, and Mary V. Ahern, deftly interwove the high and popular arts into a cultural smorgasbord. Their definition of "culture" was flexible enough to encompass Orson Welles's triumphant return from Europe to star in Peter Brook's adaptation of *King Lear*; a production of William Inge's "Glory in the Flower" with Jessica Tandy, Hume Croyn, and a still very green James Dean; S. J. Perelman's paean to burlesque with Bert Lahr; several appearances by Agnes DeMille, including the performance of her ballet "Three Virgins and the Devil" ("Virgins" becoming "Maidens" because of network censors); Jack Benny recreating his notorious role as an avenging angel in "The Horn Blows at Midnight"; and Peter Ustinov in his American television debut as Dr. Samuel Johnson. *Omnibus* also gave air time to artists new to the mass media: William Faulkner gave a tour of Oxford, Mississippi; James Agee contributed

a five-part docudrama on the life of Abraham Lincoln, now considered one of the first miniseries; Frank Lloyd Wright discussed architectural forms with Cooke; and painter Thomas Hart Benton gave a tour of his studio. In addition, individuals who would later become fixtures in prime time received a career boost on *Omnibus*, including Mike Nichols and Elaine May, who brought their sardonic humor to an edition entitled "Suburban Revue"; Les Ford and Mary Ford, who demonstrated multi-track recording with a madrigal-singing Cooke; and Jacques Cousteau, who screened his first undersea adventure on American television.

Beginning with Leopold Stokowski and Benjamin Britten's "Young Person's Guide to the Orchestra," Saudek linked pedagogy with showmanship to produce a series of visual lectures that became a model for educational television. The most stimulating and original of the electronic teachers was Leonard Bernstein, who single-handedly enlarged the possibilities of musical analysis and performance on television. Commencing with his dissection of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony in 1954, Bernstein brought an intellectual passion of excitement and discovery to his subject and later explored musical comedy, jazz, grand opera, and modern music with the same vigor. Gene Kelly in his video lecture compared the art and choreography of ballet dancers to the movements of professional athletes, exemplified by his tap dance with boxer Sugar Ray Robinson.



Omnibus

Photo courtesy of Roy Stevens

For most of its run, *Omnibus*, nearly always broadcast live, graced the "ghetto" of weekend programming, Sunday afternoon. As that day part became more valuable, beginning on CBS with the success of professional football, *Omnibus* shifted to other networks. The series was seen on CBS from 1952 to 1956; on ABC 1956 to 1957; and NBC 1957 to 1961. During the final season *Omnibus* appeared as a series of irregular specials, concluding with a look at the future of the western hemisphere. In all, Saudek and his team assembles 166 volumes totaling more than 230 hours of entertaining enlightenment. The series was revived by producer Martin Starger as a series of specials on ABC in 1981.

The artistic concerns and approaches to production of *Omnibus* provided a road map for public television. The Ford Foundation, citing *Omnibus's* struggle for ratings, questioned whether commercial broadcasters were dedicated to "the development of mature, wise and responsible citizens," and began to fund educational television projects. Without the foundation's support, Saudek in 1955 formed his own production company to create and gain network sponsorship for the series. The *Omnibus* sensibility has been felt throughout the history of public television. During the National Educational Television years, *NET Playhouse* (1966–72) and *NET Festival* (1967–70) were direct descendants. Since the formation of the Public Broadcasting Service, *Great Performances* (1974–present) partakes of the *Omnibus* ethos to share a cultural melange with a discriminating audience. And, of course, the ringmaster of *Omnibus*, Alistair Cooke, became a PBS icon for over twenty years as host of *Masterpiece Theatre*.

—Ron Simon

#### HOST

Alistair Cooke

**PRODUCERS** Robert Saudek, Fred Rickey, William Spier, Mary V. Ahern

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

- CBS  
October 1952–April 1956 Sunday 5:00–6:00
- ABC  
October 1956–March 1957 Sunday 9:00–10:30
- NBC  
April 1957–April 1961 Sunday Irregular Schedule

#### FURTHER READING

- Beck, Kirstin. *Cultivating the Wasteland*. New York: American Council for the Arts, 1983.
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See also Cooke, Alistair; Educational Television

## ONE DAY AT A TIME

### U.S. Domestic Comedy

Though the series was created by Whitney Blake (formerly an actor on TV's *Hazel*), *One Day at a Time* definitely showed the imprint of Norman Lear, its powerhouse producer. The series, like other Lear comedies, strove to be topical, progressive, even controversial, and to mix serious issues with more comical elements. At times the mix was less than even, yet it proved to be very popular and *One Day at a Time* was one of the most successful series of the 1970s and 1980s, outlasting many of Lear's other, more highly praised series.

The program centered around Ann Romano, a television character who found herself struggling through many of the same experiences facing real American women. Married at 17, Romano was now divorced, raising two teenagers more or less on her own, and entering the job market for the first time since her marriage. Played by Bonnie Franklin, Romano was not TV's first divorced woman or mother

(Diana Rigg in *Diana* preceded her, as did Vivian Vance on *The Lucy Show*), but she was probably—to that time—the most realistic. Romano struggled with money, fighting for every penny of the child support that was supposed to come from her frequently deadbeat exhusband. She struggled with finding a job. And she struggled to be both father and mother to her two children, Julie and Barbara.

Just as the portrayal of Ann was without romanticism, so was the depiction of her two children. Throughout the series Barbara and particularly Julie dealt with issues of birth control, sexuality, virginity, alcohol, and drugs with an honesty and forthrightness that Gidget and other previous TV teens never dreamed of.

Rounding out the cast was apartment building superintendent Schneider (his first name was hardly ever used), who, over the course of the series, played an increasingly important role in both the program's plots and the lives of



One Day at a Time

the girls. He also frequently supplied some much needed comb relief in the midst of the ongoing exploration of serious topics.

*One Day at a Time* went through many cast changes during its run and developed various, almost convoluted, plot twists and turns. When the show began Ann was working for an advertising agency, then later founded her own company. One season she became engaged, only to have her fiancé killed by a drunk driver. Then, for a time following his death, she became legal guardian to his teenage son. Daughter Julie married and had a baby only later to abandon her new family. Ann's mother (played by veteran actor Nanette Fabray) eventually became a series regular, appearing in almost every episode. Finally, daughter Barbara married—having remained a virgin until her wedding night—and the next season Ann married Barbara's father-in-law. The series ended with Ann, now remarried, moving to London with her new husband to take an exciting new job.

For all the problems that were played out in front of the cameras, just as many occurred behind the scenes. Actor Mackenzie Phillips was fired from the series in 1980 because of her ongoing drug addiction. Phillips would later return to the series, only to be written out again when she suffered other health problems.

In some ways, one of TV's first "dramedys" (a hybrid of drama and comedy to be later embodied by series such as *The Days and Nights of Molly Dodd*), *One Day* made extensive use of multi-part episodes (one three-parter dealt with Julie running away from home), focussed on contemporary issues (one episode dealt with teen suicide), and incorporated political messages into its stories. Nothing was ever easy or dealt with offhandedly on *One Day at a Time*. Its decision not to shy away from difficult themes in its portrayal of contemporary life, especially of women's lives and of female adolescence, sets it apart. Thus the series helped expand the dimensions and role of U.S. television comedy.

Less loud-mouthed and politically explicit than Lear's other feminist comedy heroine, Maude Finley, Ann Romano (who took back her maiden name after her divorce and preferred to be referred to as "Ms.") was more "middle of the road" and therefore easier to relate to as a realistic type of character. This wide appeal, along with the series stars Bonnie Franklin, Pat Harrington, Jr., and Valerie Bertinelli, allowed the show to endure for an eventful and trend setting nine year run.

—Cary O'Dell

#### CAST

*Ann Romano (Royer)* . . . . . Bonnie Franklin  
*Julie Cooper Horvath* (1975–78, 1981–83) . . . . . Mackenzie Phillips  
*Barbara Cooper Royer* . . . . . Valerie Bertinelli  
*Dwayne Schneider* . . . . . Pat Harrington, Jr.  
*David Kane* (1975–76) . . . . . Richard Massur  
*Ginny Wrobliki* (1976–77) . . . . . Mary Louise Wilson  
*Mr. Jerry Davenport* (1976–79) . . . . . Charles Siebert  
*Max Horvath* (1979–80, 1981–84) . . . . . Michael Lembeck  
*Katherine Romano* (1979–84) . . . . . Nanette Fabray  
*Nick Handris* (1980–81) . . . . . Ron Rifkin  
*Alex Handris* (1980–83) . . . . . Glenn Scarpelli  
*Francine Webster* (1981–84) . . . . . Shelley Fabares  
*Mark Royer* (1981–84) . . . . . Boyd Gaines  
*Sam Royer* (1982–84) . . . . . Howard Hessman  
*Annie Horvath* (1983–84) . . . . . Lauren/Paige Maloney

**PRODUCERS** Norman Lear, Mort Lachman, Norman Paul, Jack Elinson, Alan Rafkin, Bud Wiseman, Dick Bensfield, Perry Grant, Allan Mannings, Patricia Fass Palmer, Katherine Green

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 205 Episodes

#### • CBS

December 1975–July 1976	Tuesday 9:30–10:00
September 1976–January 1978	Tuesday 9:30–10:00
January 1978–January 1979	Monday 9:30–10:00
January 1979–March 1979	Wednesday 9:00–9:30
March 1979–September 1982	Sunday 8:30–9:00
September 1982–March 1983	Sunday 9:30–10:00
March 1983–May 1983	Monday 9:30–10:00
June 1983–February 1984	Sunday 8:30–9:00
March 1984–May 1984	Wednesday 8:00–8:30
May 1984–August 1984	Monday 9:00–9:30
August 1984–September 1984	Sunday 8:00–8:30

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## ONE FOOT IN THE GRAVE

### British Situation Comedy

**O**ne *Foot in the Grave*, like so many of Britain's most enduring and well-liked situation comedies, took three seasons to establish itself before suddenly becoming the most popular programme on television, with 18 million viewers. Five series of the program, and two Christmas specials, have been presented between 1990 and 1995.

The show was writer David Renwick's first situation comedy after having spent a number of years writing sketches for the likes of the Two Ronnies and Alexei Sayle. Renwick created the lead character, Victor Meldrew, with Scots actor Richard Wilson in mind, but Wilson initially turned down the role because he felt he was too young to play a sixty-year-old man. Luckily, he reconsidered and a new hero for the 1990s made his debut on 4 January 1990.

The first episode, "Alive and Buried", introduced Victor Meldrew just as he was about to be made redundant from his job as a security guard—replaced by a computer chip. From then on Victor's life is portrayed as a never-ending battle against the rest of the world. Everything conspires against him, from his neighbours to shop assistants to God. The series showed that elderly people did not have one foot in the grave, but wanted to lead lives which were the same

as anybody else's. However, Renwick very cleverly created situations which would anger anyone but which, bizarrely,



One Foot in the Grave

Photo courtesy of BBC



could only happen to Victor Meldrew. In "Valley of Sleep," for example, Victor finds himself in hospital with suspected appendicitis. It is only when the male nurse who is shaving him begins discussing the price of property on the moon that we, along with Victor, gradually become aware that the nurse is, in fact, a mental patient. In "The Worst Horror of All" Victor is convinced that the skip he has hired will have an old mattress dumped in it in the morning. When he wakes, his familiar cry of "I don't believe it" reveals that someone has in fact dumped a Citroen 2CV. Renwick skillfully returns to his original joke, however, for when Victor opens the car door, out falls the mattress which he had so feared he would find.

The program's other constant character is Victor's long-suffering wife Margaret, played by the often underrated Annette Crosbie. She has to bear the brunt of most of Victor's tetchiness, and, although he sometimes drives her to distraction, we are never left in any doubt that she loves him dearly. It is to Renwick's credit that he has occasionally been able to insert some moments of great pathos in which we learn a little more about Margaret and come to understand why she and Victor may be unable to live without each other. Although they are childless, we do learn in "Timeless Time" that they had a son who died as a baby, but we never learn how.

The series has not been without controversy. Some viewers objected when Margaret found a dead cat nestling amongst the fishfingers in her freezer, and others when an old lady got trapped overnight in their loft. The programme was censured for content in the "Hearts of Darkness" episode. In one scene, set in an old peoples' home, a resident was abused and kicked, actions that offended a number of elderly viewers. The scene was cut slightly when the episode was repeated.

In addition to his two wonderful main characters, Renwick also created an idiosyncratic supporting cast: Margaret's friend Mrs. Warbouys (Doreen Mantle), to whom Victor can barely be civil; Nick Swainey, the social worker who lives next door and constantly refers to his (unseen) bedridden mother; Patrick and Pippa, next-door neighbours, whose lives are made a misery from the moment they first meet the Meldrews.

Renwick has constantly tried to extend the boundaries of situation comedy, not only with the situations his char-

acters have to face, but also within the confines of the 30-minute programme. In "Timeless Time" the whole episode is devoted to a sleepless night, in which Victor and Margaret toss and turn, still agonising over life, and during which no other characters are involved and we never leave the bedroom. The first ten minutes of "Heart of Darkness" contain virtually no dialogue, the only sound a musical accompaniment. "The Beast in the Cage" sees the Meldrews stuck in a traffic jam for the whole episode. This daring culminated in "Trial", when Victor was given an entire episode to himself as he waited at home to be called for jury service. As many newspapers pointed out, this was the first time any actor had been given this comedy accolade since the great Tony Hancock.

Above all, *One Foot in the Grave* has given us, in Victor Meldrew, a comic hero for the 1990s who is just as much of his time as are the likes of Harold and Albert Steptoe and Basil Fawlty.

—Pamela Logan

#### CAST

<i>Victor Meldrew</i>	Richard Wilson
<i>Margaret Meldrew</i>	Annette Crosbie
<i>Mrs. Warbouys</i>	Doreen Mantle
<i>Patrick</i>	Angus Deayton
<i>Pippa</i>	Janine Duvitki

**PRODUCER** Susan Belbin

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

• BBC

4 January 1990–

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See also British Programming

## ONLY FOOLS AND HORSES

British Situation Comedy

**O**nly *Fools and Horses*, a long-running situation comedy series concerning the misadventures of a cockney "wide boy" and his naive younger brother, was first screened by the BBC in 1981, and over the next decade became the most popular and acclaimed sitcom on British television. Reflecting the capitalist fervour of Thatcherite Britain in the 1980s, a time of contrasting economic fortunes, the series

celebrated the proverbial optimism of the archetypal cockney street trader, with his dreams of a wealthy future and aspirations for a better life.

The programme began as an idea by writer John Sullivan, who constructed the first scripts under the title *Readies* and finally persuaded the BBC to risk making a whole series based on the dubious dealings of a personable cockney

"fly-pitcher," who made a precarious living selling shoddy goods and—quite without malice—duping customers (including his own family and friends) at every opportunity. Retitled *Only Fools and Horses* after the time-honoured proverb "only fools and horses work," the first series failed to attract much attention, but the quality of the scripts and the excellence of the actors gradually won a huge devoted audience, and by the mid-1980s, special festive episodes topped the BBC's Christmas ratings.

The leading role of the brash, streetwise "Del Boy" Trotter, decked out with chunky gold jewelry and well versed in cockney rhyming slang, was developed to perfection by David Jason, who deftly realized the character's combination of sentimentality and scheming unscrupulousness. Determined to improve his place in the world in the face of every setback, his Del Boy—like *Minder's* Arthur Daly—became a byword for shady practices, though his endearing incompetence (embodied in the rusty yellow three-wheeled van he drove) and his breezy vulgarity ensured he always remained sympathetic. Time and again Del Boy's ambitious plans had to be abandoned in order to extricate another of the Trotter clan (or himself) from trouble. Often he was his own worst enemy, even when his motives were at their most pure. When he felt moved to touch up his mother's monument in the churchyard, for instance, he used his own supply of dodgily acquired paint—and when night fell found out to his horror that it was luminous.

Del Boy's foil was his younger brother Rodney Trotter, gauche and easily misled ("a right plonker" according to his sibling, who used—or rather misused—him) and played with pained indignation by former child actor Nicholas Lyndhurst. The relationship between Del Boy and Rodney lay at the heart of the series' success, veering as it did from conflict and petty deceptions to pathos and genuine warmth and reliance upon one another. The premise was that Rodney had never known his father and could not remember his mother, who had died when he was a baby, thus leaving him in the care of his scornful but devoted brother. The Trotter trio was completed by dotty old Grandad, played by Lennard Pearce and, after Pearce's unexpected death from a heart attack in 1984, by Grandad's brother, Uncle Albert (played by Buster Merryfield).

The format changed little over the years—neither did the tasteless decor of the Trotter flat in high-rise Nelson Mandela House, Peckham, or the memorable clientele of the East End pub where the brothers congregated with such "business associates" as the shady but often fooled Boycie, nicknamed Jaffa (because he was sterile, thus like a Jaffa seedless orange), and the even more dimwitted roadsweeper Trigger (so named because he looked like a horse). There were, however, some changes in the Trotter household, notably Rodney's disaster-strewn romance and eventual marriage to city banker Cassandra and Del Boy's liaison with the actress Raquel, which led ultimately to the birth of the first of a future generation of Trotter entrepreneurs, the ominously-named Damien.



Only Fools and Horses  
Photo courtesy of BBC

After a glorious run of some ten years, with both Jason and Lyndhurst successfully involved in various other television projects, the series petered out with the exception of occasional specials that effortlessly proved that the tried and tested formula still worked. The achievement of the series was recognized by a BAFTA Best Comedy prize in 1989 (the year of Rodney's wedding to Cassandra).

—David Pickering

#### CAST

<i>Del Trotter</i> . . . . .	David Jason
<i>Rodney Trotter</i> . . . . .	Nicholas Lyndhurst
<i>Grandad</i> . . . . .	Lennard Pearce
<i>Uncle Albert</i> . . . . .	Buster Merryfield
<i>Trigger</i> . . . . .	Roger Lloyd Pack
<i>Boycie</i> . . . . .	John Challis
<i>Micky Pearce</i> . . . . .	Patrick Murray
<i>Mike</i> . . . . .	Kenneth MacDonald
<i>Marlene</i> . . . . .	Sue Holderness
<i>Denzil</i> . . . . .	Paul Barber
<i>Alan</i> . . . . .	Dennis Lill
<i>Cassandra</i> . . . . .	Gwyneth Strong
<i>Raquel</i> . . . . .	Tessa Peake-Jones

**PRODUCERS** Ray Butt, Gareth Gwenlan

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 33 Half-hour Episodes; 13 50-minute Episodes; 8 Specials

• BBC

September 1981–October 1981	6 Episodes
October 1982–December 1982	7 Episodes
November 1983–December 1983	7 Episodes
February 1985–April 1985	7 Episodes
25 December 1985	Christmas Special
August 1986–October 1986	6 Episodes
25 December 1986	Christmas Special
25 December 1987	Christmas Special

25 December 1988	Christmas Special
January 1989–February 1989	6 Episodes
25 December 1989	Christmas Special
25 December 1990	Christmas Special
December 1990–February 1991	6 Episodes
24 December 1991	Christmas Special
25 December 1991	Christmas Special
25 December 1992	Christmas Special

See also British Programming; Jason, David; Lyndhurst, Nicholas

## OPEN UNIVERSITY

Britain's Open University is an innovative and highly successful distance learning program that utilizes television coursework and printed materials to extend college and graduate-level education to nontraditional, nonlocal students. Founded in 1969 with financial support from the government and a commitment of airtime from the BBC, the Open University offered its first courses in January 1971. Targeted at working adults who had not continued on to higher education, it was an immediate success: over 40,000 people applied for 24,000 places. In 1994 over 200,000 students were enrolled, making it Britain's largest university. It has served as the model for other distance education programs in over 30 countries worldwide, including Holland, Spain, Germany, and Australia.

The Open University is "open" in several senses. First, it is open to applicants of any age or background. Unlike conventional universities in England, there are no entrance requirements of any kind. It has also been especially useful for traditionally underserved populations, such as people with disabilities. Second, it is open in the sense that it utilizes an array of educational methods, including television and radio broadcasts, small group tutorials, mailed correspondence lessons, and on-campus summer school sessions. It is also expanding its use of new information technologies enabled by modem-equipped personal computers, such as electronic mail and online conferences. Third, it is open in the sense of place. It has no campus and is equally accessible to students from even the most remote locations. (Administrative offices and production facilities are maintained in Milton Keynes, England). Fourth, it is open in terms of time. Students can set their own schedule and progress at their own pace; there is also no time limit for completion of a degree.

Originally to be called "University of the Air," television played a key role in the Open University concept from the beginning. It was felt that television served as a crucial bridge to the "average" nonacademic person. It also provided a human dimension to the prevailing distance education model then known as correspondence study; through television, students could "meet" their faculty. Lastly, and perhaps

most importantly, television offered the most cost-effective means for delivering higher education content to a mass public.

Open University courses are developed by teams of academic, education, and media specialists. Course materials generally consist of printed booklets that contain the lessons, supplementary readings, and specially-designed broadcast notes and exercises to accompany the television programs. Televised lessons are approximately 30 minutes in length, aired during nonpeak viewing times on BBC 2, and usually repeated during the same week. Videocassette recorders enable many students to time-shift their viewing to more convenient times.

The Open University contracts with the BBC for production of the programs. Initially, most were studio productions (in black and white) but location shooting was increasingly added as more experience was gained in the educational qualities of the medium. In addition, some courses utilize archive footage from the BBC. Because the Open University pays for production costs, the programs are produced solely for use in coursework and not for wider commercial appeal. Nevertheless, some programs are no doubt watched by the incidental viewer, who may develop an interest and end up taking a course.

Television brings a number of unique abilities to the teaching/learning experience: it can interview a leading authority in the field under study; illustrate abstract mathematical and economic concepts through animation; demonstrate scientific experiments, speeding them up or slowing them down; and visit actual sites of sociological, anthropological, or historical interest.

Great care is taken in course planning and execution to attain quality standards equivalent to conventional universities. An Open University degree has become well respected, and credits received are transferable to regular universities. Indeed, many Open University students, perhaps as many as two-thirds, have the academic credentials to attend regular universities but choose not to for a variety of personal or logistical reasons.

—Jerry Hagins

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See also British Television

## THE ORIGINAL AMATEUR HOUR

### U.S. Amateur Talent/Performance/ Variety Contest

**T**he *Original Amateur Hour* was first heard on New York radio in 1934 as *Major Bowes' Original Amateur Hour*. The following year, it was programmed on CBS radio where it remained until 1946 when Major Bowes—the program's creator and host—died. Two years later, the program was revived on ABC radio and on DuMont television, hosted in both media by Ted Mack, a talent scout and director of the series under Bowes. The radio and television programs were originally sponsored by Old Gold Cigarettes, represented on television by the famous dancing cigarette box. During its first season, *Original Amateur Hour* was a ratings sensation, and although it never equaled its initial success, its longevity is testament to its ability to attract a consistently profitable audience share.

*Original Amateur Hour* lasted on radio until 1952 and on television until 1970. The television version was ultimately broadcast over all four major networks during its long run, eventually settling in as a Sunday afternoon CBS feature during its final decade of production.

The format of the program remained virtually unchanged from its premiere in early network radio. The show was essentially an amateur talent contest, the non-professional status of contestants thus distinguishing *Original Amateur Hour* from *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts* which also ran during the late 1940s and early 1950s. Contestants traveled to New York's Radio City from all parts of the country to sing, dance, play music, and participate in various forms of novelty entertainment. Those who passed an initial screening were invited to compete on the program. Winners were determined by viewers who voted via letters and phone calls, and winning contestants returned to compete against a crop of new talent on the next program. Between amateur acts, Ted Mack conducted rambling interviews and shared corny jokes with contestants. Contestants who won three times earned cash prizes, scholarships, or parts in a traveling stage show associated with the program. In 1951, five such shows traveled about the country.

While most contestants fell back into obscurity following their appearances on the program, others went on to

successful professional careers. Stars who first appeared on television's *Original Amateur Hour* included ventriloquist Paul Winchell and pop singers Teresa Brewer, Gladys Knight, and Pat Boone.

*Original Amateur Hour* offered a shot at fame and fortune to thousands of hopeful, would-be professional entertainers. As such, it represented a permeable boundary between everyday viewers and the national entertainment industry. The program's general appeal, reliable ratings, simple format, and low production costs have inspired many imitators in television including the *Gong Show* (which resurrected the notorious rejection gong, not heard since the Major Bowes' radio broadcasts) and, more recently, *Star Search*.

—Warren Bareiss

## EMCEE

Ted Mack

## ANNOUNCERS

Dennis James, Roy Greece

**PRODUCERS** Ted Mack, Lou Goldberg

## PROGRAMMING HISTORY

- DuMont Television Network

January 1948–September 1949      Sunday 7:00-8:00

- NBC

October 1949–January 1952      Tuesday 10:00-11:00

January 1952–September 1952      Tuesday 10:00-10:45

April 1953–September 1954      Saturday 8:30-9:00

- ABC

October 1955–December 1955      Sunday 9:30-10:00

January 1956–February 1956      Sunday 9:30-10:30

March 1956–September 1956      Sunday 9:00-10:00

October 1956–March 1957      Sunday 7:30-8:30

April 1957–June 1957      Sunday 9:00-10:00

• NBC

July 1957–September 1957      Monday 10:00-10:30

September 1957–December 1957      Sunday 7:00-7:30

February 1958–October 1958      Saturday 10:00-10:30

• CBS

May 1959–June 1959      Friday 8:30-9:00

July 1959–October 1959      Friday 10:30-11:00

• ABC

March 1960–September 1960      Monday 10:30-11:00

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See also Variety Programs

# OUIMET, ALPHONSE

## Canadian Broadcasting Executive

Alphonse Ouimet was one of a small, quixotic band of public broadcasters who dreamed that television could make a truly Canadian culture. He played a commanding role as engineer, manager, and eventually administrator in the formation and maintenance of a Canadian television system during the 1950s and 1960s. But his hopes were never realized, a lesson which demonstrates the limits of the cultural power of television.

Ouimet was first employed in 1932 by a Montreal firm then experimenting with television. He joined the engineering staff of Canada's public broadcaster, soon called the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in 1934. After the war, he became the CBC's television specialist. In 1946 he began work on an international report on the technology of television; three years later he was appointed both coordinator of television and chief engineer, and in January 1953 he became general manager. Thus he was the chief operating officer of CBC-TV, which had commenced broadcasting in September 1952, during the years it spread across the country. In one forum after another, Ouimet, the CBC chairman Davidson Dunton, and other managers sold the idea of public television, supported by both tax and ad revenues, as a tool of cultural nationalism that could counter the sway of New York and Hollywood. In the next six years the initial two stations expanded to thirty-six (as of 31 March 1995), eight owned and operated by the CBC and the rest private affiliates, reaching well over 80% of the population. On Dominion Day, 1 July 1958, the opening of a microwave relay system from Victoria on the west coast to Halifax on the east gave the CBC the longest television network in the world. It was a great triumph of engineering and a source of national pride—though the most popular English-language shows carried on the network were nearly always American in origin.

Ouimet became president of the CBC in 1958, which made him one of few high-ranked French Canadians in the

service of the federal government. How ironic that his first crisis involved Radio-Canada, as the French-language service of the CBC was known. Early in 1959, a labor dispute involving French-language producers in Montreal and English-language managers in Ottawa eliminated most of the popular local programming in Quebec for over two months. The partial shutdown excited nationalist passions in Quebec and left behind a legacy of bitterness that Ouimet could never dispel.

The crisis strengthened the presumption that Ouimet's sympathies were on the side of authority, not creativity. Before long, he was portrayed as a distant ruler, more interested in "housekeeping" than "program content," to borrow the terminology of one government commission which severely criticized the CBC for waste, inefficiency, and bureaucracy. Finally in 1966 Ouimet ran afoul of the producers in Toronto, the center of English-language television. Ottawa management had tried to impose its authority over the extraordinarily successful public affairs show *This Hour Has Seven Days* (1964–66), whose bold opinion and sensational style had captured a mass audience. That upset Ouimet, who adhered to a creed of public broadcasting in which the CBC was neutral, educational, but never partisan. When the *Seven Days* crew declared war on management, they won the support of Toronto producers, many journalists, and much of the public. Eventually, after three months of agitation, including a parliamentary inquiry, the appointment of a federal mediator, even an attempt to secure a new president, Ouimet had his way: *Seven Days* disappeared from the airwaves. It was a pyrrhic victory, however, since public affairs broadcasting in Canada would not recover a similar kind of significance until the appearance of *The Journal* in the 1980s.

Ultimately much more significant was what had happened to the television system in Canada. The 1958 Broadcasting Act led to the end of the CBC's network

monopoly and a partial privatization of the system. The new independent stations, especially the affiliates of the Canadian Television Network (CTV) in English Canada, used cheap American programs to win audience share. Ouimet and his managers believed they had to compete by offering their own imports to retain viewers and boost advertising revenues. Indeed these revenues were necessary to support the production of less popular Canadian content. The annual parliamentary grant of funds was never sufficient.

Late in 1967, Ouimet retired from the presidency, though he would continue in public service as head of Telesat Canada (1969–80), a crown corporation in the field of telecommunications. He left broadcasting just before the onset of a new act that further reduced the stature of the CBC. His legacy was decidedly mixed. Public television still won the attention of nearly half the Canadian audience for its mix of popular and demanding programming. But the English-language service offered only a few Canadian examples of storytelling, the great staple of popular television, and specialized much more in sports coverage, news and public affairs, and minority programming. The promise of a cultural renaissance had never materialized. Direct American competition had secured nearly one-quarter of the Canadian audience outside of Quebec by 1967. Only in French Canada was the CBC able to create a continuing series of local dramas, known as *téléromans*, that proved enormously popular with audiences. Television merely built upon the fact that in English Canada tastes were emphatically American, whereas in French Canada there was a strong tradition of homegrown entertainment.

—Paul Rutherford

ALPHONSE OUIMET. Born in Montreal, Quebec, Canada. Educated at McGill University, Montreal, degree in electri-

cal engineering 1932. Built TV set and did broadcast experiments for Canadian Television Ltd., 1933–34; engineer, Canadian Radio Broadcasting Corporation, 1934 and assistant chief engineer, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation when it replaced CRBC, 1946; coordinator of TV, chief engineer and advisor to the board, CBC, 1949; general manager, CBC, 1953; named the Father of Canadian Television for building the world's biggest TV system when CBC pioneered Canadian TV, 1950s; president, CBC, 1958, retired, 1967; chair, Telesat Canada, 1969–80; in retirement worked with UNESCO, served on committees and task forces; wrote on communication technology and the erosion of Canadian sovereignty. Died in 1988.

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See also Canada; *This Hour Has Seven Days*

## OUR MISS BROOKS

### U.S. Situation Comedy

The successful 1950s sitcom *Our Miss Brooks* was, heart and soul, actor Eve Arden. A Hollywood film and New York stage veteran, Arden specialized in playing the wisecracking friend to the heroine. She often did it better than anyone else, achieving her greatest success with an Oscar nomination for 1945's *Mildred Pierce*. But Arden's skill with the wicked one-liner and acid aside was beginning to lead to typecasting. To find a new image, Arden signed on for the radio comedy role of Connie Brooks, English teacher at fictional Madison High School, a smart and sharp-witted—but ever-likable—character. And unlike most of her film roles, radio offered her the lead.

Beginning on radio in 1948, *Our Miss Brooks* was successfully transferred to television beginning in 1952 (it ran on both

media, with largely the same cast, for several months in 1952). Between gentle wisecracks, Miss Brooks doted on nerdy student Walter Denton, and frequently locked horns with crusty, cranky principal Mr. Conklin. Many of the program's episodes, however, revolved around Miss Brooks' unrequited desire for Philip Boynton, the school's biology teacher. In this way Miss Brooks was the beginning of a long list of female TV characters of a certain type, like Sally Rogers (Rose Marie) on *The Dick Van Dyke Show* and Jane Hathaway (Nancy Kulp) on *The Beverly Hillbillies*.

The program had enjoyed good ratings on radio and enlarged its audience when it moved to TV. And while some professional educators criticized the series, others celebrated Miss Brooks and Arden's work: she got teaching job offers,

and fan letters from educators; she was made an honorary member of the National Education Association; in 1952, she was given an award from the Alumni Association of the Teachers College of Connecticut for "humanizing the American Teacher." Said Arden of her on-screen alter ego: "I tried to play Miss Brooks as a loving person who cared about the kids and kept trying to keep them out of trouble, but kept getting herself in trouble."

Obviously, Miss Brooks encountered enough trouble to sustain the series for over 150 episodes, but, unlike many other female comics on TV at that time, Miss Brooks' forte was not the wild antics that were the norm of Lucy or the lopsided logic that was the domain of Gracie Allen. Instead, Miss Brooks' humor was achieved by her own sharp, observing wit and by her centered presence in the midst of a group of eccentric supporting players—dimwitted, squeaky-voiced student Walter, pompous Conklin, and the others. Miss Brooks was always the source of the jokes, not the butt of them.

In 1955, ratings were beginning to wane, and the series was overhauled. Miss Brooks and Mr. Conklin were moved out of Madison High to Mrs. Nestor's Private Elementary School. For a time there was no Mr. Boynton for whom Miss Brooks would pine, but there was a muscle-bound PE teacher, Mr. Talbot, who longed for Miss Brooks. This was an important turnabout in the overall premise of the show: now Miss Brooks was the pursued rather than the pursuer. (Mr. Boynton did turn up again in early 1956 just in time for the series to be canceled; in a film version of the series released by Warner Brothers in 1956, Miss Brooks and Mr. Boynton finally did tie the knot and presumably lived happily ever after.)

Connie Brooks was one of TV's noblest working women: the center of a highly successful show, toiling in a realistically portrayed and unglamorized career (Miss Brooks often made mention of how low her wages were), and rewarded and honored by real workers whom she represented. While she was not quite as "no nonsense"—nor so tough—as film's prominent working women (Rosiland Russell, Joan Crawford), Connie Brooks, with her tart tongue, brisk manner, her sharply cut jackets and slim skirts, was just about as savvy as women were allowed to be on TV in the 1950s. And despite Miss Brooks' desire to become "Mrs." Something—and despite the fact that she was never promoted to school principal—*Our Miss Brooks'* legacy in TV history is that it dared to depict a woman, funny, attractive, wise, competent and working—outside the home, marriage, and children.

—Cary O'Dell

#### CAST

*Connie Brooks* . . . . . Eve Arden  
*Osgood Conklin* . . . . . Gale Gordon  
*Philip Boynton* . . . . . Robert Rockwell  
*Walter Denton* (1952–55) . . . . . Richard Crenna  
*Mrs. Margaret Davis* . . . . . Jane Morgan  
*Harriet Conklin* (1952–55) . . . . . Gloria McMillan  
*Stretch Snodgrass* (1952–55) . . . . . Leonard Smith  
*Miss Daisy Enright* (1952–54) . . . . . Mary Jane Croft



Our Miss Brooks

*Mrs. Martha Conklin* (1952–53) . . . . . Virginia Gordon  
*Mrs. Martha Conklin* (1953–56) . . . . . Paula Winslowe  
*Superintendent Stone* (1953–55) . . . . . Joseph Kearns  
*Angela* (1954–56) . . . . . Jesslyn Fax  
*Ricky Velasco* (1954–55) . . . . . Ricky Vera  
*Mr. Oliver Munsey* (1955–56) . . . . . Bob Sweeney  
*Mrs. Nestor* (1955) . . . . . Nana Bryant  
*Mrs. Nestor* (1955–56) . . . . . Isabel Randolph  
*Gene Talbot* (1955–56) . . . . . Gene Barry  
*Clint Albright* (1955–56) . . . . . William Ching  
*Benny Romero* (1955–56) . . . . . Ricky Vera  
*Mr. Romero* (1956) . . . . . Hy Averbach

**PRODUCER** Larry Berns

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 154 Episodes

• CBS

October 1962–June 1953	Friday 9:30–10:00
October 1953–June 1955	Friday 9:30–10:00
October 1955–September 1956	Friday 8:30–9:00

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## OVITZ, MICHAEL

U.S. Media Executive

Michael Ovitz established himself as a major force in Hollywood while heading the powerhouse talent agency Creative Artists Agency (CAA), founded in 1975 by a group of breakaway talent agents from the William Morris agency. Initially an important television packager, CAA under Ovitz's direction expanded into film, investment banking, and advertising, becoming the dominant talent agency in Hollywood. In 1995, Ovitz parlayed his dealmaking skills into a new position as president of the Walt Disney Company, where he will oversee Disney's vast empire of theme parks, films, consumer products, and its 1995 acquisition, Capital Cities/ABC.

Ovitz's career at CAA was multifaceted. As talent agent for major film stars such as Tom Cruise, Dustin Hoffman, Kevin Costner, Michael Douglas, Sylvester Stallone, and Barbra Streisand, in addition to prominent directors such as Steven Spielberg, Barry Levinson, and Sydney Pollack, Ovitz was credited with putting together the major elements of hit films such as *Rain Man*, *Cliffhanger*, and *Jurassic Park*. But Ovitz's power and influence extended far beyond the creation of specific works of entertainment and into the very organization of the media industries in the United States and throughout the world. As a well-known broker between talent and financiers, he was hired as investment adviser for several significant industry transactions, including Sony's 1989 purchase of Columbia Pictures for \$3.4 billion, the French bank Credit-Lyonnais' rescue of MGM in 1993, Matsushita's purchase of entertainment conglomerate MCA for \$6.6 billion in 1990, and its subsequent sale of that organization to the Seagram Company in 1995. On another front, Ovitz and CAA shook up the advertising industry by winning Coca-Cola's global advertising account in 1991. Seeking to target fragmented television audiences with diverse and innovative commercials, CAA produced the "Always Coca-Cola" advertising campaign, which successfully popularized Coke-drinking computer animated polar bears.

Ovitz's canny strategies for winning clients and making deals are evident in his earlier work as a television "packager." Talent agencies often combine elements of a proposed program, choosing actors, script, and a director from among their stable of clients, then shopping this "package" to the networks for approval and financing. If a network accepts the package deal, the talent agency receives an overall packaging fee from the network, usually a percentage of the program's production budget and a percentage of the syndication profits. Packaging fees are more lucrative for a talent agency than individual clients' fees. In the 1970s, CAA packaged television programs such as the game show *Rhyme and Reason*, the *Rich Little Show*, and the *Jackson Five Show*.

To compete with other talent agencies, CAA set its packaging fee at 3%, undercutting the 5% charged by other agencies. Ovitz also developed close ties with entertainment lawyers, who brought new clients to CAA. Furthermore, Ovitz under-

stood that good stories and scripts would attract important acting and directing talent. His cultivation of the literary agent Morton Janklow, whose clients include fiction writers Jackie Collins, Danielle Steele, and Judith Krantz, enabled CAA to package nearly 100 hours of successful television miniseries, including *Rage of Angels*, *Princess Daisy*, *Mistral's Daughter*, and *Hollywood Wives*. Recent CAA packages include *Beverly Hills 90120* and *The John Larroquette Show*.

Under Ovitz, CAA applied similar strategies to the film industry. CAA has attracted top acting and directing talent, in part by representing successful screenwriters who produce desirable scripts, but also because CAA often "packages" film projects with client writers, actors, and directors before shopping the projects to film studios for financing and production. Despite film studio executives' accusations that CAA has driven up the cost of talent, CAA agents have had close relations with film studio executives, especially with those who rely on CAA to negotiate their own employment contracts with the studios.

Beyond talent brokering for film and television, Ovitz has also worked with companies developing the new technologies that may deliver tomorrow's entertainment. He has been a consultant to AT and T and to Bill Gates, head of the computer software giant Microsoft. In 1994 Ovitz consulted with Bell Atlantic, Nynex, and Pacific Telesis to create Tele-TV, a video programming service that may one day carry interactive services over telephone lines. As Ovitz has explained, at some point soon, "There will be a high-tech box on your television set that enables you to access a cornucopia of choices." Once in place, according to Ovitz, "There will be the most incredible shortage of product!" Consequently, Ovitz says, in a 1993 *Time* magazine interview, "I want to feed that box".

In 1995 Ovitz rattled the power structure of Hollywood when he agreed to sell his stake in CAA in order to become president of the expanding Walt Disney Company. Working with Disney chairman Michael Eisner, Ovitz is expected to oversee Disney's film studio, television production company, theme parks and resorts, and Disney's 1995 \$19 billion acquisition, Capital Cities/ABC. His skill as a talent agent is expected to improve Disney's relations with top Hollywood talent, as well as help Disney integrate its products throughout Disney's diverse media holdings, which include film, animation, television programming, publishing, cable television, and the national broadcast network, ABC. As a leader of what appears to be the world's largest entertainment conglomerate, Ovitz will be well-positioned to "feed that box" with Disney entertainment, whatever shape the box may eventually take.

—Cynthia Meyers

MICHAEL OVITZ. Born in Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., 14 December 1946. Graduated from University of California, Los Angeles, 1968; briefly attended law school. Married Judy Reich, 1969; children: Christopher, Kimberly, and Eric.

Joined William Morris Agency, first as trainee, then as agent, 1969–75; co-founder of Creative Artists Agency, 1975, and served as chair until joining Disney; president and member of board of directors, Walt Disney Company, since 1995. Address: Walt Disney Company, 500 South Buena Vista Street, Burbank, California 91521, U.S.A.

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## OWNERSHIP

### U.S. Regulatory Patterns

In most of the world's nations, the government owns the spectrum. Traditionally, in the United States, however, the airwaves "belong to the people". This idea is central to all of broadcast regulation, including FCC (Federal Communication Commission) licensing of television stations. The FCC is concerned that there be diversity of ownership in local markets, implying that this will ensure a diversity of viewpoints. It is also wary of media properties being concentrated nationally in the hands of a few giant conglomerates. Whenever a television station is sold to a new owner, the FCC must approve the sale and the transfer of the license to operate.

The FCC also considers several criteria in order to identify the applicant for a television station license who is most likely to broadcast in the public's interest. These include, citizenship, character, local ownership, civic involvement, integration of ownership and management, diversification of management background, prior experience, and operating plans. If there is more than one applicant for a television station license, the FCC will normally favor a local applicant who promises to take an active role in managing the day-to-day operations of the station, assuming the applicants' other qualifications are fairly equal.

To prevent local market monopoly by a single company, the FCC has usually allowed only one television station per owner/company in a single market.

Historically, the FCC has also imposed national limits on television station ownership and has placed restrictions on the television station licensee owning other media outlets in the market, such as a cable company, a newspaper, or a telephone service. At one time, the number of stations owned by a single entity was limited to seven stations, five of which could be VHF channels 2 through 13. The limit was later raised to allow control of 12 stations by a single owner, provided the potential audience covered by the stations' signals collectively was not more than 25% of the national population. The impact of that rule change effectively limited the big networks from extensive expansion because their stations were all located in very large markets, bringing them close to the 25% audience cap already. There

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See also American Broadcasting Company

are advocates for eliminating all television station ownership restrictions now, but such a radical change is unlikely.

The FCC does change ownership limits and other restrictions as the need arises or as the interaction of technology and political pressure dictate. For example, at one time the FCC rule limited a single owner to no more than one AM, one FM, and one TV station in a single local market. Because of the growth of new technologies and the dominance of television, restrictions on the number of radio stations one person or company can own in larger markets have been relaxed. Additionally, cable companies are interested in offering telephone services, and telephone companies are interested in offering cable programming.

Recent actions by the United States Congress, primarily the passage of the Telecommunication Act of 1996 have altered many of the rules and requirements of ownership, enabling much more cross-media ownership and delivery systems. As a result of this new legislation the FCC is now in the process of rewriting its the rules governing ownership and distribution of media services once again. The future portends vastly increased competition between broadcasters, cable operators, telephone companies, direct broadcast satellite operators, and newspapers for ownership of television stations and the delivery of many other media related delivery systems.

The convergence of video, computer, satellite, and digital technologies, along with the globalization of media communication raises new questions about media ownership restrictions. Because of economies of scale, eventual consolidation of television ownership into giant multinational conglomerates may be inevitable, making the FCC's citizenship and local integrated ownership criteria moot.

—Robert G. Finney

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- See also Allocation; Federal Communications Commission; License; Station and Station Group; United States: Networks; U.S. Policy: Communication Act of 1934; U.S. Policy: Telecommunication Act of 1996



# P

## PAAR, JACK

U.S. Talk-Show Host

Jack Paar is one of television's most intriguing and enigmatic talk-show hosts. He served as the host of *The Tonight Show* from 1957 through 1962 and headed his own NBC variety series from 1962 to 1965. Both series were stamped with Paar's volatile and unpredictable personality and were often a haven for witty, literate conversation.

Although Paar is considered one of the key talents uniquely suited to the cool medium of television, he worked extensively in other areas of show business. Leaving school at sixteen, he first worked as a radio announcer and later as a humorous disc jockey. During World War II, Paar entertained troops in the South Pacific with his wry impersonations of officers, sometimes in concert with his Army colleague Jackie Cooper. After the war, he returned to radio, serving as a fill-in for Don MacNeill on the *Breakfast Club* and as a panelist on *The \$64 Question*. In 1947 he was the summer replacement for Jack Benny, a comedian whose mannerisms Paar would later emulate. Paar was signed to a contract at Howard Hughes' RKO pictures and had his first significant role in *Walk Softly, Stranger* (1950) with Joseph Cotten. In 1951 he made *Love Nest* for 20th Century-Fox, playing the sexy boyfriend opposite an emerging starlet, Marilyn Monroe.

Paar was first employed in television as a host of game shows, notably *Up to Paar* (1952) and *Bank of Stars* (1953). In November 1953 he hosted his own daytime variety series for CBS and assembled a cast of regulars, including Edith Adams, Richard Hayes, Jack Haskell, and pianist Jose Melis. In August 1954 he took over the *Morning Show* from Walter Cronkite and became a competitor of Dave Garroway and the *Today* show. During this morning experience, Paar developed his conversational skills and an appreciation for a relaxed program with no rigid guidelines. When CBS again changed formats, Paar was given another variety series, this time in the afternoon.

Because of several well-received guest appearances on NBC's *Tonight*, Paar ascended to the permanent host slot on 29 July 1957. For several months before, the late-night series had floundered when original host Steve Allen moved permanently to prime time. Paar was given free rein to restore the show's luster and assembled his own freewheeling staff, including writers Jack Douglas and Paul Keyes, to give the show an extemporaneous quality. The new creative team emphasized the importance of the opening monologue as a vehicle to transmit Paar's singular, often emotional view of the world.

Unlike any other host of *The Tonight Show*, Paar had no talent for sketches, so his writers created a persona through his words, always leaving space for the host to verbally improvise.

Called a "bull in his own china shop," he gained notoriety by creating feuds with the show business community, including Ed Sullivan, Walter Winchell, William Paley, and most television critics. To salve his often bruised ego, he surrounded himself with a salon of eccentrics whose ranks included pianist and professional hypochondriac Oscar Levant, the outspoken Elsa Maxwell, the irreverent Alexander King, and British raconteurs Robert Morley, Bea Lillie, and Peter Ustinov. He resurrected the careers of performers on the entertainment fringe, inviting back on a regular basis the folksy Cliff "Charley Weaver" Arquette, music hall veteran Hermione Gingold, French chanteuse Genevieve, and acer-



Jack Paar

Photo courtesy of Jack Paar

bic Hans Conreid. More in keeping with *The Tonight Show* ethos, Paar also nurtured young comic talent, and among his discoveries were Bob Newhart, the Smothers Brothers, Dick Gregory, Godfrey Cambridge, and Bill Cosby.

Paar also moved the talk show out of the controlled studio and began to intermingle politics and entertainment. He and author Jim Bishop journeyed to Cuba and prepared a special report, "The Background of the Revolution." Paar's unexplained embrace of Castro was vehemently questioned by Batista supporters and even the United States House of Representatives. Paar also became friendly with the Kennedys and invited Robert Kennedy as chief counsel of the Senate Labor-Management Relations Committee to discuss his investigation of organized crime in the unions. The head of the Teamsters, Jimmy Hoffa, responded with a million dollar lawsuit against Kennedy and Paar, which was eventually thrown out of court. Paar was also the first entertainer to originate a program from the Berlin Wall, which he did less than a month after its construction at the height of Cold War tension.

Paar became the most successful presence in late night, expanding his affiliate base from the 46 stations with which he started out to 170. In 1957, the title was changed to *The Jack Paar Tonight Show* and the next season the show was taped early in the evening instead of broadcast live. Beginning July 1959, Paar broadcast only four nights a week; Friday night became "The Best of Paar," inaugurating a tradition of *Tonight* reruns. At the height of his fame, he battled NBC censors over a joke about a water closet, a British euphemism for a bathroom. Incensed, he walked out at the beginning of a show, leaving announcer Hugh Downs to finish the program. His walk-off and subsequent disappearance dominated news for five weeks until he returned after an extended stay in Hong Kong.

Paar's roller coaster ride on *The Tonight Show* continued until 30 March 1962. He retired from late night, having hosted more than 2,000 hours. In September 1962, Paar returned to the variety format and produced a weekly Friday night series, borrowing the most successful elements of his talk show. Each telecast was ignited by a monologue and the core of each program was an in-depth conversation with some of Hollywood's most voluble personalities, including Judy Garland, Tallulah Bankhead, Richard Burton, and Jonathan Winters. Paar also spiced the series with home movies of his family trips, with wife Miriam and daughter Randy also becoming celebrities.

Paar continued to make headlines with newsworthy segments. He ventured into Gabon, Africa, to interview Nobel Prize recipient Dr. Albert Schweitzer. Richard Nixon made his first public appearance after his defeat in the gubernatorial race in California and entertained Paar's audience with a piano solo. He also presented the first footage of the Beatles in prime time, a performance he openly derided as the downfall of British civilization.

He retired from the network grind in 1965 to manage a television station in Maine. In March 1975, Paar was persuaded to return to late night to compete against the

inheritor of the *The Tonight Show* mantle, Johnny Carson. This time he was reduced to one week every month, part of the ABC's *Wide World of Entertainment*. The format that he had fostered had changed considerably and Paar retired five months later, this time for good.

Paar was an integral part of a new generation of television personalities. Unlike an older generation trained in vaudeville and Broadway, Paar and such 1950s contemporaries as Garry Moore, Arthur Godfrey, and Dave Garroway had no specific show business talents. They could neither act, sing, nor dance. They were products of an intimate electronic technology that allowed for a personalized connection with the audience. As a talk-show and variety host, Paar created a complex, unpredictable character, whose whims and tantrums created national tremors.

—Ron Simon

JACK PAAR. Born in Canton, Ohio, U.S.A., 1 May 1918. Married: 1) Irene, late 1930s; 2) Miriam Wagner, 1943, child: Randy. Served as a noncombatant soldier in the United States Army with the 28th Special Service Company during World War II. Actor in motion pictures, 1948–52; appeared in radio and television shows, including *The \$64 Question*, *Up to Paar*, and *CBS Morning Show*, 1947–57; star of NBC's *The Tonight Show*, 1957–62, and of various other programs.

#### TELEVISION SERIES (selection)

1952	<i>Up to Paar</i>
1953	<i>Bank on the Stars</i>
1953–54	<i>The Jack Paar Show</i>
1957–62	<i>The Tonight Show</i> (renamed <i>The Jack Paar Tonight Show</i> , 1959)
1962–65	<i>The Jack Paar Program</i>
1973–75	<i>ABC's Wide World of Entertainment</i>

#### TELEVISION SPECIALS

1960	<i>Jack Paar Presents</i>
1967	<i>A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to Hollywood</i>
1967	<i>Jack Paar and a Funny Thing Happened Everywhere</i>
1969	<i>Jack Paar and His Lions</i>
1970	<i>Jack Paar Diary</i>
1986	<i>Jack Paar Comes Home</i>
1987	<i>Jack Paar Is Alive and Well</i>

#### FILMS

*Variety Time*, 1948; *Easy Living*, 1949; *Walk Softly, Stranger*, 1950; *Love Nest*, 1951; *Footlight Varieties*, 1951; *Down Among the Sheltering Palms*, 1952.

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See also Talk Shows; *Tonight Show*

## PAIK, NAM JUNE

### U.S. Video Artist

Nam June Paik—composer, performer, and video artist—played a pivotal role in introducing artists and audiences to the possibilities of using video for artistic expression. His works explore the ways in which performance, music, video images, and the sculptural form of objects can be used in various combinations to question our accepted notions of the nature of television.

Growing up in Korea, Nam June Paik studied piano and composition. When his family moved, first to Hong Kong and then to Japan, he continued his studies in music while completing a degree in aesthetics at the University of Tokyo. After graduating, Paik went to Germany to pursue graduate work in philosophy. There he became part of a group of Fluxus artists who were challenging established notions of what constituted art. Their work often found expression in performances and happenings that incorporated random events and found objects.

In 1959 Paik performed his composition *Hommage a John Cage*. This performance combined a pre-recorded collage of music and sounds with “on stage” sounds created by people, a live hen, a motorcycle, and various objects. Random events marked this and other Paik compositions. Instruments were often altered or even destroyed during the performance. Most performances were as much a visual as a musical experience.

As broadcast television programming invaded the culture, Paik began to experiment with ways to alter the video image. In 1963 he included his first video sculptures in an exhibition, *Exposition of Music—Electronic Television*. Twelve television sets were scattered throughout the exhibit space. The electronic components of these sets were modified to create unexpected effects in the images being received. Other video sculptures followed. *Distorted TV* used manipulation of the sync pulse to alter the image. *Magnet TV* used a large magnet which could be moved on the outside of the television set to change the image and create abstract patterns of light. Paik began to incorporate television sets into a series of robots. The early robots were constructed largely of bits and pieces of wire and metal; later ones were built from vintage radio and television sets refitted with updated electronic components.

Some of Paik’s video installations involve a single monitor, others use a series of monitors. In *TV Buddha* a statue

of Buddha sits facing its own image on a closed-circuit television screen. For *TV Clock* twenty-four monitors are lined up. The image on each is compressed into a single line with the lines on succeeding monitors rotated to suggest the hands of a clock representing each hour of the day. In *Positive Egg* the video camera is aimed at a white egg on a black cloth. In a series of larger and larger monitors, the image is magnified until the actual egg becomes an abstract shape on the screen.



Nam June Paik with “Piano Piece” (1993)  
Photo courtesy of Holly Solomon Gallery, New York



In 1964 Paik moved to New York City and began a collaboration with classical cellist Charlotte Moorman to produce works combining video with performance. In *TV Bra for Living Sculpture* small video monitors became part of the cellist's costume. With *TV Cello* television sets were stacked to suggest the shape of the cello. As Moorman drew the bow across the television sets, images of her playing, video collages of other cellists, and live images of the performance area combined.

When the first consumer-grade portable video cameras and recorders went on sale in New York in 1965, Paik purchased one. Held up in a traffic jam created by Pope Paul VI's motorcade, Paik recorded the parade and later that evening showed it to friends at Cafe a Go-Go. With this development in technology it was possible for the artist to create personal and experimental video programs.

Paik was invited to participate in several experimental workshops including one at WGBH in Boston and another at WNET in New York City. *The Medium Is the Medium*, his first work broadcast by WGBH, was a video collage that raised questions about who is in control of the viewing experience. At one point in a voice-over Paik instructed the viewers to follow his directions, to close or open their eyes, and finally to turn off the set. At WGBH Paik and electronics engineer Shuya Abe built the first model of Paik's video synthesizer which produced non-representational images. Paik used the synthesizer to accompany a rock-and-roll soundtrack in *Video Commune* and to illustrate Beethoven's *Fourth Piano Concerto*. At WNET Paik completed a series of short segments, *The Selling of New York*, which juxtaposed the marketing of New York and the reality of life in the city. *Global Groove*, produced with John Godfrey, opened with an explanation that it was a "glimpse of a video landscape of tomorrow when you will be able to switch to any TV station on the earth and TV guides will be as fat as the Manhattan telephone book." What followed was a rapid shift from rock-and-roll dance sequences to Allen Ginsberg to Charlotte Moorman with the TV cello to an oriental dancer to John Cage to a Navaho drummer to a Living Theatre performance. Throughout, the video image was manipulated by layering images, reducing dancers to a white line outlining their form against a wash of brilliant color, creating evolving abstract forms. Rapid edits of words and movements and seemingly random shifts in the backgrounds against which the dancers perform create a dreamlike sense of time and space.

Nam June Paik pioneered the development of electronic techniques to transform the video image from a literal representation of objects and events into an expression of the artist's view of those objects and events. In doing so, he challenges our accepted notion of the reality of televised events. His work questions time and memory, the nature of music and art, even the essence of our sensory experiences. Most significantly, perhaps, that work questions our experience, our understanding, and our definitions of "television."

—Lucy A. Liggett

NAM JUNE PAIK. Born in Seoul, Korea, 1932. Educated at the University of Tokyo, 1952–56; studied music with Stockhausen at Darmstadt; studied art history and philosophy in Germany, 1956–58. Worked as video artist in electronic music studio for Radio Cologne, 1958–61; associated with the Fluxus group, New York, 1960s; artist-in-residence, WGBH-TV, 1969; artist-in-residence, WNET-TV, New York, 1971; works closely with Japanese artist Shigeo Kubota. Address: Holly Solomon Gallery, 172 Mercer Street, New York, New York 10012, U.S.A.

#### TELEVISION

- |      |                                |
|------|--------------------------------|
| 1970 | <i>Video Commune</i>           |
| 1972 | <i>The Selling of New York</i> |
| 1974 | <i>Tribute to John Cage</i>    |

#### PUBLICATIONS

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See also Experimental Video

## PALEY, WILLIAM S.

### U.S. Media Executive

William S. Paley developed the CBS radio and television networks, and ran them for more than a half century. "A 20th-century visionary with the ambitions of a 19th-century robber baron," as *The New York Times* described him, Paley took over a tiny failing network with only 16 affiliate stations and developed it into a world-class communications empire. Delegating management details to others, he had a seemingly unflinching sense of popular taste and a resultant flair for programming.

Radio's commercial potential came to fascinate Paley early on. Using funds from his father's cigar company shares, Paley purchased working control of the struggling CBS network in September 1928. He was just turning 27. A year later, family purchase of additional shares gave him majority control.

Paley's insights helped to define commercial network operations. At the start of his CBS stewardship, he transformed the network's financial relationship with its affiliates so that the latter agreed to carry sustaining programs free, receiving network payments only for commercially-supported programs. Paley enjoyed socializing and negotiating with broadcast stars. In the late 1940s, his "talent raids" hired top radio stars (chiefly away from NBC) by offering huge prices for rights to their programs and giving them, in return, lucrative capital gains tax options. The talent pool thus developed helped to boost CBS radio ratings just as network television was beginning. At the same time, he encouraged development of CBS News before and during the war as it developed a stable of stars soon headed by Edward R. Murrow.

During World War II, he served as deputy chief of the psychological warfare branch of General Dwight Eisenhower's staff. Paley became chair of the CBS board in 1946, turning the network's presidency over to Frank Stanton, who held the post until his own retirement in 1973. The television network first showed a profit in 1953 and from 1955 through 1976, CBS television consistently led in prime-time network ratings. Network profits helped expand CBS into many other lines of entertainment and education—including the Broadway musical "My Fair Lady" in 1956—as Paley acquired other businesses.

There were technical opportunities as well. CBS Laboratories' Peter C. Goldmark developed a mechanical system of color television that was briefly (1950-53) the nation's first standard before being pushed aside by a superior all-electronic RCA system. By then, CBS had traded a

quarter of its stock to buy Hytron, a TV receiver manufacturer later sold for a huge loss. More successfully, Goldmark also pioneered the long playing (LP) record, introduced in 1948, which revolutionized the recording industry and made CBS Records (sold in 1987 to Sony for \$2 billion) the leading record company in America for both classical and popular records.

As he stayed beyond CBS' compulsory (for others) retirement age of 65, Paley sought to delay his inevitable passing of control to others. Paley worked through several short-lived potential heirs in the late 1970s; he stepped down as chief executive officer in 1977, but retained the powerful chairmanship. Finally he hired Pillsbury's Thomas H. Wyman to become president in 1980. Wyman succeeded Paley as the network's second chair in 1983. Concerned with some of Wyman's decisions in the aftermath of an unsuccessful attempt by Ted Turner to acquire CBS in 1985, Paley allied himself with Lawrence Tisch (by then holding the largest single block of company shares) to oust Wyman



William S. Paley

and install Tisch as chief executive officer in 1986. Paley returned as a figurehead chair until his death in late 1990.

Paley is important for having assembled the brilliant team that built and expanded the CBS "Tiffany Network" image over several decades. For many years he had an innate programming touch which helped keep the network on top in annual ratings wars. He blew hot and cold on network news, helping to found and develop it, but willing to cast much of that work aside to avoid controversy or to increase profits. Like many founders, however, he stayed too long and unwittingly helped weaken his company.

Paley was very active in New York art and social circles throughout his life. He was a key figure in the Museum of Modern Art from its founding in 1929. He prompted construction of the Eero Saarinen-designed "Black Rock" headquarters into which the network moved in 1965. His was the primary donation that helped to create what is now the Museum of Television and Radio in New York City in 1976. The middle "S" in his name stood for nothing—Paley added it in his early business years. He had no formal middle name.

—Christopher H. Sterling

**WILLIAM S. PALEY.** Born in Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., 28 September 1901. Graduated from Western Military Academy, Alton, Illinois, 1918; studied at the University of Chicago, 1918–19; University of Pennsylvania, B.S. 1922. Married: 1) Dorothy Hart Hearst, 1932 (divorced, 1947); one son and one daughter; 2) Barbara Cushing Mortimer, 1948 (died, 1978); one son, one daughter, one stepson, and one stepdaughter. Served as colonel, United States Army, World War II; deputy chief, psychological warfare division, Supreme Headquarters, Allied Powers (Europe); deputy chief, information control division, USGCC. Vice president, Congress Cigar Company, Philadelphia, 1922–28; president, CBS, Inc., New York City, 1928–46, chair of the board, 1946–83, founder and chair, 1983–86, acting chair, 1986–87, chair and director, 1987–90; partner, Whitcom Investment Company, 1982–90; founder, and member of board of directors, Genetics Institute, 1980–90; Thinking Machines Corp., 1983–90; co-chair, *International Herald Tribune*, 1983–1990; president and director, William S. Paley Foundation, Greenpark Foundation, Inc. Trustee: Museum of Modern Art, 1937–90, president, 1968–72, chair, 1972–85, chair emeritus, 1985–90, life trustee; trustee, Columbia University, 1950–73, trustee emeritus, 1973–90; North Shore University Hospital, 1949–57, co-chair, board of trustees, 1954–73; life trustee, Federation Jewish Philanthropies of New York. Member: board of directors, W. Averill Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of Soviet Union, Columbia University; Commission for White House Conference on Education, 1954–56; chair, President's Materials for Policy Commission, which produced "Resources for Freedom," 1951–52; executive committee, Resources for the Future, 1952–69, chair, 1966–69, honorary member, board of directors, 1969–90; chair, New York City Task Force on Urban Design, which prepared

"The Threatened City" report, 1967; Urban Design Council City, New York, 1968–71; founding member, Bedford-Stuyvesant D and S Corp., director, 1967–72; Commission on Critical Choices for America, 1973–77, Commission for Cultural Affairs, New York City, 1975–78; founder and chair of the board, Museum of Broadcasting, from 1976; Council on Foreign Relations; Academy of Political Sciences; National Institute for Social Sciences; Royal Society of the Arts (fellow). Honorary degrees: LL.D.: Adelphi University, 1957, Bates College, 1963, University of Pennsylvania, 1968, Columbia University, 1975, Brown University, 1975, Pratt Institute, 1977, Dartmouth College, 1979; L.H.D.: Ithaca College, 1978, University of Southern California, 1985, Rutgers University, 1986; Long Island University, Southampton, 1987. Military honors: Decorated Legion of Merit; Medal for Merit; officer, Legion of Honor, France; Croix de Guerre with Palm, France; commander, Order of Merit, Italy; associate commander, Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Recipient: Gold Achievement Medal, Poor Richard Club; Keynote Award, National Association of Broadcasters; George Foster Peabody Awards, 1958 and 1961; Broadcast Pioneers, special award; Concert Artists Guild Award, 1965; Skowhegan Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney Award; National Planning Association, Gold Medal; David Sarnoff Award, University of Arizona, 1979; Society of Family of Man Gold Medallion, 1982; Joseph Wharton Award, Wharton School Club, New York, 1983; *TV Guide* Life Achievement Award, 1984; Center for Communications Award, 1985; co-recipient, Walter Cronkite Award, Arizona State University, 1984; City of New York Medallion of Honor; First Amendment Freedoms Award, Anti-Defamation League, B'nai B'rith; Robert Eunson Distinguished Service Award, Association of Press Broadcasters; named to Junior Achievement National Business Hall of Fame, 1984. Died in Manhattan, New York, 26 October 1990.

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- Metz, Robert. *CBS: Reflections in a Bloodshot Eye*. Chicago: Playboy Press, 1983.
- Paper, Lewis J. *Empire: William S. Paley and the Making of CBS*. New York: St. Martin's, 1987.
- Slater, Robert. *This...Is CBS: A Chronicle of 60 Years*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1988.
- Smith, Sally Bedell. *In All His Glory: The Life of William S. Paley, the Legendary Tycoon and His Brilliant Circle*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990.

See also Columbia Broadcasting System; Murrow, Edward R.; Stanton, Frank; United States: Networks

## PALIN, MICHAEL

British Comedian/Actor

Most Americans probably remember Michael Palin best as a member of the six-man British comedy troupe *Monty Python's Flying Circus*. And while it surely is the case that some of Palin's most memorable work was with *Monty Python*, both in the group's TV series or its films and live performances, the versatile comedian-actor also has done much notable television work on his own, including *Ripping Yarns* and *Around the World in 80 Days*.

Palin's comedy career began at Oxford University, where he wrote and performed comedic revues with classmate and future Python Terry Jones. After graduating with a history degree in 1965, Palin moved to London, where his first TV job was as host of *Now!*, a teenage pop music show broadcast by the now-defunct Television West Wales. In his spare time, he continued to write with Terry Jones, who was working for the BBC. The team wrote scripts for *The Ken Dodd Show*, *The Billy Cotton Bandshow*, and other BBC shows.

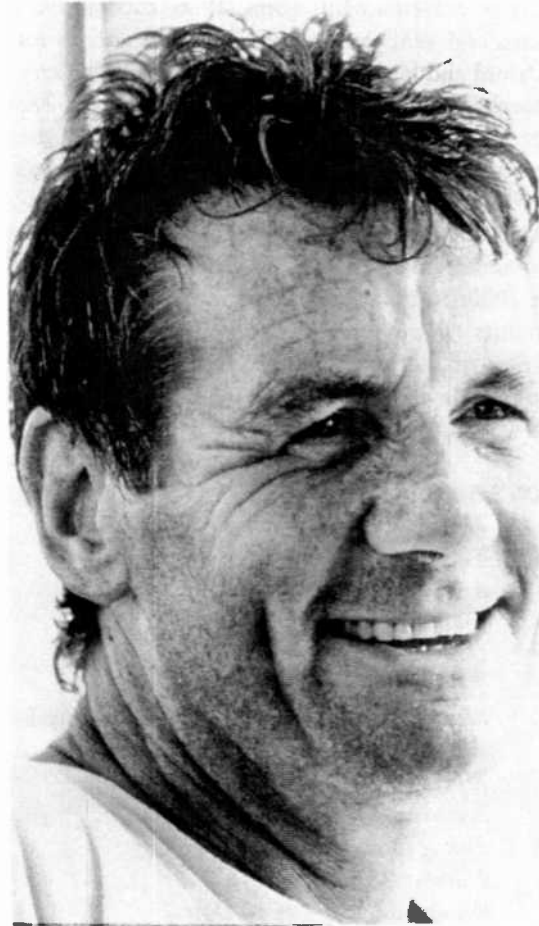
Palin and Jones first worked with fellow Pythons Graham Chapman, John Cleese and Eric Idle in 1966, writing for *The Frost Report*. Palin also worked with various future Pythons on *Do Not Adjust Your Set* (1968–69) and *The Complete and Utter History of Britain* (1969), a Jones and Palin production.

In 1969, Palin, Jones, Chapman, Cleese, Idle and Terry Gilliam (the group's lone American) created *Monty Python's Flying Circus*, after rejecting other possible titles such as "Owl Stretching Time," "Vaseline Parade," and "Bunn, Wackett, Buzzard, Stubble, and Boot." The show ran for 45 episodes, from 1969 to 1974, on the BBC, and took on a life of its own, spawning five films, a series of stage shows and numerous books, records and videos.

Some of Palin's most memorable performances in *Monty Python* include: a man who believes he's qualified to be a lion tamer because he already has the hat; Arthur Pewtie, who suspects his wife is being unfaithful and goes for marriage counseling, only to watch the counselor make love to his wife; a lumberjack who, in his spare time, "puts on women's clothing, and hangs around in bars" (and sings about it, backed by a chorus of Mounties); a cheese-shop owner whose shop is "completely uncontaminated by cheese."

With a kindly face and gentle demeanor, Palin is frequently cast as a sweet, unassuming man (such as the cheated-upon Arthur Pewtie, or the stuttering animal-lover Ken in the film *A Fish Called Wanda*.) But he's equally good in more outrageous characters (like the transvestite lumberjack, or, in another Python sketch, a high court judge who removes his robe, revealing that he's wearing only ladies' underwear beneath).

After the TV series *Monty Python's Flying Circus* ended, Palin continued to perform with the group in films, stage shows and a series of *Secret Policeman's Balls*, benefit concerts for Amnesty International that featured several comedians and musicians. Palin also hosted four episodes of NBC's *Saturday Night Live* from 1978 to 1984.



Michael Palin

In 1976, the BBC began airing one of Palin's most memorable efforts, *Ripping Yarns*. Conceived, written, and performed with Jones, *Ripping Yarns* consisted of two series, one of six shows and one of three shows. Each show had its own plot, and the plots were not interrelated; the stories were based on English stories of the early 1900s.

For the next several years, Palin appeared mostly in films. He returned to television in 1989's *Around the World in 80 Days*, a six-hour documentary of Palin's attempt to re-create Phileas Fogg's fictional journey, retracing Fogg's route using only transportation that would have been available in Fogg's day. Followed by a five-man BBC crew, Palin travels on trains, hot-air balloons, dogsleds and garbage barges through Greece, Africa, India, Asia, America and back to England.

Palin did a similar, eight-hour series, *Pole to Pole*, in 1993. In *Pole to Pole*, Palin and a BBC crew traveled from the North Pole to the South Pole, through Finland, Russia and Africa.

—Julie Prince

MICHAEL (EDWARD) PALIN. Born in Sheffield, Yorkshire, England, 5 May 1943. Attended Birkdale School, Sheffield; Shrewsbury; B.A. in modern history, Brasenose College, Oxford. Married: Helen M. Gibbins, 1966, children: Rachel, Thomas and William. Performed in plays and revues while at Oxford and formed writing partnership with Terry Jones; subsequently wrote for such television shows as *The Frost Report* and then, with Jones, became a member of the *Monty Python* comedy team, 1969; later wrote and starred in the television series *Ripping Yarns* and also hosted acclaimed travel documentaries as well as appearing in a range of comic dramas; director, Meridian Television. President, Transport 2000. Recipient: British Academy of Film and Television Arts Award for Best Supporting Actor, 1988; Travel Writer of the Year Award, British Book Awards, 1993. Address: Mayday Management, 68a Delancey Street, London NW1 7RY, England.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

- 1966–67      *The Frost Report* (writer only)
- 1966–67      *The Late Show* (writer only)
- 1967          *A Series of Bird's* (writer only)
- 1967          *Twice a Fortnight*
- 1968–69      *Do Not Adjust Your Set*
- 1969          *The Complete and Utter History of Britain*
- 1969–74      *Monty Python's Flying Circus* (also co-writer)
- 1975          *Three Men in a Boat*
- 1976–80      *Ripping Yarns* (also writer)
- 1983          *Secrets*
- 1987          *East of Ipswich* (writer only)
- 1988          *Number 27* (writer only)
- 1989          *Around the World in 80 Days*
- 1991          *GBH*
- 1992          *Palin's Column*
- 1993          *Pole to Pole*
- 1993          *Tracey Ullman: A Class Act*
- 1997          *Palin's Pacific*

#### TELEVISION SPECIAL

- 1980          *Great Railway Journeys of the World*

#### FILMS

*And now for Something Completely Different* (also co-writer), 1970; *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* (also co-writer), 1975; *Jabberwocky*, 1976; *Pleasure at Her Majesty's* (U.S. title, *Monty Python Meets beyond the Fringe*), 1976; *Monty Python's Life of Brian* (also co-writer), 1979; *The Secret Policeman's Ball*, 1979; *Time Bandits* (also co-writer), 1980; *The Secret Policeman's*

*Other Ball*, 1982; *Confessions of a Trainspotter*, 1981; *The Missionary* (also co-writer and co-producer), 1982; *Monty Python Live at the Hollywood Bowl*, 1982; *Monty Python's The Meaning of Life* (also co-writer), 1983; *A Private Function*, 1984; *The Secret Policeman's Private Parts*, 1984; *Brazil*, 1985; *The Dress*, 1986; *Troubles*, 1987; *A Fish Called Wanda*, 1988; *American Friends* (also co-writer), 1991; *The Secret Policeman's Biggest Ball*, 1991; *Splitting Heirs*, 1993.

#### STAGE

*Hang Down Your Head and Die, Aladdin*; *Monty Python's First Farewell Tour*; *Monty Python Live at Drury Lane*; *Monty Python Live at City Center*; *The Secret Policeman's Ball*; *The Weekend*.

#### PUBLICATIONS (selection)

- Monty Python's Big Red Book*, with others. London: Eyre Methuen, 1970.
- Monty Python's Brand New Book*, with others. London: Eyre Methuen, 1973.
- Ripping Yarns*. New York: Pantheon, 1978.
- More Ripping Yarns*. London: Eyre Methuen, 1980.
- Missionary*. London: Methuen, 1983.
- Dr. Fegg's Encyclopedia of all World Knowledge*. New York: Bedrick, 1984.
- Limericks*. London: Hutchinson, 1985.
- The Mirrorstone*. New York: Knopf, 1986.
- Around the World in 80 Days*. San Francisco: KQED Books, 1989.
- Pole to Pole*. San Francisco: KQED Books, 1992.
- Pole to Pole: The Photographs*. San Francisco: KQED Books, 1994.
- Hemingway's Chair* (novel). London: Methuen, 1995.

#### FURTHER READING

- Hewison, Robert. *Monty Python: The Case against Irreverence, Scurrility, Profanity, Vilification, and Licentious Abuse*. New York: Grove, 1981.
- Johnson, Kim. *Life (Before and) After Monty Python: The Solo Flights of the Flying Circus*. New York: St. Martin's, 1993.
- . *The First 20 Years of Monty Python*. New York: St. Martin's, 1989.
- McCall, Douglas L. *Monty Python: A Chronological Listing of the Troupe's Creative Output, and Articles and Reviews about Them*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1991.

See also Cleese, John; *Monty Python's Flying Circus*

## PALMER, GEOFFREY

British Actor

Geoffrey Palmer is one of British television's most reliable supporting actors, appearing in several of the most popular situation comedies of the last 20 years or so, and on occasion taking the lead role himself.

With his bloodhound features and lugubrious voice and manner, Palmer is instantly familiar in whatever role he plays. Not only is his face at once recognizable from the situation comedies he has appeared in, but his voice is doubly well known from his frequent employment as a voice-over artist for television commercials (notably for Audi cars). After serving his apprenticeship as an actor in the theater, Palmer emerged as an accomplished performer in television situation comedy through his casting as the absent-minded eccentric Jimmy, brother-in-law to Leonard Rossiter's Perrin in *The Rise and Fall of Reginald Perrin*. Forever apologizing for turning up at the Perrin household in search of a meal after yet another "cock-up on the catering front," Palmer's Jimmy was manifestly appealing, though divorced from reality and pathetically woebegone. These qualities were clearly ideal for situation comedy and, soon after the end of the Perrin series, Palmer was back on the screen on a regular basis playing Wendy Craig's other half in Carla Lane's hit series *Butterflies*. As manic-depressive dentist Ben Parkinson, Palmer provided extremely sturdy support to Craig herself, alternately bewildered at his wife's outbursts and endearingly patient and clumsy in his efforts to understand her frustrations—though he could also be stubborn, tactless and impervious to suggestion when he chose.

Palmer returned to the dottiness of Jimmy in the Perrin series when he went on to play the comically-unhinged Major Harry Kitchener Wellington Truscott, the central character in *Fairly Secret Army*. Convinced that the country was on the brink of chaos due to the machinations of the political left, Truscott was committed to forming his own army to counter the revolution that he feared was just around the corner. Thanks largely to Palmer's performance as Truscott this seemingly unpromising scenario fared reasonably well, with the dotty major proving surprisingly lovable in his futile attempts to muster a competent force, despite his reactionary views and rabidly bigoted attitude toward those of differing political opinions.

His subsequent series, *Executive Stress* and *As Time Goes By*, both saw Palmer back in more familiar sitcom territory, playing belligerently adorable partners in support of strong female stars, in the first instance Penelope Keith (in the role of her husband, Donald Fairchild) and in the latter case Judi Dench (in the role of her old flame, Lionel Hardcastle). *Executive Stress* proved a mixed success, though Palmer gave good value as always, but *As Time Goes By* settled in well as the plot traced the reunion of the two erstwhile lovers. Palmer played a returned colonial planning to write his memoirs, to be typed up by Dench's secretarial agency. This



Geoffrey Palmer

Photo courtesy of the British Film Institute

led to the gradual rebirth of their romance, culminating in their marriage in the 1995 series.

Palmer has occasionally ventured out of the sitcom territory with which he is usually associated. Notable examples of experiments in other fields of comedy have included guest appearances in such acclaimed shows as *Fawlty Towers* and *Blackadder Goes Forth*, in which he played Field Marshall Haig.

—David Pickering

GEOFFREY PALMER. Born in London, England, 4 June 1927. Married: Sally; children: Charles and Harriet. Began career as unpaid trainee assistant stage manager, Q Theatre, London; subsequently became popular star of situation comedies; has also appeared on stage, in films, and on the radio. Address: Marmont Management, Langham House, 302/308 Regent Street, London W1R 5AL, England.

### TELEVISION SERIES

1976–79 *The Fall and Rise of Reginald Perrin*  
1978–82 *Butterflies*

- 1984–86 *Fairly Secret Army*  
 1986 *Executive Stress*  
 1986–88 *Hot Metal*  
 1992– *As Time Goes By*

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIE

- 1991 *A Question of Attribution*

## PANORAMA

### British Public Affairs Programme

The longest-running current affairs programme anywhere in the world, *Panorama* has long been among the most influential of all British political commentaries. The first programme was broadcast in 1953, but the format was quite different then, with a magazine-style approach. The original presenter was newspaper journalist Patrick Murphy, though he was soon replaced by Max Robertson. Alongside them were roving interviewer Malcolm Muggeridge, art critic Denis Mathews, book reviewer Nancy Spain, and theatre critic Lionel Hale, who all made their varied contributions to the fortnightly programme.

Everything changed in 1955, when the programme was relaunched under the slogan "window on the world". With the new look came a new anchorman, Richard Dimbleby, who over the next few years did much to establish *Panorama's* reputation for determined investigation into important political and social matters on behalf of the viewing public. Politicians were suddenly obliged to take the programme seriously, and senior members of the government soon learned that their standing in the polls could very easily depend on their performance on this, the BBC's current affairs flagship.

In 1961 *Panorama* achieved a notable first when Prince Philip agreed to be interviewed by Dimbleby, thus becoming the first member of the royal family to make such a television appearance. Dimbleby was impeccably courteous, but nonetheless extracted from the royal guest the sort of things the viewing public wanted to hear.

The show has had its lighter moments, however. Perhaps the most memorable of these was the April Fool hoax perpetrated by Richard Dimbleby when he delivered a straight-faced report on the state of the Swiss spaghetti harvest, delivered while walking between trees festooned with strings of spaghetti. Many viewers were taken in and rang the programme to ask how they may obtain their own spaghetti plants; the producer suggested that planting a tin of spaghetti in tomato sauce might do the trick.

The late 1950s and early 1960s are sometimes looked upon as the "golden era" for the programme, but this belittles its continuing achievement, which has kept it at the forefront of investigative programmes despite the burgeon-

#### FILMS

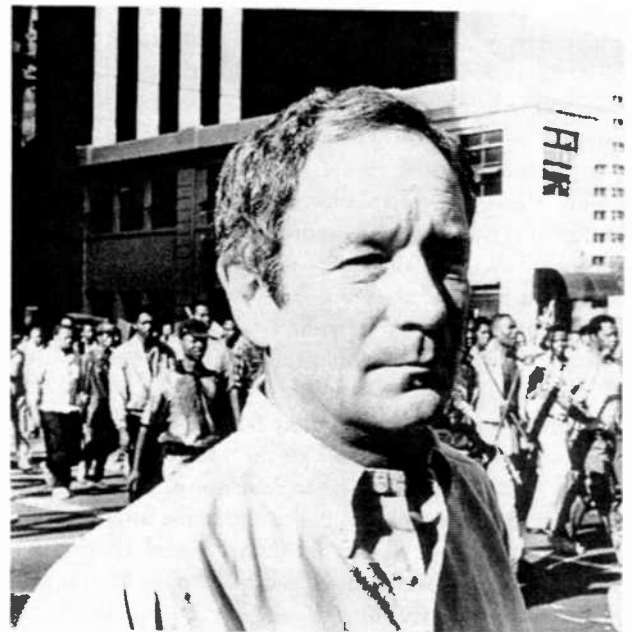
*O Lucky Man!*, 1973; *The Riddle of the Sands*, 1978; *The Outsider*, 1979; *The Honorary Consul*, 1983; *A Zed and Two Noughts*, 1985; *Clockwise*, 1985.

#### STAGE (selection)

*A Friend Indeed*, *Tishoo*, *Saint Joan*, *The Mask of Moriarty*, *Kafka's Dick*, *Piano*.

ing of often very competent rival programmes on other networks. It remains the case that the headlines on the morning after the programme often reflect what has been discussed on *Panorama* the night before, and prominent politicians freely admit that appearances on the programme have played a key role in furthering or hindering their careers and even in deciding the results of both local and national elections over the years. In view of the influence wielded by the programme, any political bias that has been perceived in its editorial approach has led to furious rows in Parliament, and to repeated affirmations by the BBC that this, perhaps still their best-known current affairs programme, will remain resolutely non-affiliated.

Among the most notable of Richard Dimbleby's successors in the chair of *Panorama* have been his son David Dimbleby, Robin Day, who set a new standard in the hostile



*Panorama*

*Photo courtesy of BBC*



interviewing of such reluctant political guests as Alastair Burnet, Charles Wheeler and Robert Kee.

—David Pickering

#### PRESENTERS

Patrick Murphy, Max Robinson, Richard Dimpleby, Nancy Spain, Denis Matthews, Lionel Hale, Christopher Chataway, John Freeman, Michael Barratt, Michael Charlton, Trevor Philpott, Leonard Parkin, Robin Day, David Dimpleby, and others

## PARK, NICK

British Animator/Animation Director

The name of Nick Park is synonymous with that of Aardman Animations, the Bristol-based company founded in the early 1970s by Peter Lord and David Sproxton and responsible for a highly successful series of 3D stop-frame animation shorts made for British television. The most celebrated of these have been the three films featuring the adventures of Wallace, a nondescript Northerner with a flair for ramshackle invention, and his perspicacious but put-upon dog, Gromit. The first, *A Grand Day Out*, started out as Park's graduation project at the National Film and Television School, where he studied animation from 1980 to 1983, and was finally completed in 1989. *The Wrong Trousers* was screened on BBC2 at Christmas 1993: the highest rated programme over the two-day holiday period, it went on to become one of BBC Worldwide's most valuable properties both for video sales and merchandising. It also brought Park his second Oscar for Best Animated Short, the first having been picked up for another Aardman film, *Creature Comforts*, in 1991. The third in the Wallace and Gromit trilogy, *A Close Shave*, also won an Oscar in 1996.

Park's work with Aardman Animations is a popular manifestation of the wider, if less frequently reported, success enjoyed by British animation in the 1980s and 1990s, much of which has been nurtured by Channel 4 and their commissioning editor for animation. Aardman's highly successful work on commercials—particularly the captivating "Heat Electric" campaign, a stylistic and thematic development of *Creature Comforts*—has also allowed the company to spread its wings, a reminder of the importance of this area of television production as a source of funding and creative experiment in a country bereft of a subsidised film industry.

Park began making puppet animations in his parents' attic at the age of 13, using the family's Bell and Howell 8mm-camera. He was persuaded to show his work at school and in 1975 his entry in the European Young Film-Maker of the Year Competition, *Archie's Concrete Nightmare*, was shown on BBC Television. He completed a B.A. in Communication Arts at the Sheffield Arts School before going on to study animation at the NFTS. His work shows the signs

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

- BBC1  
1953–

See also British Programming; Dimpleby, Richard; Royalty and Royals and Television

of his early fascination with science fiction and monster films and the special effects of Ray Harryhausen, as well as his later admiration for the imaginative animated puppetry of Ladislav Starewicz, Jiri Trnka and Jan Svankmajer. However, it is the influence of a childhood filled with Heath Robinson inventions (his parents once fashioned a caravan from a box and set of wheels, fitting it out with makeshift furniture and decoration) which seems to permeate the world of Wallace and Gromit, with its handmade objects, idiosyncratic domestic details and, above all, its enterprising mechanical contraptions.

Park's stop-frame animation of plasticine models has developed into a distinctive and highly sophisticated technique and is often perceived as the Aardman house style, though the company have used a number of other processes—in the Peter Gabriel *Sledgehammer* pop promo for example, on which Park collaborated with several independent animators, including the Brothers Quay. The method grew out of Aardman's work in the 1970s on sequences for BBC Children's Television featuring Morph, a plasticine character capable of metamorphosing into a multitude of shapes. Parks' first job with the company was on the Morph production line. By this time, Aardman had also made two series, *Animated Conversations* for the BBC and *Lip Synch* for Channel 4, in which plasticine characters were animated to a soundtrack built from fly-on-the-wall recordings of real conversations and interviews. This became the basis of Park's award-winning *Creature Comforts*, in which a range of vox-pop interviews about people's living conditions provide the speech for animals commenting on their life behind bars in a zoo. It was here that the subtle, psychological and sociological characterisation and carefully observed facial and gestural expressiveness that are the features of Wallace and Gromit was developed. For all their farcical playfulness, these narratives are shot through with stinging moments of poignancy, as the animated figures momentarily betray the pain, longing and regret behind a life of repressed British ordinariness.

Although particularly televisual in its domestic intimacy and attention to psychological detail, Park's work has also brought a sophisticated level of film literacy into the process of

animation. With their larger budgets, *The Wrong Trousers* and *A Close Shave* are not only technically more accomplished than *A Grand Day Out*, but are more cinematic in their use of lighting, framing and camera movement. Both later pieces are also full of film allusion and pastiche, with references to a number of popular genres and stock sequences, as well as specific British and American movies.

—Jeremy Ridgman

**NICK PARK.** Born in Preston, Lancashire, England, 1958. Educated at the Sheffield Polytechnic, Faculty of Art and Design, B.A. 1980; National Film and Television School, Beaconsfield, 1980-1983. Animator since the age of 13; worked at Aardman Animation, Bristol, since 1985; projects include Peter Gabriel's *Sledgehammer* video, 1986; numerous commercials for Access credit cards and Duracell batteries; creator of claymation stars Wallace and Gromit. Recipient: three Academy Awards, three BAFTA Awards.

## PARKER, EVERETT C.

U.S. Media Activist

Everett C. Parker played a leading role in the development of public interest of American television. He served as director of the Office of Communication of the United Church of Christ from 1954 until 1983. In that position, he was at the forefront of Protestant communications, overseeing the public media activities of one of the leading mainline Protestant religious groups. He is better known, however, for two other contributions: his leadership in the development of an influential media reform and citizen action movement in broadcasting; and his activism directed at improved broadcast employment prospects for women and minorities. Near the end of his career, he was named one of the most influential men in broadcasting by the trade publication *Broadcasting Magazine*.

Parker had an early career in radio production. After a year at NBC in New York, he founded and became head of an interdenominational Protestant Church broadcasting organization, the Joint Religious Radio Committee (JRRC). The JRRC was formed to serve as a counterbalance to the dominance of the Federal Council of Churches in public service religious broadcasting. Besides its impact on programming, the JRRC also addressed the impact of media on society and public interest issues in broadcasting. The JRRC was an early vocal supporter of reserved FM frequency assignments for educational use, for example.

While a lecturer in communication at Yale Divinity School, from 1949 until 1954, he headed the Communication Research Project, the first major study of religious broadcasting. This project resulted in the definitive work on religious broadcasting for nearly two decades, *The Television-Radio Audience and Religion*, co-authored by Parker, David Barry and Dallas Smythe.

### TELEVISION FILMS (selection)

1986	<i>Sledgehammer</i> (animator)
1989	<i>War Story</i> (animator)
1989	<i>A Grand Day Out</i> (animator/director)
1989	<i>Creature Comforts</i> (animator/director)
1993	<i>The Wrong Trousers</i> (animator/director)
1996	<i>A Close Shave</i> (animator/director)
1996	<i>Wallace and Gromit: The Best of Aardman Animation</i> (animator/director)

### FURTHER READING

- Adair, Gilbert. "That's My Toon." *Sunday Times* (London), 19 June 1994.
- Macdonald, Kevin. "A Lot Can Happen in a Second" (interview). In, Boorman, John, and Walter Donohue, editors. *Projections 5*. London: Faber, 1996.
- Thompson, Ben. "Real Lives" (interview). *Independent on Sunday* (London), 10 March 1992.

In 1954, he founded the Office of Communication of the United Church of Christ, the first such agency to combine press, broadcasting, film, research, and educational functions in one unit. The office pioneered programs to improve the communication skills of ministers, to improve the communication activities of local churches, and to use television for education. It also participated in the production of some landmark television programs, including *Six American Families*, a nationally-syndicated documentary series produced in collaboration with Westinghouse Broadcasting Company and the United Methodist Church.

The work of Parker and the office took an important turn in the 1960s, as the Civil Rights Movement was gaining momentum. After reviewing the civil rights performance of television stations in the South, the office identified WLBT-TV in Jackson, Mississippi, as a frequent target of public complaints and Federal Communication Commission (FCC) reprimands regarding its public service. In 1963, the office filed a "petition to deny renewal" with the FCC, initiating a process that had far-reaching consequences in U.S. broadcasting. The FCC's initial response to the petition was to rule that neither the United Church of Christ (UCC) nor local citizens had legal standing to participate in its renewal proceedings. The UCC appealed, and in 1966, Federal Appeals Court Judge Warren Burger granted such standing to the UCC and to citizens in general. After a hearing, the FCC renewed WLBT's license, resulting in another appeal by the UCC. Burger declared the FCC's record "beyond repair" and revoked WLBT's license in 1969.

Based on this new right to participate in license proceedings, Parker's office began to work with other reform and citizens' groups to monitor broadcast performance on a

number of issues, including employment discrimination and fairness. In 1967, the office's petition to the FCC dealing with employment issues lead to the commission's adoption of Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) rules for broadcasting. In 1968, it participated as a "friend of the court" in the landmark Red Lion case, which confirmed and expanded the Fairness Doctrine.

Parker and the office continued to play a central role in the developing media reform movement throughout the 1970s and 1980s, in cooperation with organizations such as Citizens' Communication Center, the Media Access Project, the National Citizens' Committee for Broadcasting, Ralph Nader's Public Citizen organization, and a variety of other religious and civic groups. The attention of this movement broadened in subsequent years to include cable television and telecommunications and telephone policy. These organizations became active in the developing change in regulation and eventual break-up of AT and T during the period from 1978 to 1984.

In his later years, Parker devoted more attention to issues of employment in broadcasting and the communication industries. In 1974 he established Telecommunications Career Recruitment, a program for the recruitment and training of minority broadcasters, with the cooperation and support of the Westinghouse Broadcasting and Capital Cities Broadcasting companies.

On his retirement in 1983, *Broadcasting Magazine* somewhat grudgingly hailed him as "the founder of the citizen movement in broadcasting" who spent "some two decades irritating and worrying the broadcast establishment." In retirement, Parker took up a post at Fordham University in New York at a center named for his friend and colleague, Don McGannon, long-time president of Westinghouse Broadcasting Company.

—Stewart M. Hoover and George C. Conklin

EVERETT C(ARLTON) PARKER. Born in Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., 17 January 1913. Educated at University of Chicago, A.B. 1935; Chicago Theological Seminary, B.D. magna cum laude 1943, Blatchford Fellow, 1944–45, D.D. 1964; Catawba College, Salisbury, North Carolina, D.D. 1958. Married: Geneva M. Jones, 1939; children: Ruth A., Eunice L., and Truman E. Began career as assistant public service and war program manager, NBC, 1943–45; lecturer in communication, Yale Divinity School, 1945–57; founder and director, Protestant Radio Communications, 1945–50; founder and director, Office of Communication, United Churches of Christ, 1954–1983; editor-at-large, *Channels of Communication Magazine*, 1983–84; professor, Fordham University, from 1983; founder, Foundation for Minority Interests in Media, 1985. Honorary degrees: L.H.D., Fordham University, 1978; L.H.D., Tougaloo College, 1978. Recipient: Alfred I. Dupont-

Columbia University Award; Human Relations Award, American Jewish Committee, 1966; Faith and Freedom Award, Religious Heritage Broadcasting, 1969; Roman Catholic Broadcasters Gabriel Award for public service, 1970; Lincoln University Award for significant contributions to human relations, 1971; Racial Justice Award, Committee for Racial Justice, United Christian Church, 1973; Public Service Award, Black Citizens for a Fair Media, 1979; Pioneer Award, World Associate for Christian Communications, 1988.

#### TELEVISION (producer)

1956 *Off to Adventure*  
1965 *Tangled World*  
1977 *Six American Families* (series)

#### FILMS

*The Pumpkin Coach*, 1960; *The Procession*, 1961; *Tomorrow?*, 1962.

#### PUBLICATIONS

*Religious Radio: What to Do and How*. New York: Harper's, 1948.

*Film Use in Church*. New York: Broadcasting and Film Commission of the United Churches of Christ in the United States, 1953.

*The Television-Radio Audience and Religion*, with David W. Barry and Dallas W. Smythe. New York: Harper's, 1955.

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See also Religion and Television

## PARKINSON, MICHAEL

British Television Personality/Host

Michael Parkinson was the most successful of the British chat show hosts who proliferated in the 1970s and earned a lasting reputation as a viewers' favourite. He subsequently exploited his role in a variety of other television series.

A Yorkshireman to the core, Michael Parkinson started out as a newspaper journalist but later moved to Granada, where he worked on current affairs programmes, and thence to the BBC, where he joined the *24 Hours* team and also indulged his enduring love of sport, producing sports documentaries for London Weekend Television.

Priding himself on his Yorkshireman's "gift of the gab," he made his debut as a chat show host with his own *Parkinson* show in 1971. Broadcast every Saturday night for the next 11 years, the show became an institution and set the standard for all other television chat show hosts to meet. Relaxed, well-groomed, and attentive to his guests' feelings, he nonetheless proved adept at getting the best out of the celebrities who were persuaded to come on the show, without causing offence. The questions he put were often innocuous and served as invitations to the guest to assume the central role. The best interviews were with those who had a tale to tell and the confidence to tell it without much prodding from the host; Parkinson was sensible enough not to interrupt unless it was absolutely necessary. At the top of the list of dynamic guests Parkinson interviewed were Dr. Jacob Bronowski, Diana Rigg, Shirley MacLaine, Miss Piggy, Dame Edith Evans, the inimitable raconteur Peter Ustinov, and boxer Mohammed Ali, who responded magnificently to the geniality and flattery that the devoted Parkinson lavished on him.

If Parkinson took a personal dislike to a guest, he tried not to let it show (though viewers were quick to detect any animosity). Among those he later confessed to finding most difficult were comedian Kenneth Williams, who appeared a total of eight times on the show and was quick to use Parkinson as a verbal punchbag, and Rod Hull's Emu, the ventriloquist-dummy bird who wrestled an unusually disheveled Parkinson to the floor to the delight of the audience and the barely-concealed fury of the host himself.

After the long run of *Parkinson* came to an end in the early 1980s, after 361 shows and 1050 guests, Parkinson worked for a time as a chat show host on Australian television, then busied himself with helping to set up the troubled TV-AM organization in the United Kingdom in 1983. He has since returned to the small screen from time to time in various capacities, sharing his love of sport, periodically resuming his chair as a chat show host, or presiding over game shows.

—David Pickering

MICHAEL PARKINSON. Born in Cudworth, Yorkshire, England, 28 March 1935. Attended Barnsley Grammar School. Married: Mary Heneghan; children: Andrew, Nicholas, and Michael. Began career as newspaper journalist, local papers and *The Guardian*, *The Daily Express*, and *The Sunday Times*,



Michael Parkinson

Photo courtesy of the British Film Institute

reporter and producer, Granada Television; executive producer and presenter, London Weekend Television, 1968; leading chat show host, 1970s; presented sporting documentaries among other programmes; chat show host, Channel 10, Australia, 1979–84; director, Pavilion Books, from 1980; co-founder, TV-AM, 1983; presenter, LBC Radio, 1990. Address: IMG, Media House, 3 Burlington Lane, London W4 2TH, England.

### TELEVISION SERIES

1969–71	<i>Cinema</i>
1971	<i>Tea Break</i>
1971	<i>Where in the World</i>
1971	<i>The Movie Quiz</i>
1971–82	<i>Parkinson</i>
1979–84	<i>Parkinson in Australia</i>
1983–84	<i>Good Morning Britain</i>
1984–91	<i>Give Us a Clue</i>
1984–86	<i>All Star Secrets</i>
1985	<i>The Skag Kids</i>
1987–88	<i>Parkinson One to One</i>
1991	<i>The Help Squad</i>
1993	<i>Surprise Party</i>

### RADIO

*Start the Week*, *Desert Island Discs*, *The Michael Parkinson Show*.

## PUBLICATIONS

*Football Daft*. London: Paul, 1968.  
*Cricket Mad*. London: Paul, 1969.  
*A to Z of Soccer*, with Willis Hall. London: Pelham, 1970.  
*A Pictorial History of Westerns*, with Clyde Jeavons. London: Hamlyn, 1972.  
*Sporting Fever*. London: Paul, 1974.

*Football Classified*, with Willis Hall. London: Luscombe, 1974.  
*Best: An Intimate Biography*. London: Arrow, 1975.  
*Bats in the Pavilion*. London: Paul, 1977.  
*The Woofits' Day Out*. London: Collins, 1980.  
*Parkinson's Lore*. London: Pavilion, 1981.  
*The Best of Parkinson*. London: Pavilion, 1982.

## PARLIAMENT, COVERAGE BY TELEVISION

At present almost 60 sovereign-states provide some television coverage of parliamentary bodies. Among them are countries as diverse in political organization as Australia, Germany, and Japan, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Russia, China, Denmark, and Egypt. With varying allocations of control of the coverage between media entities and chamber officials, countries provide this form of televised information to citizens in response to three related perceptions on the part of governmental institutions: a lack of public familiarity with Parliament and its distinctness from the Executive; a lack of public knowledge of citizenship; and the desire to form channels of communication between the public and politicians that can avoid the mediation of media owners and professionals.

In 1944, the British War Cabinet argued that "proceedings in Parliament were too technical to be understood by the ordinary listener who would be liable to get a quite false impression of the business transacted." It favoured professional journalists as expert mediators between public and politics. Winston Churchill regarded television as "a red conspiracy" because it had a robotic component that combined undifferentiated mass access with machine-like reproduction. But debates over televising proceedings in Britain were common from 1965, with twelve separate parliamentary proposals discussed between 1985 and 1988. Arguments for TV rested on the medium's capacity both to involve the public in making politicians accountable and to involve politicians in making the public interested. Arguments against coverage centred on the intrusiveness of broadcasting equipment, the trivialisation through editing of the circumstance and pomp integral to British politics, the undue attention to the major parties and to adversarial division that TV would encourage, and the concern that established procedures and conduct would change to suit television. Channel Four screened a program called *Their Lordships' House* from 1985. The Lower House rejected a proposal for coverage that year, but trial Commons telecasts commenced in late 1989, despite the then Prime Minister's opposition. The public had become an audience that must be made into a citizen. Consider the position enunciated by contemporary British Conservative politician Norman St. John-Stevs: "To televise parliament would, at a stroke, restore any loss it has suffered to the new mass media as the political education of the nation."

This was already a given elsewhere. In postwar Germany, televising the Bundestag was said to be critical for

democratising the public. Proceedings came to Netherlands television in 1962, via three types of coverage: live for topical issues, summaries of less important debates, and "flashes" on magazine programs. The first years of the system saw considerable public disaffection because Members of Parliament (MPs) tended towards dormancy, absence, novel-reading, and jargon on-camera. Over time, Members came to attend at the same time as producers, viewer familiarity with procedural norms grew, and ratings increased on occasions of moment. In France, it was two years after President Pompidou resignedly intoned that: "Whether one likes it or not, television is regarded as the Voice of France," that a clutch of broadcasting reforms required certain stations to cover the National Assembly. It is no surprise, similarly, that during the extraordinary events in Czechoslovakia at the end of 1989, the opposition Civic Forum made the televising of Parliament one of its principal demands.

Sometimes such moves have amounted to a defensive reaction, at others to a positive innovation. The European Parliament was directly elected from 1979. It has used TV coverage for the past decade in search of attention and legitimacy. Recordings and live material are available to broadcasters without cost, to encourage a stronger image for the new Europe. Second-order coverage of the Parliament had always been minimal, due to lack of media interest, but it increased markedly with live TV material. The rules on



Prime Minister John Major  
 Photo courtesy of C-SPAN

coverage are more liberal than elsewhere, even encouraging reaction shots and film of the public gallery. When Ian Paisley, a Northern Ireland member, pushed in front of Margaret Thatcher to display a poster in 1986, and interrupted the pope's speech in 1988, his demonstration was broadcast and made available on tape. One thinks here of the chariots that go into the Indian countryside with video recordings of political rallies and speeches to be shown on screens to five thousand at a sitting. Direct TV politics can be a special event. Uganda adopted colour television to coincide with a meeting of the Organisation of African Unity, and the first live broadcast of the Soviet Union's new Congress of People's Deputies in 1989 attracted a record two hundred million viewers across a dozen time zones, a 25% increase on the previous figure. A side-effect was assisting in the formation of a new image overseas. For American journalists, televising parliamentary sessions helped to bring the USSR into the field of political normalcy.

In the United States, despite the introduction of a Bill in 1922 providing for electronic media coverage of Congress, with a trial the following year, there were no regular radio broadcasts of proceedings until the signing of the Panama Canal Treaties of 1978. The opening of the Eightieth Congress in 1947 was carried on television, but this was mostly proscribed until 1971. The major drive for change stemmed from the results of public opinion polls from the early 1970s suggesting that politicians were held in low esteem. Regular closed-circuit trials were instituted in 1977. Following successful coverage of the Connecticut and Florida State legislatures, the House of Representatives allowed routine broadcasts from 1979. After extensive tests, the Senate agreed to the same in 1986. The service is available via Cable-Satellite Public Affairs Network (C-SPAN and C-SPAN II), which also broadcasts House and Senate Committees, Prime Minister's Question Time from the British House of Commons, and an array of public-policy talkfests.

The political process has also been modified by the use made of new communications technologies, designed to break down mediation between politicians and publics in North America. Direct contact between Congresspeople and their constituents has positioned them at the leading edge of applications of cable, satellite, video cassette recording, and computer-aided interaction. Alaska, for example, has a Legislative Teleconferencing Network that permits committees to receive audio and computer messages from citizens. Ross Perot linked six American cities by satellite in 1992 to convene a "nationwide electronic rally," a metonym for the "electronic town hall" which was to administer the country should he become President; he would debate policies with Congress and have citizens respond through modem or telephone.

The most spectacular recent examples of U.S. parliamentary coverage are the Senate Judiciary Committee's Judge Thomas Confirmation Hearing of 1991 and the appearance of Oliver North before a Congressional Committee in the 1987 hearings into funding the Contras in

Nicaragua. The evidence about Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill was so "popular" that its competition, Minnesota versus Toronto, drew the lowest ratings ever for a baseball play-off. North's evidence had five times as many viewers as *General Hospital*, its closest daytime soap opera competitor. Most commentators on that hearing clearly read it intertextually, referring to acting, entertainment, and stars in their analysis. CBS actually juxtaposed images of North with Rambo and Dirty Harry, emphasising the lone warrior against an establishment state that would not live up to its responsibilities. North assisted this process in his promise "to tell the truth, the good, the bad and the ugly." Much media attention was given to Reagan's words of admiration to North: "This is going to make a great movie one day." The reaction of the public was similarly remarkable. Polls which showed that years of government propaganda still found seventy per cent of Americans opposed to funding the Contras saw a twenty per cent switch in opinion after the hearings. Once the policy issue became personalised inside North, and opposition to him could be construed as the work of a repressive state, Congressional television viewing became popular and influential.

Conversely, rules enunciated by the British Select Committee on Televising the Commons prohibit cut-away reaction shots, other than of those named in debate. Close-ups and shots of sleeping members are also proscribed. Disruptions lead to a cut-away to the Speaker. These restrictions persuaded Channel Four to abandon plans for live telecasts, although the House decided to permit wide-angle shots in 1990 in order to increase the televisuality of the occasion. How should one read instructions which insist that: "Coverage should give an unvarnished account of the proceedings of the House, free of subjective commentary and editing techniques designed to produce entertainment rather than information?" Such a perspective contrasts starkly with the response to falling public interest in watching Convention politics made by Roone Arledge, Network News President of the American Broadcasting Company: "The two political parties should sit down on their own, or maybe with the networks, to come up with something more appealing to the American people."

For the most part, parliaments want to control coverage. Guidelines on the use of file footage of proceedings issued by Australia's Joint Committee on the Broadcasting of Parliamentary Proceedings, for example, are concerned about the unruly gazes of directors and publics. They insist on maintaining continuity, avoiding freeze frames, and receiving guarantees that material will not "be used for the purposes of satire or ridicule." After the first day of *Question Time TV* in Britain, a Conservative Member stated that "some of the men—I happen to know—are carrying powder-puffs in their pockets to beautify their fallow complexions." And who can forget former U.S. House Speaker Tip O'Neill's sensational findings on TV coverage of Democratic and Republican Party Conventions: "If a delegate was picking his nose, that's what you'd see. . . . No wonder so



many of us were skittish"? Satire can never be kept far-distant from pomposity.

—Toby Miller

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- See also British Television; Hill-Thomas Hearings; Political Processes and Television; U.S. Congress; U.S. Presidency

## THE PARTRIDGE FAMILY

### U.S. Situation/Domestic Comedy

**T**he *Partridge Family* was broadcast on ABC from 1970 to 1974. A modest ratings success, the show peaked at number sixteen in the ratings for the 1971–72 season. While *The Partridge Family* never attracted huge audiences, it was a major hit with younger viewers. The series was also distinguished for spawning highly successful, if short-lived, commercial tie-ins. Children's mystery books and comic books featured the Partridges; their musical albums were heavily promoted; and David Cassidy, one of the actors, became a teen idol.

The Partridges were a fatherless family of six who decided, in the premier episode, to form a rock band and tour the country in a psychedelically-painted school bus. Most episodes began at the family home in California. Under the leadership of 1970s supermom Shirley Partridge (Shirley Jones), the five Partridge kids survived various capers that almost always culminated in successful concerts. Mom covered lead vocals. Teenage son Keith (David Cassidy) helped keep the family in line. Keith sometimes clashed with sister Laurie (Susan Dey) and everyone clashed with ten-year-old brother Danny (Danny Bonaduce), the freckle-faced drummer who was always looking for the big score. Danny's special nemesis was band manager Reuben Kinkaid (David Madden), an irritable man with a knack for getting the family into trouble when the plot needed fresh complications. Two younger Partridges, Chris and Tracy,

rounded out the cast, along with a next-door neighbor, Ricky, and Reuben's nephew, Alan, who joined the show in 1973.

The show was not a sustained hit in syndication. During the 1990s, however, a retro-vogue endowed *The Partridge Family* with minor cult status. With their shag hairdos, flair pants, and polyester outfits, the Partridges epitomized the early 1970s. MTV vee-jay Pagan Kennedy praised the show for having made rock 'n' roll culture seem both exciting and benign: "*The Partridge Family* took drug culture, made it square, and added kids. It was hipness for the under-10 crowd."

The dramatic formula of the show—something between *The Brady Bunch* and *Scooby Doo*—rarely receives scholarly attention. References occasionally note Shirley Partridge's status as a supermother in the Donna Reed mold. For the most part, the show is remembered for its successful commercial tie-ins. Several Partridge Family songs became genuine hits, including the theme, "Come On, Get Happy," and "I Think I Love You," which sold four million copies. On the Partridge Family albums, Jones and Cassidy sang their own parts, but studio artists supplied background vocals and music. The family never toured (since they did not play their own music), but Cassidy had a brief and wildly successful career as a pop singer. At the heights of his popularity, he could fill stadiums with pre-pubescent girls.





The Partridge Family

In 1973-74, *The Partridge Family* was switched from Friday nights to Saturday nights, opposite *All in the Family* and *Emergency*. The ratings quickly fell and the show was canceled before the next season. A cartoon sequel, *Partridge Family: 2200 AD*, brought the Partridges back to life in space. The show played Saturday mornings for one season (1974-75), featuring voices from the prime-time cast.

—J.B. Bird

#### CAST

*Shirley Partridge* . . . . . Shirley Jones  
*Keith Partridge* . . . . . David Cassidy  
*Laurie Partridge* . . . . . Susan Dey  
*Danny Partridge* . . . . . Danny Bonaduce  
*Christopher Partridge* (1970-71) . . . . . Jeremy Gelbwaks  
*Christopher Partridge* (1971-74) . . . . . Brian Forster  
*Tracy Partridge* . . . . . Suzanne Crough  
*Reuben Kinkaid* . . . . . David Madden  
*Ricky Stevens* (1973-74) . . . . . Ricky Segall  
*Alan Kinkaid* (1973-74) . . . . . Alan Bursky

**PRODUCERS** Bob Claver, Paul Junger Witt, Mel Swope, William S. Bickley, Michael Warren

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 96 Episodes

• ABC

September 1970-June 1973

June 1973-August 1974

Friday 8:30-9:00

Saturday 8:00-3:30

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See also Comedy, Domestic Settings; Comedy, Workplace

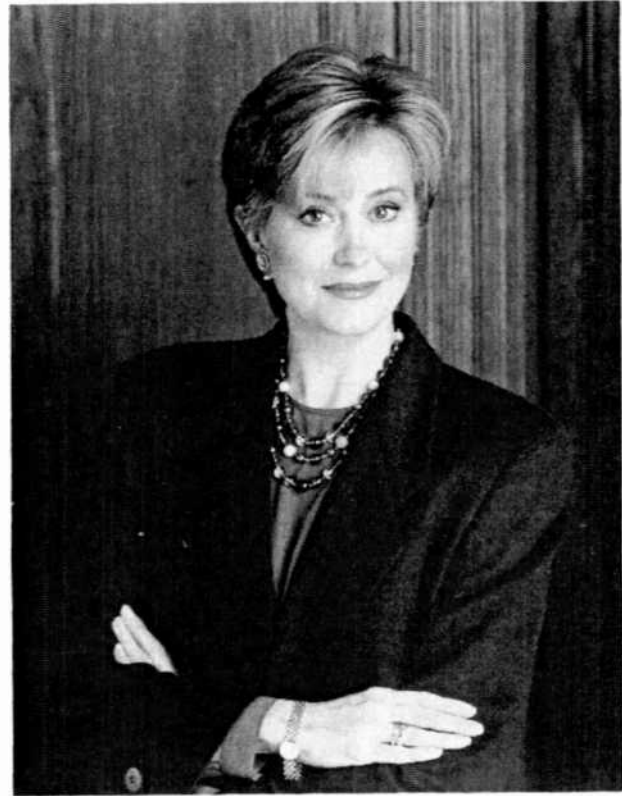
## PAULEY, JANE

U.S. Broadcast Journalist

Jane Pauley is best known as long-time morning broadcaster for NBC's *Today*, an NBC news reporter, and, most recently, as a co-host for NBC's popular news magazine, *Dateline*. Her career began at the age of 21, when she was hired as daytime and weekend caster at WISH-TV in Indianapolis. Four years later she was appointed as the first woman to anchor the evening news at WMAQ, Chicago. Despite low ratings, Pauley was selected in 1976 to interview as a possible successor to Barbara Walters as Tom Brokaw's co-host on NBC's *Today*. Competing with well-known reporters Linda Ellerbee and Betty Rolin, Pauley was chosen for the position, shocking the industry and disappointing critics who found her too cheery, young and pretty. Though fans embraced Pauley for these qualities, NBC News President Dick Wald defended Pauley's hire based on her poise and control. Her honest address and family commitment, radically different from the more reserved Diane Sawyer, made Pauley popular with female baby-boomers. Pauley spent the next thirteen years co-hosting *Today*. Her team ushered the program past ABC's *Good Morning America*, to become the number one morning show in the United States.

When NBC hired Bryant Gumble, a sportscaster with no news experience, to succeed Tom Brokaw as head anchor, a compliant Pauley remained in the co-anchor seat. Her career seemed to flounder further when renowned Washington reporters Chris Wallace and Judy Woodruff joined the morning group, pushing Pauley to the periphery. Finally, in 1989, NBC brought thirty-one-year-old Debra Norville to the *Today* team, to attract a youthful audience. Sensing she would soon be replaced, Pauley threatened to break her \$1.2 million *Today* contract two years early, to which NBC responded with the offer of Pauley's own prime-time magazine show. Despite the fact that she had prevailed in a long, hard-nosed battle, and achieved a notable appointment, the media cast Pauley as a spurned wife, to the mistress Norville. Nevertheless, Pauley departed gracefully with a sincere, on-air good-bye to Norville, leaving the show's ratings to tumble 22% during sweeps week, and ultimately losing its number one spot to *Good Morning, America*.

Following this media soap opera, Pauley herself became the news item of the day, appearing on talk shows, featured in magazines and on *Life* magazine's cover, in December 1989, which proclaimed, "How Jane Pauley Got What She Wanted: Time for Her Kids, Prime Time for Herself." Pauley became deputy anchor to Tom Brokaw on the *NBC Nightly News*, and in 1989, her magazine pilot, *Changes*, received the highest ratings in its prime-time slot. Her subsequent 1991 show, *Real Life with Jane Pauley*, featuring human interest reports for her traditional audience, aired five successful summer segments. In pursuit of a broader audience, the magazine was revamped in 1992 as *Dateline NBC*, adding investigative reporting, and reporter Stone Phillips aboard as co-host. *Dateline* suffered a huge press



Jane Pauley

Photo courtesy of Jane Pauley

attack on its ethics when it was discovered that producers staged the explosion of a General Motors truck for an auto safety report; viewers, however, stayed tuned, and by 1995 *Dateline* was a consistent ratings winner.

By calling NBC's bluff, Pauley was catapulted to the ranks of other women investigative TV reporters such as Maria Shriver, Connie Chung, and Diane Sawyer. Nevertheless, Jane Pauley continues to be framed by the mass media and NBC as the maternal, baby-boom, career heroine of Television news fame.

—Paula Gardner

JANE PAULEY. Born in Indianapolis, Indiana, U.S.A., 31 October 1950. Educated at Indiana University, B.A. in political science 1971. Married: Gary Trudeau (*Doonesbury* cartoonist); three children. Began career as TV reporter, WISH-TV, Indianapolis, 1972–75; various positions as reporter and anchor with NBC News programs, since 1975. Honorary degree: D. Journalism, DePauw University, 1978.

### TELEVISION

1976–	<i>NBC News</i> (correspondent)
1976–90	<i>Today</i> (correspondent),
1980–82	<i>NBC Nightly News</i> (reporter/principal writer)

- 1982–83      *Early Today* (co-anchor)  
 1990–      *NBC Nightly News* (substitute anchor)  
 1990–91      *Real Life with Jane Pauley* (principal correspondent)  
 1992–      *Dateline NBC* (co-host)

**PUBLICATION**

"Defending Dateline." *The Quill* (Chicago), November–December 1994.

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## PAY CABLE

Pay or premium cable is a cable television service that supplements the basic cable service. Most cable system operators carry one or more pay cable services (called "multi-pay") on their systems and make them available to customers for a monthly fee that is added to the basic fee. Cable customers who choose not to subscribe to pay cable receive a scrambled signal on the pay cable channel or channels. The monthly pay cable fee is subject to unit discounts whenever a customer subscribes to two or more pay cable services. Pay-per-view (PPV) is a second form of pay cable that requires cable television customers to pay for individual programs rather than a program package. The cable customer's monthly cable bill reflects the total cost of each PPV program or event viewed during the preceding month.

Since pay cable services are supported by subscriber fees, they carry no commercials. Pay cable programmers usually schedule programs that are unique and that may never be seen on basic cable or broadcast television. These include sports events, musical concerts, and first-run uncut movies. Some movies carried on pay cable are especially produced by the pay cable service; others were released originally for theatrical viewing prior to their availability for a pay cable audience.

Pay cable subscribers pay an average of \$15 per month (in 1995 figures) above their basic cable service cost. Any cost figure above or below the average depends upon the total number of pay cable services in the subscriber's package and the package discount allowed by the subscriber's cable system operator. The operator keeps approximately 50% of the fees collected from pay cable subscribers. The other 50% goes to the company or companies originating the pay cable service.

Pay cable predates the cable industry by several years. The first known pay television or subscription television (STV) service in the United States was a short-lived experimental effort by Zenith Radio Corporation in 1951 called Phonevision. During its 90-day life span, Phonevision offered daily movies carried by a special telephone line to

some 300 Chicago households. Two other experimental STV services, one in New York City and one in Los Angeles, followed the Phonevision lead in 1951 but met with similar fate.

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) enacted rules in 1957 that severely limited STV program acquisition. The rules prevented STV from "siphoning" movies and special events such as sports from "free" television to pay television. Revised FCC rules in 1968 limited any STV service to a single channel only in communities already served by at least five commercial television stations. Such restrictions for STV and, by then, pay cable were eliminated by a 1977 U.S. Court of Appeals decision that declared that the FCC's pay television rules infringed upon the cable television industry's First Amendment rights.

The Court of Appeals' decision was especially important to the Home Box Office (HBO) pay cable service. The idea behind HBO was conceived by Charles F. Dolan. Financial assistance from Time-Life Cable to launch HBO was followed by agreements with Madison Square Garden and Universal Pictures allowing HBO to carry live sports events and recent movies. HBO was launched on 8 November 1972, providing pay cable programming (a professional hockey game and a movie) to 365 Service Electric Cable subscribers in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. In less than one year HBO's service was carried by 14 cable television systems to more than 8,000 cable customers.

New ground was broken in pay cable distribution in 1975 when HBO first carried its service via satellite to UA Columbia Cablevision subscribers in Fort Pierce and Vero Beach, Florida, and to American Television and Communications Corporation subscribers in Jackson, Mississippi. The first satellite distributed (via RCA's Satcom) pay cable programming was the Ali-Frazier championship boxing match from Manila. A nationally distributed pay cable network was in the making but would not be a reality until HBO managed to convince prospective cable system affiliates to spend

nearly \$100,000 to purchase the necessary satellite receiving dish and accompanying hardware.

By 1995, fourteen national and six regional companies had launched pay cable services in the United States. HBO remained the largest with 18 million subscribers receiving the service from over 9,000 cable systems. Other leading national pay cable services in 1995, based on subscribership numbers that exceeded a million, were the Disney Channel, Showtime, Cinemax, Encore, and the Movie Channel. Leading regional pay cable services whose 1995 subscribership numbered more than a million included Sports Channel Pacific, Sports Channel New York, and Sports Channel New England.

Pay cable services, since their inception, have struggled to satisfy subscribers who too often have chosen to disconnect from pay cable after a brief sampling period. Such "churn" has resulted from subscribers who have indicated in surveys that low quality movies that are repeated too often rank pay cable as a low entertainment value.

The pay cable industry is at a disadvantage in combating this criticism because of the preference (based on financial considerations) that the movie industry has for pay cable's chief rival—home video. Production companies whose movies score particularly well at the box office generally follow the movies' theatrical run by release to the home video market. The movies are then available for rental or

purchase on videocassettes long before they appear on pay cable. Pay cable services that are best able to compete with home video in coming years may be those that have the financial resources to produce their own movies.

—Ronald Garay

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See also Cable Networks; Pay-Per-View Cable; Pay Television; United States: Cable

## PAY TELEVISION

Advertiser support has been the foundation for American broadcast television since the industry's beginnings. It is worth noting, however, that many experiments with direct viewer payment for television programs also have taken place throughout television history. The idea for pay television (also known variously as "toll" or "subscription" television) actually dates to television experiments of the 1920s and 1930s (at which point the method of financing a national television system had not yet been determined) and can be traced through various developmental stages leading up to modern satellite-carried pay cable program services.

Many pay television systems have been proposed over the years. Some have been designed to transmit programming to subscribers' homes over the air, typically on underutilized UHF frequencies. Other systems have been designed to transmit by wire, sometimes wires shared by community antenna or cable TV systems. Various methods have been tested for ordering pay TV programming and descrambling the electronic signals.

Until the proliferation of modern satellite-delivered pay-cable program services, only a small portion of the many planned pay TV systems ever reached the experimentation stage. Fewer still were used commercially. Economics certainly have had an impact on the fortunes of pay TV, as has the Federal Communications Commission's (FCC) recurring hesitation to approve the systems. Even when the

commission actually granted permission for testing, final approval for commercial use tended to take many years. Furthermore, no fewer than six major FCC rulings on pay TV have been handed down over the years, only to be amended in subsequent decisions. Regulators have been aware of ongoing opposition to the various forms of pay TV on the part of commercial broadcasters and networks, movie theater owners, citizens groups, and other constituencies.

In 1949, Zenith Radio Corporation petitioned the FCC for permission to test an over-the-air pay system called Phonevision. The test was run in 1951 with a group of 300 households in Chicago over a period of 90 days. Phonevision was a system of pay television that used telephone lines for both program ordering and decoding of its scrambled broadcast signal.

In 1953, Skiatron Electronics and Television Corporation tested a different over-the-air system, "Subscriber-Vision," that used IBM punch cards for billing and descrambling. The programming was transmitted on New York independent station WOR during off-hours.

Also in 1953, the International Telemeter Corporation, partly owned by Paramount Pictures, launched a combination community antenna and wired pay TV operation in Palm Springs, California. Broadcast signals from Los Angeles were delivered without charge, and subscribers paid for additional programming through coin boxes attached to their television sets. This system lasted through 1955.

The "Telemovies" system was launched in 1957 in Bartlesville, Oklahoma, by Video Independent Theatres (VIT). Telemovies offered a first-run movie channel and a rerun movie channel. The movies originated from a downtown studio, and, in the case of the first-run selections, were shown concurrently in VIT's local movie theaters. Telemovies charged a flat monthly rate rather than a per-program fee. After undergoing several changes, including the addition of community antenna service, the system ceased operations in summer 1958.

In the late 1950s, in the wake of the much-publicized failure of the Bartlesville system, International Telemeter announced its latest coin-box system—designed to use either wires or broadcast signals to transmit programming. The site chosen for a test of a wired version of the system was Etobicoke, Ontario, a suburb of Toronto, under the auspices of Paramount's Canadian movie theater subsidiary. Service began there on 26 February 1960, with 1,000 subscribers, and continued through 1965.

On 29 June 1962, two years after its petition for an experimental license had been filed with the FCC, a Phonevision system was launched in Hartford, Connecticut. By this point, Phonevision had become a joint venture between RKO and Zenith. Phonevision programming was broadcast on WHCT, a UHF station licensed specifically for the Phonevision trial. Although it never made a profit, the Hartford experiment ran through 31 January 1969 and the system won FCC approval for nationwide use in 1970.

Subscription Television Inc. (STV) was launched in July 1964 and continued through November of that year—a short-lived but nonetheless highly touted pay TV system. STV was the heir (through a complicated series of stock transactions) to Skiatron's over-the-air system. The two major figures behind STV were Skiatron's Matthew Fox and former adman and NBC executive Sylvester L. (Pat) Weaver. STV had built wire networks in San Francisco and Los Angeles, and the company planned eventually to wire major cities as well as to incorporate existing CATV systems. While STV's three channels offered a mixture of sports, movies, children's programs and theatrical performances—typical of

most pay TV systems—it was baseball that provided the foundation for its programming.

Both wired and over-the-air pay television systems were launched in the 1970s. In 1977, over-the-air systems were started in Newark, New Jersey, by Wometco-Blonder-Tongue (over station WWHT) and in Corona (Los Angeles), California, by Chartwell Communications (over station KBSC). By 1980, eight others were in operation, with an additional 16 stations authorized and ready to launch. These over-the-air systems were developing concurrently with satellite-delivered cable program services, however, and were not able to compete with the wired medium once it became available in major urban areas.

By the early 1970s, cable had become the preferred vehicle for pay television, with most startup pay ventures seeking to run their services on local cable systems. Since the early 1950s, cable operators had been experimenting with channels of locally originated programming for their systems. While not directly a form of pay TV, these experiments suggested the possibility that cable could offer more than simply retransmitted broadcast signals—a potential not lost on pay TV entrepreneurs.

The most notable early pay-cable operation was Home Box Office, which launched in 1972 by providing cable systems with pay programming via microwave relays in the Northeast. When HBO took its program service to satellite in 1975, it gained the potential to reach virtually any cable system in the United States. Other pay-cable program services were to follow, including Showtime, the Movie Channel, and others.

—Megan Mullen

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See also Cable Networks; Pay-Per-View Cable; United States: Cable

## PAY-PER-VIEW

Pay-per-view (PPV) is a pay cable offshoot that allows cable television subscribers to access movies and special one-time only events and to pay a pre-announced fee only for the single movie or event viewed. Most cable system operators offer two or more PPV channels to their customers. The signal on each PPV channel is scrambled until the cable subscriber chooses to view programming on one of the channels. At such time, the subscriber contacts the cable system headend either by phone or by interactive hand-held remote control to order the PPV programming. Following the initial order, a computer at the headend activates a device

near the subscriber's television set called an "addressable converter" that descrambles the ordered PPV program signal for the program's duration. All PPV "buys" are totaled by computer and added to the cable subscriber's monthly bill.

The history of PPV and pay cable shared a parallel course until 1974 when Coaxial Communication inaugurated the first true PPV service in Columbus, Ohio. The service, called Telecinema, provided movies priced at \$2.50 per title. Telecinema shortly succumbed to pay cable's better revenue stream. Warner Cable introduced Columbus to another short-lived PPV service via its interactive QUBE system in 1978.

Not until late 1985 did two satellite distributed national PPV services appear. Viewer's Choice was launched on 26 November 1985, and Request Television was launched a day later. By 1995, nine PPV networks were in operation in the United States. Several of them had expanded their service to multiple channels (called "multiplexing"). Viewer's Choice and Request Television remained the two leading PPV networks in terms of cable system carriage and subscriber count. More than 800 systems carried Request Television to over 11 million addressable subscribers, and nearly 600 systems carried Viewer's Choice to 12 million addressable subscribers. 1994 figures showed 22 million addressable PPV cable households (37% of all cable households) in the United States.

PPV programming falls into two broad categories: movies and events. Movies occupy most PPV network schedules, although most of the better movies that performed well at the box office are released first to home video following their initial theatrical run. Only after videocassette versions of the movies have been available for rental or purchase for a period (called a "window") ranging from 30 to 90 days are they then available for PPV.

The PPV event category may be subdivided primarily into sports and concerts. Sports, especially professional boxing and wrestling, occupies a commanding share of the category. Professional baseball, football, basketball and hockey and several college football teams all make some of their games available to PPV subscribers.

Pricing PPV events is a matter of what the market will bear. Prices for professional boxing matches in 1994–1995 ranged from \$24.95 to \$35.95. Rock concerts during the same period ranged in price from \$14.95 to \$24.95. Predicting what PPV subscribers will pay for an event and what the buy rate (the percentage of PPV subscribers who choose to buy a movie or event) might be are risky. For instance, NBC bet that five million subscribers would pay between \$95–\$170 apiece for access to daily live events of the 1992 Summer Olympics from Barcelona. The so-called "Triplecast"—for the three PPV channels that carried the events—proved a failure, however, and NBC eventually tallied its Triplecast loss at nearly \$100 million.

Apart from such failures as the Triplecast, PPV revenues have risen annually and stood at \$413 million in 1994. Boxing and wrestling PPV events accounted for nearly half of that total, and movies, and special events such as rock concerts accounted for the other half. The PPV growth area, however, was adult programming with one adult PPV network, Playboy Television, averaging 900 thousand orders per month in 1995. In some cable markets, buy rates for adult PPV networks ranged between 20–25% of all PPV network services, and nearly 50% of PPV revenue for some cable system operators reportedly came from adult PPV.

The success of PPV cable has been and continues to be a function of promotion. One cable executive labeled PPV a "marketing-intensive business" that relies on an "impulse buy" strategy to attract subscribers. The PPV industry's future appears firmly in place, though, with predictions that nearly one-quarter of the 500 channel cable system of tomorrow will



Pay-per-view event, Wrestlemania VI  
Photo courtesy of World Wrestling Federation

be occupied by PPV program networks. A test to determine how cable subscribers would react to such an assortment of PPV channels was conducted in Queens, New York in the early 1990s. Time Warner Cable's "Quantum" experiment provided subscribers with 150 channels of programming, 63 of which were PPV. A survey of "Quantum" subscribers indicated a 90% satisfaction rate with PPV and buy rates that, although somewhat low, still ranked above the national average.

The next step in the PPV evolution will be a technological leap called video-on-demand (VOD). VOD will be an interactive system that will allow addressable subscribers to order PPV movies at start times determined by the subscribers themselves. An array of movie titles will be digitally stored in a file server located at the cable system headend and distributed to subscribers as ordered. The movies will be converted from digital back to analog at the subscriber's household for viewing on analog-based television receivers. VOD testing in several U.S. cities began in 1994.

—Ronald Garay

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## PECK, BOB

British Actor

The British actor Bob Peck shot to television stardom in 1986 in the acclaimed BBC drama serial, *Edge of Darkness*. His performance as the dour Yorkshire policeman Ronald Craven, inexorably drawn by his daughter's sudden and violent death into a passionate quest for the truth behind a series of incidents in a nuclear processing facility, won him best actor awards from the Broadcasting Press Guild and the British Academy of Film and Television, as well as establishing an image of brooding diffidence which was to set the seal on a number of subsequent roles. His aquiline, yet disconcertingly ordinary, countenance was to become familiar to television audiences even if the name did not always spring to mind. He has also been much in demand for voice-overs in commercials and documentaries, to which his distinctive bass tones have lent a potent mixture of assurance and mystery, as well as an association with the integrity of purpose that characterised his performance as Craven. Success in *Edge of Darkness* also brought him film roles, notably in the British productions *The Kitchen Toto* and *On the Black Hill* in 1987, then, most famously, as the doomed game warden Muldoon in *Jurassic Park* (1993).

Peck received no formal training but studied art and design at Leeds College of Art, where, in an amateur dramatic company, he was spotted by the writer-director Alan Ayckbourn, who recruited him to his new theatre company in Scarborough. After stints in the West End and regional repertory, he joined the Royal Shakespeare Company, where he stayed for nine years, playing a wide range of parts in classical and contemporary work. One of his final appearances for the company was in the double role of John Browdie and Sir Mulberry Hawke in the epic dramatisation of *Nicholas Nickleby*, subsequently televised on Channel 4. Along with Anthony Sher, Bernard Hill and Richard Griffiths, Peck was one of a number of established stage actors in the early 1980s to be brought into television for roles in major new drama serials by BBC producer Michael Wearing.

Peck's performance in *Edge of Darkness* embodies the paradox that is at the heart of the drama. Just as the labyrinthine plot remorselessly exposes the apocalyptic vision behind a veneer of English restraint, so Craven is depicted as a detached loner, whose mundane ordinariness hides long repressed emotions and whose enigmatic composure explodes into bursts of grief, passion and—in the closing moments—primal anguish. In this sense, it is also a performance which, like other work of this period (such as Bernard Hill's Yossel Hughes in *Boys from the Blackstuff*), brings to the surface the expressionistic subcurrents of a new wave of British television drama realism. Peck was cast partly because an unknown actor was wanted for the role and because it was written for a Yorkshireman, yet there are mystic and mythic elements in the quest con-

ducted by this seemingly ordinary character that ultimately assume epic proportions. The plot calls for long sequences of physical activity and energy, but Peck's real achievement is a granite-like impassivity which just manages to hold back the pain and possible madness behind the character's stoic endurance. This tension is cleverly offset by the puckish outlandishness of Joe Don Baker's performance as the CIA agent Jedburgh.

Some of Peck's later television casting seemed to cash in on the *Edge of Darkness* connection. The figure of Craven was partly reprised in the serial *Natural Lies* (BBC, 1992), where he is an advertising executive, Andrew Fell, accidentally stumbling across a conspiracy to cover up a BSE-like scare in the British food industry; and in *Centrepiece* (Channel 4, 1992), another dystopian drama, he plays Armstrong, a surveillance expert, this time with far right state security connections. In a serialisation of the Catherine Cookson's *The Black Velvet Gown* (Tyne Tees, 1993), he brought his



Bob Peck

Photo courtesy of the British Film Institute



brooding presence to the role of the reclusive former teacher, Percival Miller.

Peck's range, however, is wider than the image of the tormented hard man might suggest. Perhaps his most highly acclaimed performance after *Edge of Darkness* was as the mild mannered, accident-prone academic, James Westgate, who falls victim to his childhood sweetheart's psychopathic desires, in Simon Gray's Prix Italia winning television play, *After Pilkington* (BBC, 1987). Like many actors of his generation, he has also been able to bring his stage experience to bear on a variety of classical roles, from Gradgrind in the BBC serialisation of *Hard Times* (1994) and Shylock in a Channel 4 production of *The Merchant of Venice* (1996), to Nicias in *The War That Never Ends* (BBC, 1991)—a drama-documentary account of the Peloponnesian Wars written by ex-RSC director John Barton—and Dante in Peter Greenaway and Tom Phillips' *A TV Dante: The Inferno Cantos I-VIII* (Channel 4, 1989).

—Jeremy Ridgman

BOB (ROBERT) PECK. Born in Leeds, England, 23 August 1945. Educated at Leeds College of Art, diploma in Art and Design, 1967. Married: Gillian Mary Baker, 1982, children: Hannah Louise and George Edward. Member of repertory theaters in Birmingham, Scarborough, and Exeter, 1969–74; Royal Shakespeare Company, 1975–84; appeared in numerous television programs and films, since 1974. Recipient: Broadcasting Press Guild Award; BAFTA Award.

#### TELEVISION (selection)

1974 *Sunset Across the Bay*

## PEE-WEE'S PLAYHOUSE

### U.S. Children's Program

This half-hour CBS-TV Saturday morning live-action "children's show" aired from 1986 until 1991 and was enormously popular with both children and adults. The program won six Emmy Awards and a host of other accolades during its first season. Incorporating clips from vintage cartoons and old educational films, newly produced 3-D animation, hand puppets, marionettes, and a cast of endearingly eccentric characters led by a gray-suited and red-bow-tied Pee-wee Herman (Paul Reubens), *Pee-wee's Playhouse* might best be described as a flamboyant take-off on the genre of children's educational TV—a sort of *Mr. Roger's Neighborhood* meets MTV. The childlike Pee-wee each week welcomed viewers into his technicolor fantasy-land, and led them through a regimen of crafts and games, cartoon clips, "secret words," and "educational" adventures via his Magic Screen. Yet, in stark contrast to the high moral seriousness of its predecessors, *Pee-wee's Playhouse* was marked from its outset by a campy sensibility and frequent use of double entendre, allowing different types of viewers to enjoy the show in many different ways. As *The Hollywood Reporter* put

1983	<i>Nicholas Nickleby</i>
1985	<i>Edge of Darkness</i>
1986	<i>After Pilkington</i>
1989	<i>One Way Out</i>
1990	<i>Screen Two: "Children Crossing"</i>
1991	<i>The War That Never Ends</i>
1992	<i>Centrepont</i>
1992	<i>Children of the Dragon</i>
1992	<i>Natural Lies</i>
1993	<i>The Black Velvet Gown</i>
1996	<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>

#### FILMS

*Parker*, 1985; *On the Black Hill*, 1987; *The Kitchen Toto*, 1987; *Slipstream*, 1989; *Ladder of Swords*, 1989; *Lord of the Flies*, 1990; *Hard Times*, 1991; *Jurassic Park*, 1993.

#### STAGE

*Life Class*, 1974; *Henry IV, Parts One and Two*, 1975–76; *King Lear*, 1976; *A Winter's Tale*, 1976; *Man is Man*, 1976; *Destiny*, 1976–77; *Schweyk in the Second World War*, 1976–77; *Much Ado About Nothing*, 1977; *Macbeth*, 1976–78, 1983; *Bandits*, 1977; *The Bundle*, 1977; *The Days of the Commune*, 1977; *The Way of the World*, 1978; *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 1978; *Cymbeline*, 1979; *Othello*, 1979; *The Three Sisters*, 1979; *The Accrington Pals*, 1981; *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby*, 1981; *Anthony and Cleopatra*, 1983; *The Tempest*, 1983; *Maydays*, 1983; *A Chorus of Disapproval*, 1985; *The Road to Mecca*, 1985; *In Lambeth*, 1989; *The Price*, 1990.

it, *Pee-wee's Playhouse* was "TV gone Dada....skillfully balanc[ing] the distinction between low-camp and high performance art."

Pee-wee Herman was the brainchild of Reubens, an actor who developed the rather nasal-voiced and somewhat bratty character through routines and skits in comedy clubs. Reubens as Pee-wee (the ruse was to present Pee-wee as a "real" person and not just a character) appeared on comedy and talk shows and in a successful Los Angeles theatre production, *The Pee-wee Herman Show*, which quickly developed a cult following after it was taped and aired on Home Box Office. In 1985 the character starred in Tim Burton's debut feature film *Pee-wee's Big Adventure*, and the next year *Pee-wee's Playhouse* premiered on CBS. Based on *The Pee-wee Herman Show*, the Saturday morning series was considerably less "adult" than the theatre piece had been, although it incorporated many of the same supporting characters, including lusty seaman Captain Carl (Phil Hartman in his pre-*Saturday Night Live* days) and the magical genie Jambie (co-writer John Para-

gon), the latter a disembodied head in a box who granted Pee-wee's wishes. Other (human) characters appearing on the TV show included Reba the mail lady (S. Epatha Merkerson), the pretty girl-next-door Miss Yvonne (Lynne Stewart), the King of Cartoons (William Marshall and Gilbert Lewis), Cowboy Curtis (Larry Fishburne), Tito the lifeguard (Roland Rodriguez), Ricardo the soccer player (Vic Trevino), and the obese Mrs. Steve (Shirley Stoler). Puppetry was employed to create the characters of bad-boy Randy, the Countess, Pteri the Pterodactyl, Conky the Robot, Globey the Globe, Chairy the Chair, and many others. Newly produced animated sequences focused on a young girl named Penny, a family of miniature dinosaurs who lived in the walls of the Playhouse, and a refrigerator full of anthropomorphized food. Music for the shows was provided by cutting edge artists such as Mark Mothersbaugh, Todd Rundgren, Danny Elfman and Van Dyke Parks. Dolls and toys of both Pee-wee and other Playhouse denizens were successfully marketed, and something of a Pee-wee craze spread through popular culture. Episodes of the series were aired in prime time in November of 1987, and another feature film, *Big Top Pee-wee*, was released in 1988. That same year *Pee-wee's Playhouse Christmas Special* aired in prime time, featuring most of the regular characters plus a plethora of special guest stars including k.d. lang, Zsa Zsa Gabor, Little Richard, the Del Rubio Triplets, Cher, Grace Jones, Dinah Shore, Joan Rivers, Annette Funicello, and Frankie Avalon.

From its debut, *Pee-wee's Playhouse* attracted the attention of media theorists and critics, many of whom championed the show as a postmodernist collage of queer characters and situations that seemed to fly in the face of dominant racist, sexist, and heterosexist presumptions. (Some accounts of the show were less celebratory and criticized the show's regular use of comic fat women as sexist.) The show *was* forthrightly multi-cultural in cast and situation: the mailman was an African-American mail lady, Latino soccer player Ricardo often spoke Spanish without translation, the white Miss Yvonne went on a date with African-American Cowboy Curtis, tough-as-nails cab driver Dixie (Johann Carlo) was a possible lesbian, and Jambi was played as a dishy gay man. Pee-wee himself often poked fun at heterosexist conventions: he once "married" a bowl of fruit salad. The smirking irony, the campy double entendre ("Is that a wrench in your pocket?") and use of icons from gay and lesbian culture (perhaps most infamously on the Christmas special, which, aside from its guest stars, featured two muscular and shirtless workmen building a "blue boy" wing to the playhouse out of fruit-cakes) furthered this interpretation. This apparent outbreak of playful queerness during the politically reactionary Reagan-Bush/Moral Majority years was a key factor of many adults' enjoyment of the show. Yet that same queerness lurked in the realm of connotation, where it was just as easily ignored or dismissed by other, more mainstream critics. Some parents objected to the show's



*Pee-wee Herman*

polymorphous and anarchic approach to childhood (encouraging children to "scream real loud" or jump around the house).

When Paul Reubens was arrested inside an adult movie theatre in August 1991, the Pee-wee craze came to an abrupt end. The show was canceled and in many toy stores Pee-wee merchandise was removed from the shelves. A few years later, Reubens as Pee-wee made an appearance at an MTV event, but it seemed as if his days as a television host of a "children's show" were over, despite the fact that his pre-(hetero)sexualized antics and progressive social attitude had captured America's imagination so strongly—for a few years at least.

—Harry M. Benshoff

#### CAST

<i>Pee-wee Herman</i> . . . . .	Paul Reubens
<i>Miss Yvonne</i> . . . . .	Lynne Stewart
<i>Dixie</i> . . . . .	Johann Carlo
<i>King Cartoon</i> . . . . .	Gilbert Lewis/William Marshall
<i>Conky the Robot</i> . . . . .	Gregory Harrison
<i>Reba</i> . . . . .	S. Epatha Merkerson
<i>Jambi</i> . . . . .	John Paragon
<i>Elvis</i> . . . . .	Shawn Weiss
<i>Cher</i> . . . . .	Diane Yang
<i>Opal</i> . . . . .	Natasha Lyonne

*Captain Carl* . . . . . Phil Hartmann  
*Cowboy Curtis* . . . . . Larry Fishburne  
*Tito* . . . . . Roland Rodriguez  
*Ricardo* . . . . . Vic Trevino  
*Mrs. Steve* . . . . . Shirley Stoler

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• CBS  
 September 1986–August 1991      Saturday Mornings

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See also Children and Television

## PENNIES FROM HEAVEN

### British Drama Series

*Pennies from Heaven*, a six-part drama series written by Dennis Potter received great popular and critical acclaim, including the BAFTA Award for Outstanding Drama, when it was first transmitted on BBC TV in 1978. This was the first six-part drama by Potter after some 16 single television plays, anticipating in its format and mixture of popular music and dance sequence such later works as *The Singing Detective* (1986) and *Lipstick on your Collar* (1993). Potter's ironic handling of music and dance in the television serial was a landmark in British television and his own career. He uses these forms of expression to both disrupt the naturalism of the narrative and to show unconscious desires of individuals and of society (the MGM feature film version failed to capture the seamless flow from conscious to unconscious desires, treated the story as a conventional musical, and was a flop).

The play tells the story of Arthur Parker, a venal sheet-music salesman in 1930s Britain who is frustrated by his frigid wife Joan, and the deafness of the shopkeepers to the beauty of the songs he sells. Although Arthur is "an adulterer, and a liar and was weak and cowardly and dishonest ... he really wanted the world to be like the songs" (*Potter on Potter* p. 88). He connects the beauty of the songs with his sexual longings when he falls in love with a young Forest of Dean school-teacher Eileen. When she becomes pregnant she has to abandon her schoolteaching career and flee to London, where she takes up prostitution to earn a living. After making contact with Arthur once more, she abandons her pimp, Arthur abandons Joan and they set off for the country for a brief experience of happiness. The rural idyll is breached by two murders: Arthur is wrongly pursued for the rape and murder of a blind girl; while seeking a hideaway from pursuers, Eileen murders a threatening farmer. The two return to London where Arthur is apprehended, charged and hanged for the blind girl's murder. Eileen, significantly, is not pursued.

The disturbing realities which punctuate the narrative: rape, murder, prostitution, the grinding poverty of the Depression era are counterbalanced by the naive optimism of Arthur expressed through the sentimental love songs of



*Pennies from Heaven*  
 Photo courtesy of BBC

the period. Day-dreams and reality are constantly juxtaposed but Potter does not provide easy evaluations. It is possible to laugh at the simplicity of Arthur's belief in the "truth" of the popular love songs he sells, but scorn the shallow cynicism of his salesman companions. Arthur's naiveté has to be balanced against his duplicity: although he loves Eileen and promises to help her, he scribbles down a wrong address and creates enormous complications for them. Yet, however sentimental the songs are, they point to a world of desire that, in some form, human beings need and which is otherwise unrecognized in popular discourse. Although Potter used popular music and Busby Berkeley type choreography, *Pennies* is not a conventional musical: the music is not contemporary and thus arrives with a freight of period nostalgia. Moreover, the music is dubbed and the actors lip-synch (on occasion across gender lines) so that the effect is comic or ironic as well as enticingly nostalgic.

If the songs and dance-routines are used to express unconscious desires or those beyond the characters' ability to articulate, another device which provides access to the unconscious and interferes with any naturalistic reading is the use of doubles. Although physically and in class terms distinctly different, Arthur and the accordion man, and Joan and Eileen, are potential versions of the same identity. While the accordion man is presumed to have raped and killed a blind girl (significantly, not shown), Arthur's barely suppressed wish to rape her shows his equivalence. Similarly, Joan and Eileen, though opposites in terms of sexual repression, share a similar shrewd awareness of social reality. The main difference is that Eileen is led to defy social conventions while Joan is content to work within them recognizing their power. Arthur's limited understanding is compensated for by his naive passion for music and love which offers a truth about how the world might be.

*Pennies from Heaven* can be seen as a development from the 1972 play *Follow the Yellow Brick Road*, in which the hero Jack Black, a television actor, shuns the awfulness of the real

world in favour of the ideal world of television ads in which families are happy, the sun shines and everybody is optimistic. The earlier play expresses a more bleak Manichean universe of good and evil, while the later work acknowledges the internal nature of good and evil and suggests the possibility of redemption, if not accommodation, between our lower and higher impulses. At a further remove, *Pennies from Heaven* can be seen to pick up the themes of the life affirming power of transgressive behaviour and the comic/musical presentation of them to be found in Gay's *Beggar's Opera* (1728).

—Brendan Kenny

#### CAST

*Arthur Parker* . . . . . Bob Hoskins  
*Eileen* . . . . . Cheryl Campbell

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY    Six episodes

• BBC

7 March 1978–11 April 1978

#### FURTHER READING

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See also Potter, Dennis; *Singing Detective*

## PERRY MASON

### U.S. Legal Drama/Mystery

**P***erry Mason* is the longest running lawyer show in American television history. Its original run lasted nine years and its success in both syndication and made-for-television movies confirm its impressive stamina. Mason's fans include lawyers and judges who were influenced by this series to enter their profession. The Mason character was created by mystery writer Erle Stanley Gardner and delivered his first brief in the novel *The Case of the Velvet Claws* (1933). From 1934 to 1937 Warner produced six films featuring Mason. A radio series also based on Mason ran every weekday afternoon on CBS radio from 1944 to 1955 as a detective/soap opera. When the CBS television series was developed as an evening drama, the radio series was changed from

*Perry Mason* to *The Edge of Night* and the cast renamed so as not to compete against the television series.

The title character is a lawyer working out of Los Angeles. Mason, played by Raymond Burr, is teamed with two talented and ever faithful assistants: trusty and beautiful secretary Della Street, played by Barbara Hale, and the suave but boyish private detective Paul Drake, played by William Hopper. In each episode this trio worked to clear their innocent client of the charge of murder against the formidable district attorney Hamilton Burger, played by William Talman. Most episodes follow this simple formula: the guest characters are introduced and their situation shows that at least one of them is capable of murder. When the murder

happens, an innocent person (most often a woman) is accused, and Mason takes the case. As evidence mounts against his client, Mason pulls out a legal maneuver involving some courtroom "pyrotechnics." This not only proves his client innocent, but identifies the real culprit. These scenes are easily the best and most memorable. It is not because they are realistic. On the contrary, they are hardly that. What is so engaging about them is the combination of Mason's efforts to free his client, perhaps a surprise witness brought in by Drake in the closing courtroom scene, and a dramatic courtroom confession. The murderer being in the courtroom during the trial and not hiding out in the Bahamas provides the single most important image of each episode. The murderer forgoes the fifth amendment and admits his/her guilt in an often tearful outburst of "I did it! And I'm glad I did!" This happens under the shocked, amazed eyes of district attorney Burger and the stoic, sure face of defense attorney Mason.

Although it is often identified with other lawyer dramas such as *L. A. Law* and *The Defenders*, *Perry Mason* is more of a detective series. Each episode is a carefully structured detective puzzle that both established and perpetuated a number of conventions associated with most television detective series. *Perry Mason* uses the legal profession and the trial situation as a forum for detective work. Although strictly formulaic, each episode is guided by the elements of the variations that distinguish one episode from another. For example, since nearly every episode began with the guest characters rather than with the series regulars, these guest characters set the tone for the rest of the episode. If it is going to be youth oriented, these characters are young. If it is going to be a contested will, the heirs are introduced.

The credit for the series' success is split equally between Burr, the *Perry Mason* production style and the series' creator Gardner. Burr provided the characterization of a cool, calculating attorney, while the production style builds tension in plots at once solidly formulaic and cleverly surprising, and Gardner, as an uncredited executive story editor, made sure each episode carefully blended legal drama with clever detective work. In all, the series won three Emmys, two for Burr and one for Hale.

The series made a brief return in 1973 with the same production team as the original series, but with a new cast. Monte Markham replaced Burr. That this version did not survive 15 episodes reveals that one of the key draws of the original series is the casting. It is interesting to note, however, that Markham's Mason was closer to the one featured in the original novels. Both were brash, elegant and coolly businesslike in their dealings with clients, something Burr never was. But it is Burr's coolness and control that became so identified with the character that, for the television audience, there was no other Mason than Burr.

Burr returned to his role in 1985 for the beginning of an almost ten year run of made-for-television movies beginning with *Perry Mason Returns*. This is followed by *The Case of the Notorious Nun* (1986). Burr is back as Mason, albeit a



Perry Mason

bit older, grayer and bearded, with Barbara Hale as his executive secretary. Since William Hopper died in 1970, William Katt (who is the real life son of Barbara Hale) is featured in the first nine episodes as Paul Drake, Jr. In *The Case of the Lethal Lesson* (1989), Katt is replaced by a graduating law student Ken Malansky, played by William R. Moses. Each plot is developed over two hours instead of one and the extra time is made up of extended chases and blind alleys. Yet the basic formula stays the same.

This newest version of *Perry Mason* takes an interesting twist in the spring of 1994. After Burr's death in the fall of 1993, executive producers Fred Silverman and Dean Hargrove followed the wishes of the estate of Erle Stanley Gardner and kept the character alive but off-screen. First to replace him as visiting attorney was Paul Sorvino as Anthony Caruso in *The Case of the Wicked Wives* (1993) and then Hal Holbrook as "Wild Bill" McKenzie in *The Case of the Lethal Lifestyle* (1994). In each movie, Mason is conveniently absent. Street and Malansky are still available as assistants for the "visiting" attorney and the series is still called *A Perry Mason Mystery*, so that, production after production, the character lives on.

—J. Dennis Bounds

#### CAST (1957–66)

*Perry Mason* . . . . . Raymond Burr

*Della Street* . . . . . Barbara Hale  
*Paul Drake* . . . . . William Hopper  
*Hamilton Burger* . . . . . William Talman  
*Lt. Arthur Tragg* (1957–65) . . . . . Ray Collins  
*David Gideon* (1961–62) . . . . . Karl Held  
*Lt. Anderson* (1961–65) . . . . . Wesley Lau  
*Lt. Steve Drumm* (1965–66) . . . . . Richard Anderson  
*Sgt. Brice* (1959–66) . . . . . Lee Miller  
*Terrence Clay* (1965–66) . . . . . Dan Tobin

**CAST (1973–74)**

*Perry Mason* . . . . . Monte Markham  
*Della Street* . . . . . Sharon Acker  
*Paul Drake* . . . . . Albert Stratton  
*Lt. Arthur Tragg* . . . . . Dane Clark  
*Hamilton Burger* . . . . . Harry Guardino  
*Gertrude Lade* . . . . . Brett Somers

**PRODUCERS** Gail Patrick Jackson, Arthur Marks, Art Seid, Sam White, Ben Brady

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 245 Episodes

## • CBS

September 1957–September 1962	Saturday 7:30-8:30
September 1962–September 1963	Thursday 8:00-9:00
September 1963–September 1964	Thursday 9:00-10:00
September 1964–September 1965	Thursday 8:00-9:00
September 1965–September 1966	Sunday 9:00-10:00
September 1973–January 1974	Sunday 7:30-8:30

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 Kelleher, Brian, and Diana Merrill. *The Perry Mason Show Book*. New York: St. Martin's, 1987.  
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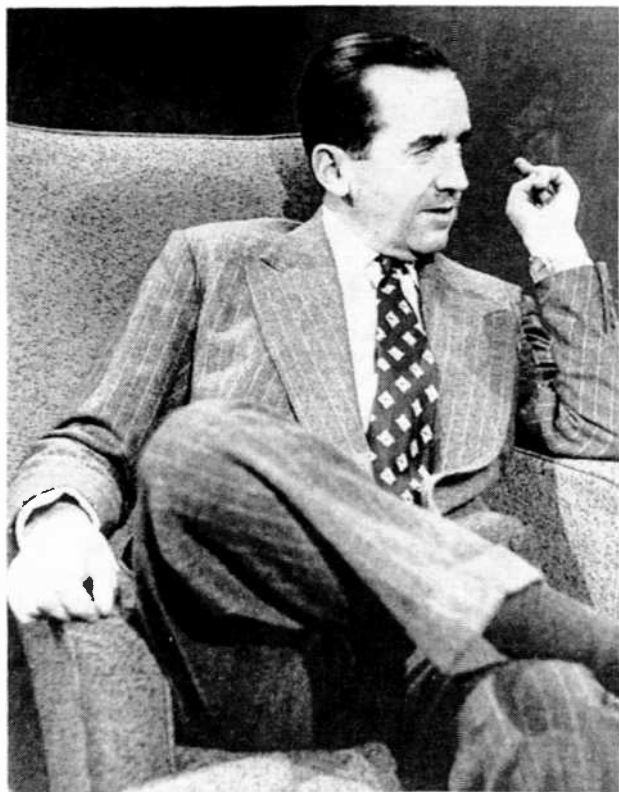
See also Burr, Raymond; Detective Programs

## PERSON TO PERSON

### U.S. Talk/Interview Program

*Person to Person* developed out of Edward R. Murrow's belief that human beings are innately curious. That curiosity was intense regarding the private lives of public people, or visiting the extraordinary in the most ordinary environment—the home. For his television program, then, Murrow, sitting comfortably in the studio, informally greeted two guests a week, in fifteen-minute interviews in their homes, talking about the everyday activities of their lives. The interviews avoided politics, detailed discussion of current events, and a line of questioning that delved deeper into one or two issues. The more general the question, and more frequent the change of topic, the more satisfying the process of revealing different facts of the private figure. On *Person to Person*, people conversed with Murrow, and, starting in the fall of 1959, with Charles Collingwood, as host. Almost every year for nine years, informal chats positioned the show in the top ten network programs. But the series increasingly became the battleground, inside and outside CBS, over the function of television news, the ethics of peering into private lives for profit, Murrow's journalistic integrity, and the organizational control of the network's image.

From 1953 through 1956 CBS News aired *Person to Person*, but it was independently owned and produced by John Aaron, Jesse Zousmer, and Murrow. Tensions inside CBS began when Fred Friendly, Murrow's producer of *See it Now*, accused Murrow of capitalizing on the remote, in-home, investigative news interviews done with political



Edward R. Murrow on *Person to Person*  
 Photo courtesy of Washington State University Libraries

leaders, and pioneered by Friendly, on *See it Now*. Although the remote, in-home interview was not new, *Person to Person*'s approach differed substantially from other CBS projects. Murrow anticipated criticism of the series' lack of news-directed discussion. But that was not, in fact, its intended purpose.

Murrow wanted the series to "revive the art of conversation." But the image was as significant as the conversation. Employing from two to six cameras, a program opened up different parts of an individual's home. This was an historical step to building the cult of the personality in news programs. The personalities were divided into two camps, with the entertainment and sports figures in one; the second camp included all others, such as artists, writers, politicians, lawyers, scientists, and industrialists.

Given the period in which it was produced, the series' success was as much technological as human. Regardless of the series' news-value, it took time and effort to reach people who were otherwise inaccessible. Murrow's "guests" lived in different locations marked by distinctive terrain. Thus, in a time of pre-satellite technology, a prerequisite to introducing them to America via television was a line of sight transmission from the guest home to a telephone microwave transmission tower. The production crew always conquered terrain barriers. Although the crew received notoriety for shearing off part of a hill to achieve line of sight, they most frequently broke records for building tall relay towers for one-time remotes, the first adjacent to the Kutcher's Hotel in Monticello, New York enabling interviews with boxers-in-training Rocky Marciano and Ezzard Charles.

The guests were maintained in constant visual and aural contact through advance placement of large video cameras in different rooms. It was also necessary to obtain FCC approval for a special high frequency wireless microphone which could be attached to the guests. Each program periodically used a split screen image, a new experience for many television viewers.

In order for the live program to proceed smoothly in real time, some rehearsal was required. From 1953, it was common knowledge from interviews and statements by Murrow that cue questions were used before the show so that guests could be "talked through" the movements to be made from room to room. Thus, certain questions were prepared but answers were spontaneous. The visit to Marlon Brando's home, for example, began outside at night, with a stunning view of Los Angeles. From there it moved to his living room, and finally, to a downstairs area where friends waited to play some music with Brando. A home's content was part of a guest's personality, so the camera frequently stopped to reveal a picture on the wall, vases, and other objects of interest. In the early days of the series, guests pointing out possessions of special value interrupted discussion, sometimes making the series more of a gallery of art objects. And many times a show's success depended on how comfortable both the guest and the host were with the arrangement. Inevitably, the spontaneous nature of the discussion or awkwardness of a situation generated embarrassing moments,

such as Julie Harris folding diapers as she spoke, or Maria Callas throwing Murrow off guard by innocently noting she liked the quality of lingerie in America. Perhaps for these reasons, the producers valued those infrequent visits to "homes" that had more news value, such as the warden's home on Alcatraz Island, or an old light house.

The series and Murrow received frequent criticism. Respected television critics, including Harriet Van Horne, Philip Mintoff, Gilbert Seldes, and John Lardner pointed to Murrow's petty, aimless chatter, arguing that television demanded more substance and depth, especially from someone of Murrow's journalistic background. For Murrow's colleagues, the series diverted his valuable time and energy from other projects, and added an unnecessary burden. When Collingwood took over as host, these critics quietly accepted the series for what it purported to be.

But Murrow steadfastly defended the series. When an author, such as Walter White, mentioned a new book, book sales increased. Thousands of viewers requested a one sentence, fifty-seven word Chinese proverb read by Mary Martin, which she had engraved in a rug. If two or three children committed themselves to piano lessons after seeing Van Cliburn, Murrow believed the criticism to be worth taking. Moreover, the range and variety of people interviewed was unprecedented for network television at the time. One three-week period in 1957 included interviews with the political cartoonist Herbert Block, media market researcher A.C. Nielsen, and Robert F. Kennedy, chief council of the Senates Select Committee.

In 1956 CBS Television bought the series from Murrow, at that time sole owner. But because *Person to Person* with Murrow made a large profit for CBS, it continued to be the center of conflict between Murrow and management. *Person to Person* elevated its host to celebrity status with the public, and some at the network resented the fact that the series placed Murrow in a powerful position. Frank Stanton accused *Person to Person*'s production practices of deceit and dishonesty, claiming guests were coached in questions. This charge, coming after the quiz scandals and directly attacking Murrow's integrity, resulted in a public airing of personality conflicts that hurt CBS' image and further estranged Murrow from the executive branch at CBS. A public respectful of Murrow as host, however, did not rush to condemn him for taking risks on other shows, such as his methodical criticism of Senator McCarthy. And although Fidel Castro's appearance on *Person to Person* had the potential to alienate viewers who considered him a Communist dictator, and although the program attracted government criticism of CBS, Murrow survived the resulting criticism. *Person to Person*'s rating's success translated to Collingwood as host, continuing to feed the public's appetite for the celebrity interview. When Collingwood began, the series added the attraction of overseas interviews, filmed or taped.

*Person to Person* first generated many of the arguments still lodged by critics of today's talk shows, arguments questioning the primacy of the individual in news and the role of a voyeuristic camera as a compelling approach to news. But before the series



began, Murrow insisted on a thorough respect for the home of guests "invaded" by the camera. Unlike the series to follow, Murrow and the camera did not confront guests with questions constituting an inquiry. Both Murrow and Collingwood permitted their guests to direct the conversations, which accounted for a meandering pace. Their respect for the public figure in a private setting and avoidance of emotional confrontations created a unique ambiance in this programming genre, and *Person to Person* stands as a vital example of television's potential for personal, individualized communication.

—Richard Bartone

#### HOSTS

Edward R. Murrow  
Charles Collingwood

**PRODUCERS** John Aaron, Jesse Zousmer, Charles Hill, Robert Sammon, Edward R. Murrow

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

##### • CBS

October 1953–June 1959	Friday 10:30–11:00
October 1959–September 1960	Friday 10:30–11:00
September 1960–December 1960	Thursday 10:00–10:30
June 1961–September 1961	Friday 10:30–11:00

#### FURTHER READING

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"Murrow's Indictment of Broadcasting." *Columbia Journalism Review* (New York), Summer 1965.

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See also Friendly, Fred W.; Murrow, Edward R.; Talk Shows

## PERTWEE, JON

British Actor

Jon Pertwee is a British comedy character actor credited with an extensive list of stage, screen, radio, and cabaret appearances. Pertwee is best known for his turn from 1970 to 1974 as the Doctor in the long-running British Broadcasting Corporation program, *Doctor Who*. A master of accents, voices, sounds, and comical walks, Pertwee perfected his multiple comedic personae on the radio series *The Navy Lark* and in supporting roles in various films beginning with his appearance in 1937's *Dinner at the Ritz*.

Recruited by producer Peter Bryant in 1969 to take over as the Doctor from Patrick Troughton, Pertwee brought to the program a radically different interpretation of the title character. Aired initially in 1963, *Doctor Who* was produced by the drama department at the BBC and was not intended primarily for children. The first Doctor, as portrayed by William Hartnell, was a renegade Time Lord from the planet of Gallifrey who exhibited a strong moral sense, an aggressive and curmudgeonly attitude, and impatience with his various earthly companions' comparative mental slowness. Hartnell was replaced in 1966 by Patrick Troughton who played the

part as a "cosmic hobo" in the tradition of Chaplin's Little Tramp.

As Sean Hogben asserted in "Doctor Who: Adventure with Time to Spare" in *TV Week*, however, "*Doctor Who* won its reputation as a top science fiction series during Jon Pertwee's time in the role." Reacting to the popularity of the early James Bond films, and determined to move away from the clownish depiction Troughton gave the Doctor, Pertwee played the character as an action-based interplanetary crusader exhibiting the characteristics of a folk hero. Pertwee was thus able to draw on his considerable ability to perform his own stunts, resulting from his love of skin-diving and water-skiing, along with his habit of driving fast vehicles, which gave a harder edge to his interpretation.

The Pertwee era began with the serialization of "Spearhead from Space," which also introduced the program's fans to the series' first broadcasts in color. Pertwee's adoption of his grandfather's evening suits as the foundation of the Doctor's garb allowed him to switch among different colored velvet smoking jackets to mark

each passing season of episodes. With this change in the Doctor's apparel, the producers began to publicize the series as providing "adventure in style" due to Pertwee's penchant for a similar type of life outside the studio, and partly to cash in on the liberated "Swinging Sixties" ambience still prevalent in early 1970s Great Britain. The fact the program was attracting a considerable audience among upscale 17 to 19 year olds also contributed to this change in character depiction and promotion.

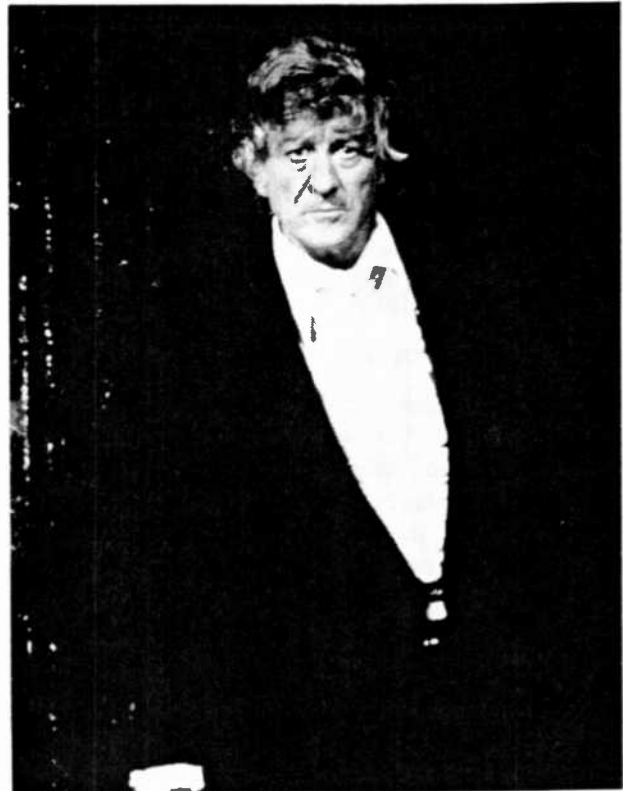
Pertwee's love of fast vehicles and gadgets prompted him to suggest the Doctor travel from trouble-spot to trouble-spot in an Edwardian four-seat roadster eventually named "Bessie." During most of Pertwee's term, the Doctor was banished to Earth by the Time Lords of Gallifrey, thus necessitating a different mode of transportation than his predecessors enjoyed with the Tardis, the Doctor's police-box-styled time machine. Thus "Bessie" and (in 1974) the "Whomobile," a flying-saucer-shaped, custom three-wheel car built for Pertwee by Peter Faries, became the Doctor's primary transportation during the four years Doctor #3 assisted UNIT (United Nations Intelligence Taskforce) and its indefatigable leader, Brigadier Lethbridge-Stewart (Nicholas Courtney) as they saved the Earth from a variety of monsters, aliens, megalomaniacs, and other menaces.

In early 1974, Pertwee announced he would step down from his stint as the Doctor following that season's shooting in order to resume his stage career in *The Breadwinner*. His final appearance came in "The Planet of the Spiders" which dovetailed with the initial episode the following season, "Robot," during which Tom Baker took over as the regenerated Time Lord. Pertwee returned in 1983 to share top billing with his fellow Doctors in "The Five Doctors," a 20th anniversary celebration and one of the stories best received by the series' fans. The plot found all five incarnations of Doctor Who taking on their most memorable enemies who attempted, but failed, to destroy the five Doctors for good.

Jon Pertwee returned briefly to British television in 1979 for the short-lived comedy series *Worzel Gummidge*. His post-Doctor years found him performing primarily on stage and in motion pictures. He continued his association with the Doctor Who character from time to time with appearances at Doctor Who conventions worldwide.

—Robert Craig

**JON DEVON ROLAND PERTWEE.** Born in London, England, 7 July 1919. Attended Royal Academy of Dramatic Art (expelled). Married: 1) Jean Marsh, 1955 (divorced, 1960); 2) Ingeborg Rhosea, 1960; children: Dariel and Sean. Toured with the Arts League of Service Travelling Theatre, prior to World War II; film debut, 1937; after service with the Royal Navy, worked in BBC radio comedy and also appeared in films; achieved fame as television performer as third actor to star in *Doctor Who*, 1970–74; also starred in *Worzel Gummidge* and made many other television appearances. Died 20 May 1996.



Jon Pertwee as Doctor Who

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1970–74, 1983 *Doctor Who*  
 1975–78 *Whodunnit?* (host)  
 1979–81 *Worzel Gummidge*  
 1987 *Worzel Gummidge Down Under*

#### FILMS (selection)

*A Yank at Oxford*, 1937; *Murder at the Windmill*, 1948; *Mr Drake's Duck*, 1951; *Will Any Gentleman?*, 1953; *A Yank in Ermine*, 1956; *It's a Wonderful World*, 1956; *Carry On Cleo*, 1964; *Carry On Cowboy*, 1965; *I've Gotta Horse*, 1965; *Carry On Screaming*, 1966; *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*, 1966; *The House That Dripped Blood*, 1970; *One of Our Dinosaurs Is Missing*, 1975; *Adventures of a Private Eye*, 1977; *Wombling Free* (voice only), 1977; *The Water Babies* (voice only), 1978; *The Boys in Blue*, 1983; *Carry On Columbus*, 1992.

#### RADIO

*Up the Pole*, *The Navy Lark*.

#### RECORDINGS

*Worzel's Song*, 1980; *Worzel Gummidge Sings*, 1980.

#### STAGE

*HMS Waterlogged*, 1944; *Waterlogged Spa*, 1946; *Knock on Wood*, 1954; *There's a Girl in My Soup*, *Oh Clarence*, *Irene*.

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 Haining, Peter. *Doctor Who, the Key to Time: A Year-by-Year Record*. London: Allen, 1984.

**PETER GUNN****U.S. Detective Program**

**P***eter Gunn*, a top-rated detective drama, ran on NBC from 1958 to 1960, and then on ABC in 1960 and 1961. The television series was distinguished for its stylish and sophisticated lead character, Peter Gunn, and is also remembered for the jazz-influenced music of Henry Mancini. Created and produced by then neophyte filmmaker Blake Edwards, *Peter Gunn* was typical of the male private-eye genre of the late 1950s and early 1960s. The lead character was handsome, dashing, and consistently well-dressed in tailored suits, which never seemed to wrinkle even after the usual scuffles with the bad guys. Edwards clearly modeled the character of Peter Gunn on Cary Grant, considered one of Hollywood's most debonair leading men. The actor chosen to play Gunn, Craig Stevens, even bore a close resemblance to Grant.

The series was set in Los Angeles, and, more often than not, inside a jazz club called Mother's. The story line essentially centered around Gunn solving his client's problems, which always involved his having to deal with an assortment of hit men, hoodlums and assorted "hip" characters found on the jazz scene. He was often aided by his personal friend and confidant, police Lieutenant Jacoby (Herschel Bernardi). Although Gunn often had to endure many thrown fists, he himself did not advocate brutality, and violence was not a feature of the series. In the end, the crime was always solved, the criminals behind bars, and Gunn was shown relaxing at Mother's, where his girlfriend, the vocalist Edie Hart (Lola Albright), was the main attraction.

The style of *Peter Gunn* has been described by some viewers as borderline parody. The dialogue is delivered in a hip, deadpan fashion, and at times the series seemed to be poking fun at more conventional private-eye series. Blake Edwards attributed the critical success of *Peter Gunn* to the series' tendency to be somewhat over the top. The success of the show spawned many similar private detective dramas in the late 1950s and early 1960s, such as *Philip Marlowe* and *Richard Diamond*.

An important ingredient in the show, one which provided its unique character, was the music of Henry Mancini. He provided a new score for each episode, and when released on the RCA label, the two albums *The Music of Peter Gunn* and *More Music From Peter Gunn* proved to best-sellers. (The "Peter Gunn Theme" continues to be played on mainstream radio and has even been used as the vehicle for

Hogben, Sean. "Doctor Who . . . Adventure with Time to Spare." *TV Week* (London), 25 September 1982.  
 Nathan-Turner, John. *Doctor Who: The Tardis Inside Out*. New York: Random House, 1985.

See also *Doctor Who*

modern rock versions.) Mancini's music was an integral part of the show's action, and here too it set the precedent for shows that were to follow.

Although the show lasted for only three seasons, by stressing style and sophistication, *Peter Gunn* caught the attention of many viewers. The combination of the main character's smooth, stoic demeanor, together with Henry Mancini's outstanding jazz themes, worked to leave a lasting impression in the minds of fans.

—Gina Abbott and Garth Jowett

**CAST**

*Peter Gunn* . . . . . Craig Stevens  
*Edie Hart* . . . . . Lola Albright  
*Lt. Jacoby* . . . . . Herschel Bernardi  
*"Mother"* (1958–59) . . . . . Hope Emerson



Peter Gunn

"Mother" (1959–61) . . . . . Minerva Urecal

**PRODUCERS** Blake Edwards, Gordon Oliver

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 114 Episodes

• NBC

September 1958–September 1960 Monday 9:00-9:30

• ABC

October 1960–September 1961 Monday 10:30-11:00

## PETER PAN

U.S. Special Presentation

**P***eter Pan* was a popular melding of American television and Broadway theater, first broadcast on NBC in March 1955 and repeated annually for many years thereafter. It formed part of an ongoing series titled *Producers' Showcase*, a loose rubric for high-quality dramatic presentations put together by producer Fred Coe for the network about once a month between 1954 and 1957.

The impetus for the telecast was the popular Broadway musical *Peter Pan*, starring Mary Martin in the title role and co-starring Cyril Ritchard as Pan's nemesis Captain Hook. Based on the 1904 J.M. Barrie play of the same name, the Broadway production was staged by Jerome Robbins. When it ended its theatrical run, Coe arranged to run a version of it, modified for the small screen, on NBC on March 5, 1955.

The production fitted neatly into two of NBC's strategies for establishing its identity as a network. First, it was what NBC vice president (and programming chief) Pat Weaver called a "spectacular"—a special, high-quality event that publicized the network and drew programming power away from individual sponsors, which generally could not afford to foot the entire bill for these expensive shows. Second, it was hailed by the network and by critics as a splendid forum for the color television system the network and its parent company, RCA, were hawking.

The teleplay loosely followed the familiar original Barrie play, moving from the nursery of the Darling family in London to the island of Neverland, a magical and mythical place to which the eternally young Peter Pan lured the Darling children. His special interest lay in Wendy, whom he and the other "lost boys" wished to adopt as their mother. Before the play's end, Peter had to defeat the dastardly Captain Hook, a humorously effeminate villain played with panache by Ritchard, and return Wendy and her brothers to their home.

The program's sets, particularly the Neverland set, were simple yet colorful, and audiences and critics enjoyed the close-up view it provided of the Broadway play. Robbins' staging blended lively and tender moments, engaging the

### FURTHER READING

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See also Detective Programs

audience from the play's beginning. The production gained prestige not just from its famous stars but from the addition of Lynn Fontaine as the program's narrator.

*Peter Pan* proved an immediate and spectacular success, garnering an overnight rating of 48 and inspiring Jack Gould of *The New York Times* to speculate that the program had provided "perhaps television's happiest hour." The production was remounted, live, in January of 1956 and was rebroadcast annually for years thereafter. It was singled out



Peter Pan

in the 1955 Emmys as the best single program of the year, and Martin was named best actress in a single performance.

The teleplay's popularity is easy to account for. It presented a charming and imaginatively staged version of a classic children's tale, drawing in both adult and youthful viewers. It also gave Americans a fantasy-filled forum in which to debate gender in the postwar years.

The teleplay's message about adult manhood and womanhood, that they were states to be avoided at all costs (Peter didn't want to grow up, and Wendy was unhappy when she did), played into a growing discomfort with preset gender roles. And both its hero and its villain were highly androgynous.

The message and the androgyny were, of course, present in the original Barrie play. They were enhanced, however, by script changes and by the intimacy of the medium on which the play was broadcast. *Peter Pan* on television resonated with the color and the confusion of its era—and encouraged audiences to fly to Neverland for years to come.

—Tinky "Dakota" Weisblat

#### CAST

<i>Peter Pan</i> . . . . .	Mary Martin
<i>Captain Hook/George Darling</i> . . . . .	Cyril Ritchard
<i>Mary Darling</i> . . . . .	Margalo Gillmore
<i>Wendy Darling</i> . . . . .	Kathleen Nolan
<i>John Darling</i> . . . . .	Robert Harrington
<i>Michael Darling</i> . . . . .	Joseph Stafford
<i>Liza</i> . . . . .	Hellen Halliday
<i>Smee</i> . . . . .	Joe E. Marks
<i>Tiger Lily</i> . . . . .	Sondra Lee

## PEYTON PLACE

### U.S. Serial Melodrama

**P***eyton Place*, a prime-time program based on the Grace Metalious novel, was an experiment for American television in both content and scheduling when it appeared on ABC, at that time still the third-ranked U.S. network. Premiering in the fall of 1964, *Peyton Place* was offered in two serialized installments per week, Tuesday and Thursday nights, a first for American prime-time television. Initially drawing more attention for its moral tone than for its unique scheduling, the new night-time serial was launched amid a sensational atmosphere borrowed from the novel's reputation. ABC president Leonard Goldenson defended the network's programming choice as a bread-and-butter decision for the struggling network, and the moral outcry settled down once the program established itself as implying far more sensation than it would deliver. This prototype of what came to be known in the 1980s as the prime-time soap opera initially met with great success: a month after *Peyton Place* premiered, ABC rose in the Nielsens to number one for the first time. At one point, the program was so successful that a spin-off serial was

<i>Slightly</i> . . . . .	David Bean
<i>Tootles</i> . . . . .	Ian Tucker
<i>Ostrich</i> . . . . .	Joan Tewkesbury
<i>Crocodile</i> . . . . .	Norman Shelly
<i>Wendy (as adult)</i> . . . . .	Ann Connolly
<i>Nibs</i> . . . . .	Paris Theodore
<i>Noodler</i> . . . . .	Frank Lindsay

**EXECUTIVE PRODUCER** Richard Halliday

**PRODUCER** Fred Coe

**DIRECTOR** Jerome Robbins

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

• NBC

Two Hours; 7 March 1955

#### FURTHER READING

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See also Coe, Fred; Special and Spectacular

considered. Both CBS and NBC announced similar prime-time serials under development.

Executive producer Paul Monash declined the "soap opera" label for *Peyton Place*, considering it instead a "television novel." (His term is, in fact, the one applied in Latin America, *telenovela*, and Francophone Canada, *telroman*.) Set in a small New England town, *Peyton Place* dealt with the secrets and scandals of two generations of the town's inhabitants. An unmarried woman, Constance MacKenzie, and her daughter Allison were placed at the dramatic center of the story. Constance (played by 1950s film melodrama star Dorothy Malone) eventually married Allison's father, Elliott Carson, when he was released from prison, though his rival Dr. Michael Rossi was never entirely out of the picture. Meanwhile, Allison (Mia Farrow) was caught up in a romantic triangle with wealthy Rodney Harrington (Ryan O'Neill) and Betty Anderson (Barbara Parkins), a girl from the wrong side of the tracks. Over the course of the series, Betty tricked Rodney, not telling him she had miscarried their child until after they were married; Rodney fled and



Peyton Place



Peyton Place

found love with Allison, but Allison disappeared; Betty was married briefly to lawyer Steven Cord, but finally remarried Rodney. Other soap-operatic plot lines involved Rodney's younger brother Norman Harrington and his marriage to Rita Jacks.

The production schedule was closest to that of daytime soap opera, with no summer hiatus, no repeats, unlike any prime-time American series before or since. Within the first year, the pace was increased to three episodes per week rather than two, going back to two episodes per week in the 1966-67 season as the craze for the show declined. Several of the show's plot twists were necessitated by cast changes. Most notably, Allison MacKenzie's disappearance occurred when Mia Farrow left the series in 1966 for her highly publicized marriage to Frank Sinatra. The program never fully recovered from Farrow's departure, though news of the distant Allison kept the character alive. Some two years later a young woman appeared with a baby she claimed was Allison's—this timed with the release of Mia Farrow's theatrical film, *Rosemary's Baby*.

In 1968, *Peyton Place* underwent a transformation. Though some storylines were developed to accommodate more cast changes (Dorothy Malone left the show), many of the changes in the final season seem to have been in response to Goldenson's call for more youthful, "relevant" programming. One of the youthful additions was the leader of a rock group. Most significantly, however, an African-

American family—Dr. Harry Miles (Percy Rodriguez), his wife Alma (Ruby Dee), and their teenage son, Lew (Glynn Turman)—assumed a central position in the heretofore all-white *Peyton Place*. Cut back to one half-hour episode per week, the show also was scheduled a half-hour earlier to appeal further to youthful audiences.

These drastic changes did nothing to revive ratings for the serial, which lasted through the spring of 1969. ABC brought it back for two years in the 1970s as a daytime serial, and in 1985, nine of the original cast members appeared in a made-for-TV movie, *Peyton Place: The Next Generation*.

—Sue Brower

#### CAST

<i>Constance Mackenzie/Carson</i> (1964-68)	Dorothy Malone
<i>Allison Mackenzie</i> (1964-66)	Mia Farrow
<i>Dr. Michael Rossi</i>	Ed Nelson
<i>Matthew Swain</i> (1964-66)	Warner Anderson
<i>Leslie Harrington</i> (1964-68)	Paul Langton
<i>Rodney Harrington</i>	Ryan O'Neal
<i>Norman Harrington</i>	Christopher Connelly
<i>Betty Anderson/Harrington/Cord/Harrington</i>	
	Barbara Parkins
<i>Julie Anderson</i>	Kasey Rogers
<i>George Anderson</i> (1964-65)	Henry Beckman
<i>Dr. Robert Morton</i> (1964-65)	Kent Smith
<i>Steven Cord</i>	James Douglas

*Hannah Cord* (1965–67) . . . . . Ruth Warrick  
*Paul Hanley* (1965) . . . . . Richard Evans  
*Elliott Carson* (1965–68) . . . . . Tim O'Connor  
*Eli Carson* . . . . . Frank Ferguson  
*Nurse Choate* (1965–68) . . . . . Erin O'Brien-Moore  
*Dr. Claire Morton* (1965) . . . . . Mariette Hartley  
*Dr. Vincent Markham* (1965) . . . . . Leslie Nielsen  
*Rita Jacks/Harrington* (1965–69) . . . . . Patricia Morrow  
*Ada Jacks* (1965–69) . . . . . Evelyn Scott  
*David Schuster* (1965–66) . . . . . William Smithers  
*Doris Schuster* (1965) . . . . . Gail Kobe  
*Kim Schuster* (1965) . . . . . Kimberly Beck  
*Theodore Dowell* (1965) . . . . . Patrick Whyte  
*Stella Chernak* (1965–68) . . . . . Lee Grant  
*Joe Chernak* (1965) . . . . . Dan Quine  
*Gus Chernak* (1965–66) . . . . . Bruce Gordon  
*Dr. Russ Gehring* (1965–66) . . . . . David Canary  
*John Fowler* (1965–66) . . . . . John Kerr  
*Marian Fowler* (1965–66) . . . . . Joan Blackman  
*Martin Peyton* (1965–68) . . . . . George Macready  
*Martin Peyton* (temporary replacement, 1967) . . . . .  
 . . . . . Wilfred Hyde-White  
*Sandy Webber* (1966–67) . . . . . Lana Wood  
*Chris Webber* (1966–67) . . . . . Gary Haynes  
*Lee Webber* (1966–68) . . . . . Stephen Oliver  
*Ann Howard* (1966) . . . . . Susan Oliver  
*Rachael Welles* (1966–67) . . . . . Leigh Taylor-Young  
*Jack Chandler* (1966–67) . . . . . John Kellogg  
*Adrienne Van Leyden* (1967) . . . . . Gena Rowlands  
*Eddie Jacks* (1967–68) . . . . . Dan Duryea  
*Carolyn Russell* (1968–69) . . . . . Elizabeth "Tippy" Walker  
*Fred Russell* (1968–69) . . . . . Joe Maross  
*Marsha Russell* (1968–69) . . . . . Barbara Rush  
*Rev. Tom Winter* (1968–69) . . . . . Bob Hogan

*Susan Winter* (1968–69) . . . . . Diana Hyland  
*Dr. Harry Miles* (1968–69) . . . . . Percy Rodriguez  
*Alma Miles* (1968–69) . . . . . Ruby Dee  
*Lew Miles* (1968–69) . . . . . Glynn Turman  
*Jill Smith/Rossi* (1968) . . . . . Joyce Jillison  
*Joe Rossi* (1968) . . . . . Michael Christian

**PRODUCERS** Paul Monash, Everett Chambers, Richard Goldstone, Felix Feist, Richard DeRoy

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY 514 Episodes

##### • ABC

September 1964–  
 June 1965                      Tuesday/Thursday 9:30-10:00  
 June 1965–  
 October 1965                Tuesday/Thursday/Friday 9:30-10:00  
 November 1965–  
 August 1966                Monday/Tuesday/Thursday 9:30-10:00  
 September 1966–  
 January 1967                Monday/Wednesday 9:30-10:00  
 January 1967–  
 August 1967                      Monday/Tuesday 9:30-10:00  
 September 1967–  
 September 1968                Monday/Thursday 9:30-10:00  
 September 1968–  
 January 1969 Monday 9:00-9:30/Wednesday 8:30-9:00  
 February 1969–June 1969                Monday 9:00-9:30

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See also Melodrama; Soap Opera

## THE PHIL SILVERS SHOW

### U.S. Situation Comedy

**T**he *Phil Silvers Show*, a half-hour comedy series, first ran on CBS from September 1955 to September 1959. The show's original title was *You'll Never Get Rich*, but this name was dropped shortly after its debut. Since its inception the series has also been commonly referred to as "Sergeant Bilko."

The program's 138 episodes trace the minor victories and misfortunes of the scheming, fast-talking Master Sergeant Ernie Bilko (Phil Silvers), head of the motor pool at the mythical U.S. army station of Fort Baxter in Roseville, Kansas. In his relentless pursuit of personal gain and physical comfort, Bilko attempts to manipulate those around him through the selective use of flattery, false naiveté, pulling rank, and a canny ability to identify and stimulate desires, weaknesses and emotions in others. Although his reputation for masterful chicanery is well known around the base, the

other characters in the show prove no match for Bilko's complex mental designs and are ultimately unable to avoid following the course of action he desires. In his attempts to buck the system, Bilko is aided by his platoon-members: a motley collection of blue collar, "ethnic" Americans whose own distaste for military discipline is displayed through their visible admiration for their brilliant leader.

Aside from money and favors won in poker games and elaborate rackets, however, Bilko never benefits at the expense of others. Faced with innocent victims, the Sergeant's conscience kicks in and he expends every mental resource to resolve the problem. Bilko's one redeeming moral quality, therefore, is his heart of gold, which prevents him both from truly prospering or losing his humanity.

Frequently, unforeseen obstacles to Bilko's strategies arise out of a misunderstanding between the principal char-





The Phil Silvers Show

acters. Much of the program's humor derives from Bilko's incomplete knowledge of a situation—the audience watches as he unwittingly makes matters worse for himself, before realizing his error and having to employ his quick thinking in order to make amends. Sharp dialogue and tightly woven plot lines (involving absurd, but believable, situations), combined with a heavy emphasis on visual comedy, made *The Phil Silvers Show* one of the most popular and critically-acclaimed sitcoms of the 1950s.

The series developed as a collaboration between Silvers, a Brooklyn-born veteran of vaudeville, Broadway, and motion pictures, and Nat Hiken, the show's unassuming head writer, producer, and stage director. Hiken had already earned a reputation for superb radio and TV comedy writing for such celebrities as Fred Allen and Martha Raye. Silvers and Hiken were given tremendous creative license by CBS to devise and cast the show. The two creators experimented with numerous settings and narrative structures before deciding on a military location, a Bilko-centered narrative

trajectory, and a colorful coterie of supporting characters. In the spring of 1955, filming began at the DuMont studios in New York. CBS confidence in the production was such that twenty episodes were in the can prior to the show's broadcast debut in the fall. The network's magnanimity is understandable given that "Bilko" neatly fit the successful formula upon which CBS had built its television reputation: a half-hour situation comedy series written as a vehicle for an established performer.

*The Phil Silvers Show* was initially recorded live on film using a three camera set-up. Post-production was minimal, giving the final program a spontaneous, no-frills appeal despite its celluloid status. As the series developed, the storylines often incorporated outside characters who were portrayed by guest celebrities. Mike Todd appeared in one 1958 episode, insisting that it be shot using a movie-style, one camera production process. Cast and crew found appealing the more relaxed shooting schedule this engendered, and the show subsequently adopted this filming technique per-

manently. This meant that the scenes would be shot throughout the week and later edited together in order. Consequently, the studio audience disappeared, requiring the recording of a laughtrack at a weekly screening of the final program.

Despite being scheduled against NBC's Tuesday night powerhouse Milton Berle, *The Phil Silvers Show* quickly attracted viewers and passed Berle in the ratings within a few months. The show's popularity was matched by great critical acclaim. Along with a bevy of other awards, the series won five Emmys in its first season on the air, and more were to follow over the next couple of years. Nevertheless, the drain of weekly programming eventually began to take its toll. Hiken's total commitment to the show proved physically and creatively exhausting and he left the series in 1957 to pursue less hectic projects. By the spring of 1959, when CBS announced its forthcoming cancellation of the series, Silvers too was complaining of fatigue induced by the show's grueling routine. Bending under the weight of the twenty-two cast members' salaries, CBS canceled the still popular series in order to maximize its syndication price and potential.

Following the show, Hiken and Silvers collaborated on several hour-long musical specials for CBS at the end of the 1950s. While the actor then returned to the stage and big screen, Hiken achieved another TV comedy hit with *Car 54, Where Are You?* In 1963, attracted by a lucrative financial offer from CBS, Silvers attempted to recapture his earlier television success with *The New Phil Silvers Show*. This series transferred the Bilko scenario to a civilian setting: Silvers played Harry Grafton, a crafty, wheeling-dealing maintenance superintendent at an industrial plant. Grafton lacked Bilko's magical presence and any of his redeeming values; the series floundered in the ratings and was canceled in its first season. The Bilko formula was more successfully reinvented in the early 1960s in the form of the ABC cartoon *Top Cat*. This prime time animation featured the voice of Maurice Gosfield—who had played the slothful audience favorite Duane Doberman in *The Phil Silvers Show*—as Benny the Ball.

"Sergeant Bilko" has proven instrumental in inspiring a whole genre of male-dominated, uniformed, non-domestic sitcoms over the decades since its original broadcast. Such series as *McHale's Navy*, *Hennessey*, *M\*A\*S\*H*, and *At Ease* (a banal, short-lived 1980s imitation), to name only few, have

clearly attempted to emulate its successful blend of distinctive, engaging characters and first-class writing. A 1996 movie, *Sergeant Bilko*, starred Steve Martin in the title role.

—Matthew Murray

#### CAST

<i>Master Sergeant Ernie Bilko</i> . . . . .	Phil Silvers
<i>Corporal Rocco Barbella</i> . . . . .	Harvey Lembeck
<i>Private Sam Fender</i> . . . . .	Herbie Faye
<i>Colonel John Hall</i> . . . . .	Paul Ford
<i>Private Duane Doberman</i> . . . . .	Maurice Gosfield
<i>Sergeant Rupert Ritzik</i> . . . . .	Joe E. Ross
<i>Corporal Henshaw</i> . . . . .	Allan Melvin
<i>Private Dino Paparelli</i> . . . . .	Billy Sands
<i>Private Zimmerman</i> . . . . .	Mickey Freeman
<i>Nell Hall</i> . . . . .	Hope Sansberry
<i>Sergeant Grover</i> . . . . .	Jimmy Little
<i>Sergeant Joan Hogan (1956–58)</i> . . . . .	Elisabeth Fraser

**PRODUCERS** Edward J. Montagne, Aaron Ruben, Nat Hiken

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 138 Episodes

#### • CBS

September 1955–October 1955	Tuesday 8:30-9:00
November 1955–February 1958	Tuesday 8:00-8:30
February 1958–September 1959	Friday 9:00-9:30

#### FURTHER READING

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See also Comedy, Workplace; Silvers, Phil

## PHILCO TELEVISION PLAYHOUSE

### U.S. Anthology Drama

The *Philco Television Playhouse* was one of the most distinguished of the many "live" anthology dramas which aired during the so-called "golden age" of television. The first episode of the Philco program was broadcast over NBC on Sunday evening, 3 October 1948, between 9:00 and 10:00 P.M. It remained on the air for

just over seven seasons, until 1955. At the beginning of its fourth season in 1951, the *Philco Television Playhouse* acquired an alternating sponsor, the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company. From 1951 until it went off the air, the program shared its Sunday night slot with the *Goodyear Playhouse*.

For a short period between 28 August 1955 and 12 February 1956, the *Philco Television Playhouse* alternated with *The Alcoa Hour* in addition to the *Goodyear Playhouse*. Following the end of the *Philco Television Playhouse* in 1955, *The Alcoa Hour* and *Goodyear Playhouse* continued in alternation with broadcasts of one-hour live dramas until 29 September 1957.

Under the guidance of producer Fred Coe (who also served as one of the program's several directors), the *Philco Television Playhouse* became known for its high-quality adaptations of plays, short stories, and novels. It was also the first anthology drama to encourage the writing of original plays exclusively for television.

During its first season, the *Philco Television Playhouse* emphasized adaptations. The first broadcast was a television version of "Dinner at Eight," a play by George S. Kaufman and Edna Ferber. Directed by Coe, the production starred Peggy Wood, Dennis King, Judson Laire, Mary Boland, and Vicki Cummings.

Other adaptations from plays that first season included "Counselor-at-Law" with Paul Muni, "The Old Lady Shows Her Medals" and a version of the Edmund Rostand play "Cyrano de Bergerac" starring Jose Ferrer. Among the novels adapted were du Maurier's *Rebecca*, Dumas' *Camille*, and Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*. On 19 December 1948, the *Philco Television Playhouse* broadcast an adaptation of the Dickens' story *A Christmas Carol*. The program included a filmed rendering of "Silent Night" by Bing Crosby.

Although it continued to utilize adaptations of plays and novels, the *Philco Television Playhouse* began to air original scripts toward the end of the first season. These became more important in subsequent seasons. A number of young writers, including Paddy Chayefsky, Horton Foote, Tad Mosel, Alar Arthur, Arnold Schulman, and Gore Vidal, began their careers writing teleplays for the program.

Chayefsky wrote several scripts for *Philco/Goodyear*. Among them were "Holiday Song" (Goodyear, 14 September 1952), "The Bachelor Party" (Philco, 11 October 1953), "The Mother" (Philco, 4 April 1954), "Middle of the Night" (Philco, 19 September 1954), and "The Catered Affair" (Goodyear, 22 May 1955). "The Bachelor Party," "Middle of the Night," and "The Catered Affair" were later made into feature films.

Chayefsky's most famous Philco script was "Marty," aired on 24 May 1953. Directed by Delbert Mann, the production starred Rod Steiger in the title role. It became the most renowned production from the golden age of television anthologies and marked a turning point for television drama because of the considerable amount of critical attention paid by the press.

According to Delbert Mann, "Marty" was inspired by the ballroom of the Abbey Hotel on the corner of 53rd Street and 7th Avenue in New York. A meeting place for single people during the evening hours, the ballroom was the site of *Philco Television Playhouse* rehearsals during the day. Chayefsky had originally planned to have the main character



Philco Television Playhouse: The Joker

Photo courtesy of Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research

be a woman but then changed the role into that of the lonely butcher, Marty. The story is a simple one, focused on character and emotion rather than excessive dramatic action. After many unsuccessful attempts to find a girl, Marty visits the ballroom one evening and meets a homely young teacher. Against the objections of his mother and his bachelor friends, Marty finally stands up for himself and calls the young lady back for a date.

Mann believed that Rod Steiger gave the best performance of his life in the role of Marty and Steiger became so moved by the story that he wept openly on the set. Mann's last direction to Steiger before air was to "hold back the tears." Mann also directed the 1956 film version of "Marty" which won four Academy Awards for Best Picture, Best Screenplay, and Best Director. Ernest Borgnine won Best Actor for his portrayal of Marty.

Other important productions broadcast on the *Philco Television Playhouse* were Gore Vidal's "Visit to a Small Planet," (Goodyear, 8 May 1955) which later became a Broadway play and a feature film, Vidal's "The Death of Billy the Kid" (Philco, 24 July 1955) which became the 1958 film *The Left-Handed Gun*, and Horton Foote's "A Trip to Bountiful" later staged on Broadway in the 1950s and reshot as a film in the 1980s. Actress Geraldine Paige won an Oscar for Best Actress for her performance in the film.

Fred Coe, a graduate of the Yale Drama School, was active as a director and producer for the *Philco Television Playhouse* for six years. Coe and other staff directors including Gordon Duff, Delbert Mann, Vincent Donehue, and Arthur Penn shared directing responsibilities on a rotating basis. Usually, they worked three weeks ahead with one show in preparation, one in rehearsal, and one on the studio floor ready for telecasting.

During its long tenure, the *Philco Television Playhouse* became a breeding ground for an entire generation of young directors, actors, and writers who later became famous in motion pictures and on Broadway. The program won a Peabody Award in 1954 for its "superior standards and achievements." Some of the best known actors who appeared on the series were Joanne Woodward, Steve McQueen, Rod Steiger, Eva Marie Saint, Grace Kelly, Kim Stanley, Jack Klugman, and Walter Mathau.

—Henry B. Aldridge

#### HOST (1948–49)

Bert Lytell

**PRODUCERS** Fred Coe, Gordon Duff, Garry Simpson

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

• NBC

October 1948–October 1955

Sunday 9:00–10:00

## PHILLIPS, IRNA

U.S. Writer

The universally recognized originator of one of television's most enduring—and profitable—television genres, Irna Phillips is responsible for the daytime drama as we know it today. Her contributions to one format are unprecedented in television history. Television comedy had many parents—Ernie Kovacs, Jackie Gleason; TV drama had early shapers in Paddy Chayefsky, Rod Serling, Reginald Rose and others. But the soap opera had only one mother and she was it. She founded an entire industry based on her techniques and beliefs, and the ongoing, interlocking stories that she dreamed.

Born in Chicago in 1901, youngest of ten children, legend has it that Phillips endured her poverty-stricken, lonely childhood by reading and concocting elaborate lives for her dolls. When she started college she dreamed of an acting career but school administrators doubted that her looks would get her far. So she turned to teaching. After graduation, she taught in Missouri and Ohio for several years before returning to Chicago.

There she fumbled her way into a job with radio station WGN as a voice-over artist and actress. Soon after, the station asked her to concoct a daily program "about a

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See also Advertising, Company Voice; Anthology Drama; "Golden Age" of Television; *Goodyear Playhouse*



Irna Phillips

family." Phillips's program *Painted Dreams* premiered on 20 October 1930. *Dreams* is usually recognized as radio's first soap opera. It ran with Phillips both writing and acting in it until 1932 when she left WGN over an ownership dispute. At WGN's competition, WMAQ, Phillips created *Today's Children*, which aired for seven years. Other highly successful dramas followed: *The Guiding Light* in 1937, *The Road of Life* in 1938, and *The Right to Happiness* in 1939. By this time, Phillips had given up acting to devote her time to writing. She had also sold the shows to national networks.

By 1943, just over ten years from her beginning, Phillips had five programs on the air. Her yearly income was in excess of \$250,000 and her writing output was around two million words a year. It was at this phase that she developed the need for assistants to create dialogue for the stories she created. To keep her scripts accurate she also kept a lawyer and doctor on retainer.

Not one to put pen to paper, Phillips created her stories by acting them out as a secretary jotted down what she spoke. Her process of creating by assuming the identities of her characters was so successful it was later adopted by many of Phillips' protégés, including Bill Bell, who went on to create *The Young and the Restless*.

Phillips pioneered in radio many of the devices she would later put to successful (eventually clichéd) use in television. She was the first to use organ music to blend one scene into the next. She was the first to employ Dickensian cliff-hanger endings to keep audiences coming back and to develop the casual pace of these shows—she wanted the busy housewife to be able to run to the kitchen or see to the baby and not miss anything. She was the first to address social concerns in her storylines. She was also the first to shift the focus of serials from blue-collar to white-collar characters; under Phillips, doctors and lawyers became soap staples. In fact, hospital settings and stories about illness were vintage Phillips; a hypochondriac who visited doctors daily, Phillips brought her fascination with medicine to her work.

Other eccentricities both influenced and contradicted her work. Though her shows were eventually all produced in New York, Phillips refused to leave Chicago. She stayed involved in all aspects of her programs with frequent phone calls to the East. Phillips, who based her stories on nuclear families, never married, though late in her life she adopted two children.

When Phillips brought her creations to television (somewhat reluctantly), she brought all her devices with her. *The Guiding Light* premiered on TV in 1952. *The Brighter Day* and *The Road of Life* came to the small screen in 1954.

In the early 1950s, Phillips began a long association with Proctor and Gamble, longtime sponsors of soap operas. All Phillips' shows, and all she would create, would be under the umbrella of Proctor and Gamble Productions.

On 2 April 1956, Phillips premiered what was to become her most successful (and some say favorite) show, *As the World Turns*. Until the 1980s phenomenon of *General Hospital*, it was the most successful soap in history. At its

ratings peak in the 1960s, it was regularly viewed by 50% of the daytime audience. *As the World Turns* has broken much historical ground during its existence. It was daytime's first half-hour soap (previous shows lasted fifteen minutes). And it was the first to introduce a scheming female character: Lisa Miller, played by Eileen Fulton, using feminine wiles to catch unavailable men and generate havoc. The show's popularity even inspired a prime-time spin-off; *Our Private World* aired for a few months in 1965.

In 1964, Phillips created daytime's *Another World*, TV's first hour-long soap and the first to broach the subject of abortion. (Phillips never shied away from controversy—when writing for the soap *Love is a Many-Splendored Thing*, she attempted to introduce an interracial romance. When the network balked, Phillips quit the show.)

Also in 1964, Phillips began working as a consultant on the prime-time soap *Peyton Place*. Phillips now had control over shows running on all three networks. And, in 1965, she created another long-lasting daytime drama, *Days of Our Lives*.

But despite Phillips' legendary golden touch and her importance to the daytime drama, by the 1970s, the times and the genre were leaving her behind. Soaps were important profit centers for networks and they needed to become more sensational to keep ratings. Phillips' simpler stories were now out of fashion. She was fired by Proctor and Gamble in 1973 and died in December of that year.

Today daytime is populated with the programs she created: *As the World Turns*, *Another World*, *Days of Our Lives*, and *Guiding Light*. *Guiding Light* has now set the record as the longest-running series in broadcasting history. Many other soaps on the air were created by those who began their careers working for Phillips: Bill Bell and *All My Children* creator Agnes Nixon.

Phillips believed her success was based on her focus on character, rather than on overly-complicated plots, and her exploration of universal themes: self-preservation, sex, and family. She said in 1965, "None of us is different, except in degree. None of us is a stranger to success and failure, life and death, the need to be loved, the struggle to communicate."

—Cary O'Dell

IRNA PHILLIPS. Born in Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., 1 July 1901. Educated at University of Illinois, B.S. in education 1923. Children: Thomas Dirk and Katherine Louise. Began career as junior college speech and drama instructor, Fulton, Missouri, 1924; teacher, Dayton, Ohio, 1924–29; first writing job with WGN, Chicago radio station, hired to create ten-minute family drama, *Painted Dreams*, 1930; launched the soap *Guiding Light*, 1937; *Guiding Light* switched to TV, 1952; consultant, *Peyton Place*, first successful evening serial, 1964; continued writing soaps until just before her death. Died in Chicago, 22 December 1973.

#### TELEVISION

1952–	<i>Guiding Light</i>
1954–65	<i>The Brighter Day</i>

1954-55	<i>The Road of Life</i>
1956-	<i>As the World Turns</i>
1964-	<i>Another World</i>
1964-69	<i>Peyton Place</i> (consultant)
1965	<i>Our Private World</i>
1965-	<i>Days of Our Lives</i>
1967-73	<i>Love Is a Many-Splendored Thing</i>

**RADIO**

*Painted Dreams*, 1930-32; *Today's Children*, 1932-38; *Masquerade*, 1934-35; *Guiding Light*, 1937-52; *The Road of Life*, 1938-54; *Woman in White*, 1938-48; *The Right to Happiness*, 1939-60; *Lonely Women*, 1942, later became *Today's Children*, 1943; *The Brighter Day*, 1948-56.

**PIERCE, FREDERICK S.**

U.S. Media Executive/Producer

Frederick S. Pierce began working at ABC Television 13 years after the company's birth. Starting as an analyst in television research in 1956, Pierce held over 14 positions until resigning as vice chairman of Capital Cities/ABC, Inc. in January 1986. Pierce's period of greatest accomplishment came from 1974 through 1979 when he served as president of ABC Television. But he began formulating policies and strategies during the 1950s and 1960s as ABC defined its path in network broadcasting.

Before ABC's programming department built momentum, CBS and NBC were already entrenched, funneling talent from their established artist bureaus in radio to television affiliates. Both networks had money and leverage, which were an attraction to advertisers, and had independent producers ready to invest. ABC, relying on inexpensive and varied programs, targeted different audiences; Leonard H. Goldenson, ABC's founder and ex-owner of United Paramount Theaters, sought product and collaborative efforts in Hollywood. In this programming environment Pierce moved up through research, sales, development, and planning until becoming senior vice president of ABC Television in 1974, a position from which he was poised to challenge CBS and NBC.

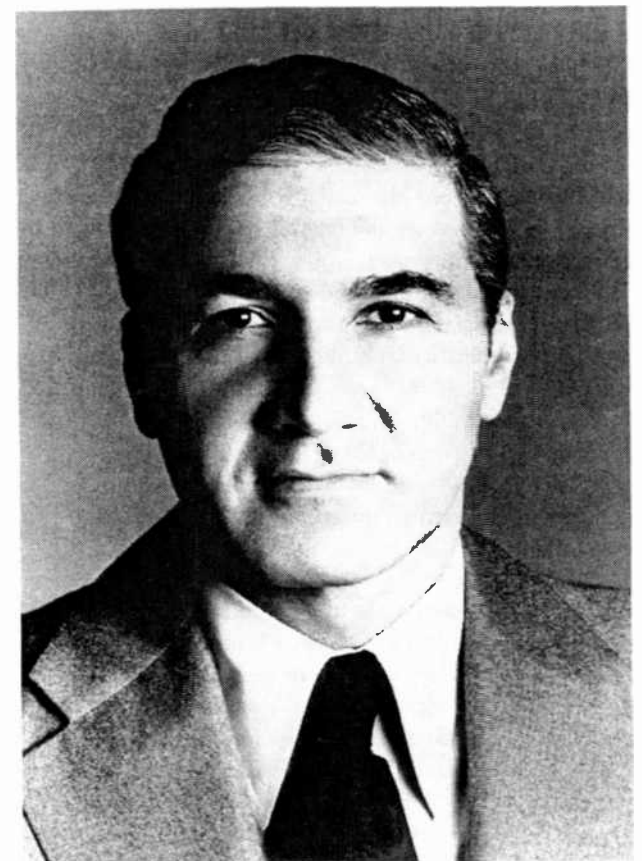
On a daily basis, Goldenson phoned the research and sales development department, requesting sales and rating numbers from Pierce, a practice which started a professional and personal bond between them. In the 1950s and 1960s, ABC pursued the youth market with programs such as *American Bandstand* and *Maverick*, and relied on a mixture of programs, hoping to find a niche in the diversity of *Bewitched*, *Mod Squad*, and *Marcus Welby, M.D.* The network experimented with violent program content, such as *Bus Stop*, and stressed non-traditional sports, including rodeo and wrestling. Pierce's singular characteristic of persevering within these boundaries made ABC an industry

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See also *Peyton Place*; Soap Opera

power. Reaching number one in prime time in 1976-77, and maintaining the position for two more seasons, Pierce captured the young, urban viewer with comedy and action,



Frederick S. Pierce  
Photo courtesy of Frederick S. Pierce

produced longer and more elaborate miniseries and special programs, offered glossy production values in sports programming, and even redirected afternoon soaps toward youth. The violence and tame sexual content of *The Rookies*, *Baretta*, *S.W.A.T.*, and *Charlie's Angels* that angered critics was a natural progression of ABC under Pierce's leadership, the outcome of taking risks and looking—for more than a decade—for any different approach.

Pierce brought passion and dauntless optimism to the conception, development, and scheduling of ABC programming. The network's strategy stemmed from innovation, experimentation, risk, and diversity—words he frequently employed. He introduced the "living schedule," the practice of testing five to eight new series in late winter and the spring, each for a month or more, in preparation for fall scheduling. Pierce also referred to this practice, to be adopted by the other networks, as "investment spending," and thought of it as a way of respecting and responding to audience feedback. When the "family-viewing hour" was instituted, Pierce scheduled comedies and other fare from 8:00 to 9:00 P.M. and followed with action adventure programs, Monday through Friday. The strategy, called "clotheslining" or "ridgepoling," succeeded in holding viewers.

Before and after ABC's hold on first place, Pierce brought a new perspective. If an ABC program ranked third in its time slot, it was a failure by industry standards. In his view, though, and therefore the view of ABC, even a third-place program was a success if its rating with a specific target audience was large, for these numbers could translate into value to the advertiser. The other networks soon followed Pierce's view of program assessment and focused attention and efforts on material developed with specific demographic groups in mind.

In the drive for success, Pierce programmed "events" that could draw critical attention and viewership. The miniseries was transformed into such a television event, at times lasting, as in the cases of *Roots* and *The Winds of War*, more than seven nights. Sports coverage became a central source of revenue under Rooney Arledge. The quest for a hit sports event meant Pierce's approval of large outlays of money for programming such as the Olympics and championship boxing matches. When one event was a success, it justified Pierce's spending but kept the company in a precarious position for the long term.

The news division received the least amount of attention from Pierce until he convinced Goldenson to appoint Rooney Arledge president. Pierce believed sports and news held a conceptual common ground. Arledge agreed, and successfully applied engaging production techniques with commentators seeking celebrity status in American homes. Although Pierce believed Arledge could assist the news division, he also made the dramatic move of hiring Barbara Walters as an additional safeguard.

Since Pierce was driven by a lifelong commitment to ABC he expected the same loyalty in return. He stated

publicly that he sought the presidency of ABC, but Goldenson appointed him executive vice president in charge of ABC Television, with the added responsibilities of developing the company's cable, pay-per-view, and video projects. The failure, to varying degrees, of these projects raised questions about Pierce's ability to position ABC in the larger media puzzle. From 1978 through 1980, Pierce baffled the industry with his statements against cable, calling for the protection of free television and criticizing cable's unrestricted content. But other statements soon followed, describing cable as a tool for diverse programming. Pierce's credibility began to be questioned.

In the 1970s, Pierce was surrounded at different times by such prominent figures as Fred Silverman, Rooney Arledge, Barry Diller, and Michael Eisner. He pursued Silverman for the position of president of ABC Television, and they worked efficiently together. But upon Silverman's departure, Pierce became highly critical of Silverman's limitations, minimizing his contributions to ABC's turnaround. Pierce was self-consciously basking in the glory of establishing ABC as a powerful network. The situation began to change. Pierce all but abandoned action-adventure series by 1980, when they were partly responsible for securing young, urban male viewers. He did not recognize the changes developing in television's collaborative arrangements with Hollywood. He continued to depend upon the "living schedule," with its rush to find a hit within four weeks, and in so doing alienated producers whose programs were removed from the schedule without time for the series to develop an audience. Continuously loyal to ABC, he surrounded himself with allies, including Tony Thomopoulos, president of ABC Television, Pierce's most cherished area.

Pierce reached the top of ABC as numerous ventures stalled in development, when money was already committed to major events, and shareholders were demanding fiscal prudence. After ABC was purchased by Capital Cities, Pierce needed Tom Murphy, the new chair and chief executive officer, to position ABC for the future. But Pierce had no inclination of what the future held. CapCities' assessment of ABC and what needed to be done significantly excluded him. By the time of his resignation in 1986 he expressed amazement and disbelief at the turn of events, suggesting an inability to perceive the complex and unstable structure he helped build.

—Richard Bartone

FREDERICK S. PIERCE. Born in New York City, New York, U.S.A., 8 April 1933. Attended Bernard Baruch School of Business Administration, City College of New York, B.A. 1953. Served with U.S. Combat Engineers, Korean War. Married: Marion; children: Richard, Keith, and Linda. Began career as analyst in TV research, ABC, 1956; director of sales planning, ABC, 1962; vice president of planning, 1970; vice president in charge, ABC-TV planning and development, and assistant to president, 1974; president, 1974; president and chief operations officer, ABC, Inc., 1983; resigned from ABC, Inc., 1986; founder, Frederick



Pierce Company, 1988, and Pierce/Silverman Company with Fred Silverman, 1989. Address: Frederick S. Pierce Company, 5670 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 1350, Los Angeles, California 90036, U.S.A.

#### MADE-FOR-TELEVISION MOVIES

- 1992 *Deadlock*  
 1993 *The Positively True Adventures of the Alleged Texas Cheerleader Murdering Mom*  
 1994 *Witness to the Execution*  
 1994 *The Substitute Wife*

#### FILM

*Money Train*, 1995.

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See also American Broadcasting Company; Arledge, Roone; Diller, Barry; Eisner, Michael; Goldenson, Leonard; Programming; Silverman, Fred

## PILOT PROGRAMS

During the first four months of the year, U.S. television studios and production companies (and increasingly in similar organizations in other nations) immerse themselves in the annual rite of spring known as "pilot season." The television pilot program is a sample episode of a proposed television show, which may be chosen by networks for the following fall's schedule. Pilot season is a frenetic, competitive time in Hollywood; prominent producers, reputable writers, and experienced directors design and showcase their wares for network executives, with each "player" hoping for the next hit series.

Pilots are expensive to produce, and shows which are not purchased by a network have no value. Since the new season is planned using pilots, and the entire offering of a network is usually in place by mid-May, the careful selection of pilots is crucial for designing a competitive line-up of shows. Shows made as pilots during this period are frequently the culmination of long-term preparation, sometimes spanning years. A pilot concept deemed unacceptable by network executives in one year may be suitable as tastes and mores change. Writers and producers may also design potential shows based on the popularity of programming from a previous season. The final fall 1995-96 season con-

tained several programs which resemble the 1994-95 sleeper hit, *Friends* (NBC), for example. Youth-oriented, nighttime soaps such as *Melrose Place* (FOX, 1992) and *Central Park West* (CBS, 1995) trace their lineage to the unexpected popularity of *Beverly Hills 90210* (FOX, 1990). Another source for pilot concepts comes from cycles of popular genres in motion pictures or television. In some cases, networks derive pilots by developing "spin-offs," which use characters or guest stars from television shows or movies to establish a new program.

The process begins when a writer or producer "pitches" an idea to the networks. Pitching may occur year-round, but most occur in autumn, shortly after the fall season premieres. By then, network executives have already begun to consider the success or failure of new programming, and have charted trends in topics, types of characters, and other information pertinent to development. If a pitched concept is given a "green light," the network will commission a script, to be written by the series' creator or by a well-known writer. After reading the completed script, the interested network offers extensive notes on changes as well as positive elements. Few scripts are commissioned, and fewer still lead to the production of a pilot—estimates suggest that out of 300 pitches,

approximately 50 scripts are commissioned, and of those, only 6 to 10 lead to the production of a pilot.

Because pilots may take months or years to develop, casting becomes a primary concern during the actual pilot-making process. The first quarter of the year is often the busiest, most lucrative time for actors, agents, producers, and casting directors. Networks like projects that come with a known star attached, and are willing to pay a studio more if a potential program contains an actor with a following or name recognition. A pilot that is also a star vehicle generates more publicity: the press increases its commentary and gossip about the star or show; fans of the star already exist, thereby building a core audience for the show's debut; and the presence of a star gives a show an advantage over competition in similar genres or opposing time slots.

Network executives are aware, however, that known stars often fail to carry shows and lesser known performers can quickly build audiences. A 1990s trend involved the casting of stand-up comedians. Unknown to most viewers, but with solid track records in clubs or other venues, such actors cost less initially, but have enhanced potential for becoming successes. Roseanne, Jerry Seinfeld, and Tim Allen illustrated the intelligence of this strategy.

The choice of leading players also influences later casting of supporting actors. Appealing, marketable pilots may sell based on the "chemistry" between the star and members of the supporting cast. In the case of situation comedies (sitcoms), such interplay is often a deciding factor in choosing one pilot over another.

Producers spend a disproportionate amount of money on pilots relative to series' regular episodes. In the early 1990s, the average cost for a half-hour pilot ranged from \$500,000 to \$700,000, and hour-long pilot programs cost as much as \$2 million if a show had extensive effects. If a show is not contracted, "picked up," by a network, producers or studios are not reimbursed for costs.

A mid-1990s trend, designed to cut costs, is the production of shorter presentation tapes, called "demos." Instead of making a standard-length, 22-minute sitcom using new sets, original music, and complete titles, producers create a partial episode, 15 minutes in length. The presentation tape provides a sample of the show's premise, writing, and cast. Studios rely on pre-existing sets, furniture, and props from other shows; titling and new music are limited. If a network buys the series, presentation tapes may be expanded to episode format by adding music, titles, and new footage. If not contracted, the presentation format helps offset costs. Comparable techniques are used in preparing hour-long presentation tapes.

Producers screen finished pilots for network representatives; if the show receives favorable opinions, it will be shown to a test audience, which comments on its qualities. Based on screenings and other criteria, a network decides whether to reject or purchase the series intact, or change cast, location, premise, or other elements, and rescreen. Another

decision involves purchase and scheduling; executives must decide whether to contract for "one bite" or "two bites." A "one bite" show gets a tryout during the fall schedule; if a show is being contemplated for "two bites," its producers know that it may be chosen in the fall, or also as midseason replacement programming, giving it two chances to be selected. Once decisions are made, networks place orders for a number of episodes. Traditionally, at least 13 to as many as 23 episodes were ordered for production; recent changes have led to as few as 7. For actors, "pickup" means a contractual commitment to the show for five to seven years; if the show is not renewed after three years of production, the actor is not paid for the remainder of the contract. Such contracts safeguard a producer's interests: the actor is available for an extended run of the series, increasing the likelihood that at least 100 episodes will be made—the minimum number usually needed for domestic syndication.

The addition of new networks, cable stations, and premium channels is altering the process of pilot production and sales, by creating more outlets for programs—even those rejected by other networks. A record 42 new series appeared in U.S. prime time during the 1995 fall season, in part because of the previous year's addition of the United Paramount Network and the Warner Brothers Network. These joined relative newcomer FOX Broadcasting Company as a venue for new pilots and subsequent programming. During the pilot season for the 1996–97 schedule, 6 networks commissioned over 150 pilots for potential new shows.

While pilots and presentation tapes remain essential in the process of program development, new regulations and strategies may eliminate the pilot-producing season. HBO has initiated new programs in June, and more channels are in development for series and movies all year long. It is clear that as the marketing and distribution strategies and capabilities of entertainment television continue to shift and change, so, too, will the process by which programs come to be created and viewed.

—Kathryn C. D'Alessandro

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See also Programming

## PITTMAN, ROBERT W.

U.S. Media Executive

Robert W. Pittman was listed in the spring 1995 *Advertising Age*'s anniversary issue for TV's 50th year as one of "50 Who Made a Difference" in the history of television. Known as "the father of MTV," at 27 he created the programming for MTV—the Music Television cable network—launched in 1981. MTV revitalized the music business and spawned the music video industry, which in turn influenced an entire new generation of television programming, production, and commercials that appealed to "the MTV generation" of young viewers.

Pittman began his remarkable career at 15 as a disk jockey in radio in his home town of Jackson, Mississippi. From there he went to Milwaukee, Detroit, and at 18 got his first job in programming as the program director of WPEZ-FM in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He took the contemporary-music-format radio station to the top of the ratings in its younger target demographics. He then moved to Chicago and, at the age of 20, programmed country music on NBC-owned WMAQ-AM, where the station shot up from 22nd to 3rd. WMAQ's success is considered one of the major programming turnaround success stories in radio history.

Pittman duplicated the phenomenal success of WMAQ-AM when he was given the responsibility of programming WMAQ's co-owned FM station, WKQX, late in 1975, when he was 22. In one rating book he beat the long-time album-oriented-rock (AOR) leader in the market and made a debut near the top of the target demographic ratings. In 1977 NBC sent Pittman to New York to program the floundering WNBC-AM. Once again the "Boy Wonder," as he was known in radio circles, led contemporary-music-and-personality format station, WNBC, to the top of the ratings in its target groups. Many knowledgeable radio programmers and historians consider Pittman to have been the most successful radio program director ever, primarily because of his spectacular success in a variety of formats.

His unusual combination of creative and analytic brilliance made him a rare programmer: a research-oriented manager who understood and could deal with the creative talents and egos of people in the music industry, disk jockeys, and personalities such as Don Imus (whom Pittman was instrumental in firing and then re-hiring at WNBC-AM). It was this creative and analytic brilliance that led John Lack, the executive vice president of Warner Satellite Entertainment Company (WASEC), to hire Pittman as the programmer for the Movie Channel in 1979 and give him his first television job. Although Lack had conceived of doing an all-music channel filled with programs, it was Pittman who developed the concept of an all-video channel, where record-company-produced videos would be programmed as records were on a radio station.

As much as and perhaps more so than the music, it was the image, the attitude, that made MTV an instant hit with



Robert W. Pittman

Photo courtesy of Robert W. Pittman/Jay Brady Photo

the anti-establishment, anti-authoritarian, under-30 audience it targeted. The network also became the new cultural icon, the first network for the under-30 generation, designed for them by one of their own. From the inception, Pittman's genius was in positioning MTV to be different from the traditional networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC). He hired cutting-edge, avant garde production houses to create logos that would be instantaneously recognizable because they were *not* network logos, *not* traditional graphics or symbols or icons, and *not* the network of any young person's parents. He made sure it would be impossible for any young person to click by MTV on a television set and mistake it for any other network or station. Immediate recognition and a unique look were his goals.

Another facet of Pittman's brilliance was his ability to conceptualize programming. He postulated a new theory to explain how young people who grew up with television consumed it differently from their parents. The older generation, he suggested, watched TV as they read books, in a

linear way. The new television generation, he believed, processed TV in a nonlinear manner, processing visual information much faster than the older, non-TV generation, processing it nonsequentially, nonlinearly, without being confused by brief, disjointed images. From this insight came the distinct style of MTV.

But programmers are often impractical. They often let their creativity run amok and break budgets. Still another facet of Pittman's genius was his business savvy. MTV was the first basic cable network to become profitable. The record companies paid for the programming—the videos—just as they gave radio stations their records. MTV's programming content was virtually free.

The combination of business acumen and programming astuteness led to Pittman's being named CEO of the MTV networks in 1983. In this capacity, he oversaw the redesign and relaunch of Nickelodeon, the creation of VH-1 and Nick at Nite, the expansion of MTV into global markets—Europe, Australia, and Japan—and the company's 1984 initial public offering on the stock market.

In 1987 Pittman left MTV after an unsuccessful attempt to buy out the network and co-founded Quantum Media with MCA. Quantum Media produced *The Morton Downey Jr. Show*, a television talk show, and the innovative police documentary, *The Street*. Quantum Media was sold to Time Warner in 1989, and Pittman became an executive assistant to Steve Ross. In 1990 he was named CEO of Time Warner Enterprises and took over the additional responsibilities of being chief executive of Six Flags amusement parks, majority-owned by Time Warner. As he did at radio stations and cable networks, he revitalized Six Flags, and made the company extremely profitable.

Truly one of television's visionary change masters, Bob Pittman took the TV of William S. Paley, Robert Sarnoff, and Leonard Goldenson, from the Golden Age out to the cusp of the 21st century and gave a new generation of viewers what they wanted—their MTV.

—Charles Warner

ROBERT PITTMAN. Born in Jackson, Mississippi, U.S.A., 28 December 1953. Attended Millsaps College, Jackson, Mississippi. Married: Sandy; child: Bo. Started as a 15-year-old

disk jockey, Jackson, Mississippi, 1968; worked in radio in Milwaukee and Detroit; program director, WPEZ-FM, Pittsburgh, 1971; program director, WMAQ-AM, Chicago, 1973; program director, WKQX-FM, 1975; program director, WNBC-AM, 1977; producer and host, weekly video music show for NBC-owned television stations, 1978; program director, the Movie Channel, 1979; head of programming, Warner Amex Satellite Entertainment; created programming for Music Television (MTV), 1981; president and chief executive officer, MTV Networks, 1983–87; co-founder of Quantum Media (with MCA), 1987; sold Quantum Media to Warner Communications, 1989; president and chief executive officer, Time-Warner Enterprises, 1988–91; president and chief executive officer, Six Flags Entertainment, 1990–95; chief executive officer, Century 21 Real Estate, since 1995; Board of Directors, America Online, since 1995.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1988–89 *The Morton Downey Jr. Show* (syndicated)  
1989–92 *Totally Hidden Video*

#### TELEVISION SPECIAL

1988 *The Street*

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See also Music on Television; Music Television (MTV)

## PLAYHOUSE 90

### U.S. Anthology Drama

A relative latecomer to the group of live anthology dramas, *Playhouse 90* was broadcast on CBS between the fall of 1956 and 1961. Its status as a "live" drama was short-lived in any case, since the difficulties in mounting a ninety-minute production on a weekly basis required the adoption of the recently developed videotape technology, which was used to pre-record entire shows from 1957 onward. Both the pressures and the costs of this ambitious

production eventually resulted in *Playhouse 90* being cut back to alternate weeks, sharing its time slot with *The Big Party* between 1959 and 1960. The last eight shows were aired irregularly between February and May 1960, with repeats broadcast during the summer weeks of 1961.

Despite its late entry into the field of anthology dramas, many considered—and still consider—*Playhouse 90* as the standard against which all other drama anthology

programs are to be judged. Although its debut show, a Rod Serling adaptation of the novel *Forbidden Area*, failed to garner much critical interest, the following week's presentation of an original teleplay by Serling, *Requiem for a Heavyweight*, was an enormous success, both in this initial television broadcast and later as a feature film. *Requiem* swept the 1956 Emmys, winning awards in all six categories in which it was nominated, including best direction, best teleplay, and best actor. *Playhouse 90* established its reputation with this show and continued to maintain it throughout the remainder of its run.

The success of *Playhouse 90* continued into the 1957–58 season with productions of *The Miracle Worker*, *The Comedian*, and *The Helen Morgan Story*. Although these shows, along with *Requiem* and *Judgment at Nuremberg* were enough to ensure the historical importance of *Playhouse 90*, the program also stood out because of its emergence in the “film era” of television broadcasting evolution. By 1956, much of television production had moved from the east to the west coast, and from live performances to filmed series. Most of the drama anthologies, a staple of the evening schedule to this point, fell victim to the newer types of programs being developed. *Playhouse 90* stands in contrast to the prevailing trend, and its reputation benefited from both the growing nostalgia for the waning live period and a universal distaste for Hollywood on the part of New York television critics. It is also probable that since the use of videotape (not widespread at the time) preserved a “live” feel, discussion of the programs could be easily adapted to the standards introduced by the New York television critics.

It has been argued that *Playhouse 90* in fact contributed to the demise of live television drama by making it too expensive to produce. Its lavish budget was undoubtedly a factor in the quality of its productions, but its cost—as reflected in the newly-introduced ratings system—was enormous when compared with filmed series, against which it could not compete. *Playhouse 90* stood out as an anomaly in its time, and its short run of under four seasons demonstrated that a program of its kind could not survive in a changing production environment, regardless of its acclaim. If *Playhouse 90* was an outstanding program, and representative of the best that drama anthology programs could offer, it was also the last of its genre to be shown as part of a regular network schedule.

—Kevin Dowler

**PRODUCERS** Martin Manulis, John Houseman, Russell Stoneman, Fred Coe, Arthur Penn, Hubbell Robinson

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 133 Episodes

• CBS

October 1956–January 1960  
July 1961–September 1961

Thursday 9:30–11:00  
Tuesday 9:30–11:00



Playhouse 90: *Requiem for a Heavyweight*

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See also Anthology Drama; Coe, Fred; “Golden Age” of Television; Mann, Abby; Robinson, Hubbell; Serling, Rod

# POLDARK

## British Historical Drama

**P**oldark is one of the most successful British television dramas of all time. The popularity of the first series in 1975 was matched by enthusiastic reception of the 1993 video release. As a costume drama, scheduled for early evening family viewing, *Poldark* was not unusual, but its exterior sequences, cast and immense popularity have made it ultimately memorable. The first episode, opening to Ross Poldark's ride across the Cornish landscape on his return from the American War of Independence, was seen by an audience of five million. As the series continued this figure rose to an average of fifteen million viewers. The two BBC *Poldark* series have been sold to over forty countries and ten years later a third series is being made by HTV.

All three of the *Poldark* series are closely based on the novels of Winston Graham, well known for his thrillers and for the screen adaptations of his later non-historical books, the Hitchcock directed *Marnie* (1964) and the British film noir *Fortune Is a Woman* (1956). In 1969 Associated British Picture bought an option on the *Poldark* best-sellers and commissioned a four-hour Cornish *Gone with the Wind*. However, the film project was dropped during the EMI take-over of the company. The option was taken over by London films, who eventually collaborated with the BBC.

The first BBC series dramatises the original four novels Graham wrote at the end of World War II. Graham had initially planned a trilogy set in 18th-century Cornwall, which would explore the love triangle between the war hero Captain Poldark, his less exciting cousin Francis Poldark and the aristocratic Elizabeth Chynoweth. However, as the narrative developed Graham became more interested in the social situation in Cornwall at that time and the dramatic contrast between the oppressed poor and the new landowning classes. Graham added the engaging urchin Demelza, who marries Ross out of her class, and a fourth book focused on the villain, the *nouveau riche* George Warleggan.

The first series established Ross Poldark as a character at war with his own class. After his return to Cornwall and his failure to win back Elizabeth, Ross attempts to restore Nampara, his father's ruined estate. He shocks his neighbours by marrying Demelza, the daughter of a brutal miner, and interesting himself in the affairs of those who work for him. His legitimate business deals and mining company ventures bring him into direct competition with George Warleggan. Illegal activities, such as the false charge of incitement to riot and, later smuggling, also bring him the power of the Warleggans. In this feud Poldark is portrayed as the forward-looking benevolent landowner and entrepreneur, whereas Warleggan is seen as a tyrannical arriviste whose grand house is burnt to the ground by dispossessed miners and tenants.



Poldark

Photo courtesy of the British Film Institute

The latter scene and climax to the first series was a radical departure from Graham's novels. Although the author felt that the first series was marred by the use of a different writer for every episode, Graham wrote a further trilogy for adaptation and became closely involved with the second series made in 1977. This series follows the fortunes of four different marriages: the Poldarks; Elizabeth, now the wife of Warleggan; Caroline, who has married the progressive doctor Dwight Enys; and Elizabeth's unhappy cousin Morwenna. All are affected by the intense rivalry between Poldark and Warleggan. Ross Poldark and George Warleggan continue their feud in London as well as Cornish society by becoming opposing members of parliament.

The outdoor locations set the first series apart from other studio based costume dramas. Scenes such as the dramatic rescue of Dr. Enys from a prisoner of war camp in Revolutionary France, the wrecking of the Warleggan ship, and action set against mines, seascapes and coastal paths, created a spectacular backdrop for the vicissitudes of Poldark's marital and financial dilemmas. The contrast between the theatrical approach to studio production and the spontaneity engendered by location filming gave the historical drama a unique, fresh quality.

Not surprisingly, the BBC expressed an interest in making a third series, but at that time Graham did not feel that he could write the books required for the source material. Since 1977, Graham has written a further four books which deal with a second generation of Poldarks continuing the Warleggan feud and introducing the Industrial Revolution to Cornwall. The *Poldark Apprecia-*

tion Society has campaigned for repeat showings of the series, videos of the BBC series and *Poldark 3*. The HTV production will dramatise the remaining books, but despite much media speculation the third series will not feature the original stars.

—Nickianne Moody

#### CAST

*Ross Poldark* . . . . . Robin Ellis  
*George Warleggan* . . . . . Ralph Bates  
*Jud* . . . . . Paul Curran  
*Mark Daniel* . . . . . Martin Fisk  
*Francis Poldark* . . . . . Clive Francis  
*Caroline Penvenen* . . . . . Judy Gleason  
*Demelza* . . . . . Angharad Rees  
*Verity Poldark* . . . . . Norma Streader  
*Elizabeth Warleggan* . . . . . Jill Townsend  
*Prudie* . . . . . Mary Wimbush

## POLICE PROGRAMS

Since its beginnings in the late 1940s, the U.S. police procedural genre has continued to bring together a variety of social issues with physical action. It is unabashedly a genre of car chases and gun battles and fistfights, but it is also imbued with values critical to the fabric of a society: justice, social order, law. More than any other TV genre, the police program brings into sharp relief the conflicts between individual freedom and social responsibility in a democratic society. Although the police are closely related to the private detective in their pursuit of criminals, they are ultimately an employee of the state, not a private individual, and are sworn "to protect and to serve." In theory, this means the police officer is expected to enforce society's laws and maintain order—unlike the private eye, who can be more flexible in his/her obedience to the rule of law. In practice, though, policing figures can also be disruptive forces—violating the letter of the law in order to enforce a "higher" moral code. As times change and ideology shifts, so does the police drama.

Although 1949's *Stand By for Crime* and *Chicagoland Mystery Players* provided television's first police detectives, neither was as influential as their long-running successor, *Dragnet*—which had two separate TV incarnations, from 1952 to 1959 and then from 1967 to 1970. *Dragnet* defined the genre during the 1950s. Jack Webb produced and starred as Sgt. Joe Friday, who doggedly worked his way through official police procedures. *Dragnet* drew its stories from California court cases and prided itself on presenting "just the facts," as Friday frequently reminded witnesses. Friday was an efficient bureaucrat with a gun and a badge, a proud maintainer of police procedure and society's rules and regulations. Producer Webb had such success with this formula that he returned to the police procedural program in the 1970s with *Adam 12*.

**PRODUCERS** John McRae, Morris Barry, Tony Coburn

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

• BBC

1975–77

29 Episodes

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See also British Programming

The police procedural strain dominated the genre during the 1950s, but its dry presentational style and endorsement of the status quo came under attack in the 1960s. Webb's programs seemed anachronistic and out of touch with the reality of many viewers during that turbulent decade. New issues, imagery, and character types revived the genre in programs such as *Ironside* and *The Mod Squad*.

*Ironside*, in contrast to the Webb programs, attempted to pour a liberal politics into the mold of the police drama. *Ironside*'s team of crime-fighters cobbled together representatives of society's disenfranchised groups (women, African-Americans, and the young) under the guidance of a liberal patriarch, the wheelchair-bound Robert Ironside (Raymond Burr). *Ironside* was an outsider who understood the workings of police procedure, but chose not to function within it. Instead, he formed an alliance of sharply defined individuals outside the bounds of the police organization proper. *Ironside* did not challenge the status quo, but neither did it fully endorse it.

In *The Mod Squad*, the policing characters were drawn from Hollywood's vision of 1960s counterculture: "one white, one black, one blond," the advertising promised. Although actual members of the counterculture spurned the program as fake and inaccurate, *The Mod Squad* illustrated how policing figures can adopt an anti-social patina, how they can come to resemble the rebellious and anarchic forces they are supposed to contain.

The 1970s saw a flood of police programs—some 42 premiered during the decade—and their protagonists became increasingly individualistic and quirky. They came closer and closer to the alienated position of the private detective, and moved farther and farther from the *Dragnet*-





Maigret



Police Woman

style police procedural. The title figures of *McCloud*, *Columbo*, and *Kojak* were police detectives marked as much by personal idiosyncrasies as by concerns with proper procedure or law enforcement effectiveness. *McCloud* (Dennis Weaver) was a deputy from New Mexico who brought Western “justice” to the streets of Manhattan. *Columbo* (Peter Falk) dressed in a crumpled raincoat and feigned lethargy as he lured suspects into a false sense of confidence. And *Kojak* (Telly Savalas) was as well known for his bald head and constant lollipop sucking as for problem-solving.

The 1970s inclination toward offbeat police officers peaked in detectives that spent so much time undercover—and masqueraded so effectively as criminals—that the distinction between police and criminals became less and less clear. *Toma* (a ratings success even though it lasted just one season) and *Baretta* led the way in this regard, drawing their inspiration from *Serpico*—a popular Peter Maas book that eventually evolved into a film and a low-rated TV series. These unorthodox cops bucked the police rule book and lived unconventional lives, but, ultimately, they existed on a higher moral plain than the regular police officer.

The genre was also fortified in the 1970s through other strategies: incorporating a medical discourse (*Quincy, M.E.*), setting policemen astride motorcycles (*CHiPs*—a term, incidentally, which was fabricated by the program and is not used by the California Highway Patrol), and casting younger, hipper actors (*Starsky and Hutch*).

By the 1980s, the police drama was a well established genre, possibly in danger of stagnation from the glut of programs broadcast during the previous decade. With remarkable resiliency, however, it continued to evolve through a series of programs that took its basic conventions and thoroughly reworked them. *Hill Street Blues*, *Cagney and Lacey*, and *Miami Vice* were very different programs, but each of them was seen as an iconoclastic, rule-breaking police program.

Police programs have always invoked realism and claimed authenticity, as was apparent in the genre’s archetype, *Dragnet*. But there are different forms of realism, and *Hill Street Blues* altered the prevailing understanding of realism. Among its innovations were documentary film techniques (such as the hand-held camera), fragmented and disjointed narrative structure (actions kept happening without conventional motivation and/or explanation), and morally ambiguous characterizations (mixing good and evil in a single individual). *Hill Street Blues* also altered the usually all-white, usually all-male composition of the police force by including women and minorities as central figures—a trend which had begun in the 1970s.

*Cagney and Lacey* took the inclusion of women characters and women’s concerns much further than *Hill Street Blues* or *Ironside*. Indeed, it challenged the genre’s patriarchal underpinnings in fundamental, unprecedented ways. There had been women-centered police programs as early as 1974’s *Get Christie Love* and *Police Woman*, but these programs



Hawaii 5-0

were more concerned with exploiting Teresa Graves's or Angie Dickenson's sexual desirability than presenting a feminist agenda. *Cagney and Lacey*, in contrast, confronted women's issues that the genre had previously ignored: breast cancer, abortion, birth control, rape (particularly acquaintance rape), and spousal abuse.

That *Cagney and Lacey* disrupted the male-dominated genre is evidenced by the battles that had to be fought to keep it on the air. In the most notorious incident, the role of detective Christine Cagney was recast after the first, low-rated season because, according to an unnamed CBS executive quoted in *TV Guide*, "The American public doesn't respond to the bra burners, the fighters, the women who insist on calling manhole covers peoplehole covers. . . . We perceived them [actors Tyne Daley and Meg Foster] as dykes." Consequently, a more conventionally feminine actor (Sharon Gless) assumed the Cagney role. (This was actually the third actor to play the part; Loretta Swit was Cagney in the made-for-TV movie version.) Despite this ideological backpedaling, *Cagney and Lacey* went on to

establish itself as one of the most progressively feminist programs on television.

The third 1980s police program to unsettle the conventions of the genre was *Miami Vice*. This immensely popular show featured undercover cops who were so far "under" that they were almost indistinguishable from the criminals—quite a far cry from Sgt. Friday. In *Miami Vice*, good and evil folded back over one another in impenetrable layers of disguise and duplicity. James "Sonny" Crockett (Don Johnson) and Ricardo "Rico" Tubbs (Philip Michael Thomas) usually found their way out of the urban jungle they patrolled, but not always. In one season, Crockett was stricken with amnesia and actually believed himself to be a hoodlum. In any event, Crockett and Tubbs frequently ran across corrupt public officials. The clearly demarcated moral universe of *Dragnet* had become hopelessly ambiguous.

However, moral ambiguity was not entirely new to the genre. This territory was frequently traveled by previous programs such as *Baretta*. What was truly innovative in

*Miami Vice* was the style of its sound and image—rather than its themes. *Miami Vice* borrowed its imagery from the film noir: high contrast, imbalanced lighting, dissymmetrical compositions, extreme low and high camera angles, foreground obstructions, black-and-white set design, and so on. These images were often edited together into elusive, allusive, music-video-style segments incorporating music by Tina Turner, Glenn Frey, Suicidal Tendencies, and many others. This led some critics to nickname the show “MTV cops.”

*Hill Street Blues* and *Miami Vice* paved the way for further experimentation with the genre. Stephen Bochco, the producer of *Hill Street Blues*, began the 1990s with *Cop Rock*—a bold, but ultimately failed, effort to blend the police program with the musical. Unlike *Miami Vice*'s musical segments which drew upon music video, *Cop Rock*'s episodes more resembled *West Side Story* or an operetta—as police officers, criminals, and attorneys sang about life on the streets. It only lasted three months, but it stands as one of the most unconventional programs within the genre.

Bochco fared better in more familiar surroundings when he developed *NYPD Blue*, a program about homicide detectives that resembled *Hill Street Blues* in its serialized, unstable narrative development and cinéma vérité visual style. Although the program raised some controversy in its use of partial nudity and more flavorful language than was common on television at the time, it actually broke little new ground as far as the genre's conventions were considered. More unconventional in its narrative structure was *Law and Order*, in which the program was strictly divided between the first and second halves. In the former, the police investigated a crime, and in the latter the district attorney's office prosecuted that crime. Like *NYPD Blue*, *Law and Order* was set in New York City and it presented its urban environment through conventions of “realism” that evolved from *Hill Street Blues*.

The legacy of *Miami Vice*'s visual stylization was most apparent in *Homicide: Life on the Street*, which may well be the most stylized police drama of the 1990s. *Homicide* broke many of television's most sacred rules of editing and narrative continuity. Jump cuts were numerous as the program came to resemble a French New Wave film from the 1960s. Wild camera movements and unpredictable shifts in narrative development marked it as one of the most unconventional programs in the genre.

One other recent, anomalous police program was *Picket Fences*. Although many of the central characters were police officers (thus possibly qualifying it for the genre), *Picket Fences* did not adhere to the central police program convention of an urban environment. Instead, the program was set in a small town, which consequently defused many of the pressures of city life. Moreover, *Picket Fences* dealt with many topics previously unknown to the genre (such as spontaneous combustion of a human being). It seems unlikely, however, that this program will have much impact on the genre.

More liable to influence the genre was the documentary program *COPS*, produced by John Langley. *COPS* presented hand-held, videotape footage of actual police officers apprehending criminal perpetrators. There was no host introducing this footage and the only explanation of what was happening was provided by the participants themselves (principally, the police men and women). In a sense, *COPS* was merely the logical extension of *Hill Street Blues*' shooting style and disjointed narratives—and was much cheaper to produce.

—Jeremy G. Butler

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## POLICE STORY

### U.S. Police Anthology

**P**olice Story is a title shared by two unrelated police anthology programs. The first *Police Story* aired on CBS during 1952. The live, half-hour program dramatized actual crimes lifted from the files of law enforcement agencies around the nation. The series anticipated "reality" crime programs such as *Rescue 911* with its emphasis on casting actors who resembled the actual participants and use of the real names of police officers. Norman Rose narrated the series.

The better-known *Police Story* series ran from 1973 to 1977 on NBC. During 1988 four made-for-television movies based on the original's script aired on ABC. Los Angeles police officer and writer Joseph Wambaugh created the series after his first two police novels *The Blue Knight* and *The New Centurions* made the best seller lists. (*The Blue Knight* was also adapted into a series for CBS.)

Airing during a network television era rife with crime dramas, *Police Story* distinguished itself from other programs in the genre through its anthology format and emphasis on more realistic depiction of police officers. Set in 1970s Los Angeles, *Police Story* focused on officers from various divisions of the Los Angeles Police Department. While the series had its share of car chases and psycho killers, Wambaugh and series producer David Gerber primarily concentrated on making police officers more three-dimensional and human. The series presented the job of police officer as challenging, dangerous and at times mundane. Undercover detectives spent their lives on stakeouts, rookie cops faced tough street educations, SWAT sharpshooters hit innocent bystanders. Problems such as corruption and racism on the police force and tensions between ethnic communities were frequently explored. The personal lives of the characters were also examined, most often in the context of the pressures police work put on all members of the cop's family.

While the visual and aural style of *Police Story* episodes were on the whole indistinguishable from other crime dramas of the era, the series introduced and concluded episodes with simple recurring motifs that asserted the series' verisimilitude. Each episode opened with the brief *Police Story* title and then leapt into its story. Episodes ended with a blurry freeze frame of the last bit of action. The audio of the scene fell silent and was replaced by the chillingly efficient voice and static of police dispatchers making a radio call, "Eleven - Mary - six, call the station. Thirteen - zero - five, John - Frank - William, eight - nine - nine."

See also *Cagney and Lacey*, *Columbo*, *Dixon of Dock Green*, *Dragnet*, *Homicide*, *Inspector Morse*, *La Plante*, *Lynda*, *Miami Vice*, *Naked City*, *NBC Mystery Movie*, *NYPD Blue*, *Police Story*, *Prime Suspect*, *Starsky and Hutch*, *Sweeney*, *Untouchables*, *Webb, Jack*; *Z Cars*

The result of these narrative and aesthetic conventions was an at times disturbing picture of police officers operating on the edge of society and their own personal psychology. While episodes consistently started stronger than they finished, the anthology format and the ever-present influence of documentary film conventions helped *Police Story* to stand out from more familiar cops-and-robbers fare. These stylistic factors suggest that the series was, in various ways, the predecessor of later police programs such as *Hill Street Blues*, *NYPD Blue*, and *Homicide: Life on the Street*. The series received wide critical praise and Emmy nominations for Outstanding Dramatic Series every year during its 1970s run.

While most episodes in *Police Story* were unrelated, a few actors reprised their characters across several episodes. Don Meredith and Tony LoBianco appeared as partners or separately in six episodes from 1973 to 1975. Two *Police Story* episodes also served as spin-offs for the police dramas *Police Woman* and *Joe Forrester*. Gerber produced these series as well.

—Stephen Lee

**PRODUCERS** Stanley Kallis, David Gerber, Liam O'Brien, Christopher Morgan, Hugh Benson, Mel Swope, Larry Broder, Carl Pingitore

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 84 Episodes

#### • NBC

October 1973-September 1975	Tuesday 10:00-11:00
September 1975-October 1975	Tuesday 9:00-10:00
November 1975-August 1976	Friday 10:00-11:00
August 1976-August 1977	Tuesday 10:00-11:00

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See also Police Programs

## POLITICAL PROCESSES AND TELEVISION

Since its beginnings, television in the United States has been intertwined with political processes of every type, ranging from coverage of major political events and institutions to effects on campaigns and elections. From its early position as a new medium for political coverage in the 1950s, television quickly supplanted radio and eventually newspapers to become by the early 1960s the major source of public information about politics.

### Televised Coverage of Major Political Events

Television's influence grew quickly by providing audiences with the chance to experience major political events live or with little delay. For instance, observers have long discussed the fact that television coverage of the famous 1954 McArthur Day Parade in Chicago communicated more excitement and a greater sense of immediacy to television viewers than to those participating in the live event. The televised hearings in conjunction with Joseph McCarthy's search for communist sympathizers in the early 1950s also captured the attention of the public.

Probably no political event in the history of television coverage so mesmerized television audiences as the coverage of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in 1963. Film of the actual tragedy in Dallas was played and replayed, and Jack Ruby's subsequent assassination of suspect Lee Harvey Oswald occurred on live television.

By the 1970s the live coverage of major political events had become almost commonplace, but television's ability to lend drama and intimacy to political events continues. Through television Americans have been eyewitness to state funerals and foreign wars; a presidential resignation; hearings on scandals such as Watergate, Iran-Contra, and Whitewater; triumphs of presidential diplomacy and negotiation; and innumerable other political events.

### Television and Political Campaigns/Elections

No aspect of the political process has been affected more by television than political campaigns and elections. The first presidential election to see extensive use of television was the 1952 race between Dwight D. Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson. In that campaign, Richard M. Nixon, as Eisenhower's vice-presidential candidate, "took his case to the people" to defend himself on television against corruption charges in the famous "Checkers" speech. However, the most significant innovation related to the role of television in the 1952 campaign was undoubtedly Eisenhower's use of

short spot commercials to enhance his television image. The Eisenhower campaign utilized the talent of successful product advertising executive Rosser Reeves to devise a series of short spots that appeared, just like product ads, during commercial breaks in standard television programming slots. Not only did this strategy break new ground for political campaigning, but many observers have credited the spots with helping Eisenhower to craft a friendly, charming persona that contributed to his eventual electoral success. Stevenson made it easier for the Eisenhower campaign by refusing to participate in this type of electronic campaigning. Although Stevenson did produce television commercials for the 1956 campaign, he was never able to overcome Eisenhower's popularity.

This early use of television for political advertising was the beginning of a trend that has grown so dramatically that televised political advertising is now the major form of communication between candidates and voters in the American electoral system. Every presidential campaign since 1952 has relied heavily on political television spots. In the 1992 election, Bill Clinton, George Bush, Ross Perot, and the national parties spent over \$120 million dollars for production and airing of television spots. Even below the presidential level, spots now dominate most major statewide (particularly gubernatorial and U. S. Senate) and Congressional races in the United States, accounting for 50-75% of campaign budgets.

Several reasons account for the preeminence of television advertising in politics. First, television spots and their content are under the direct control of the candidate and his/her campaign. Second, the spots can reach a much wider audience than other standard forms of electoral communication. Third, the spots, because they occur in the middle of other programming fare, have been shown to overcome partisan selectivity (e.g., the spots are generally seen by all voters, not just those whose political party is the same as that of the candidate). Finally, research has shown that voters actually learn more (particularly about issues) from political spots than they do from television news or television debates.

The use of television advertising in political campaigns has often been criticized for "lowering the level" of political discourse. Observers bemoan that television fosters drama and visual imagery, leading to a concentration on candidate images instead of policy issues. However, scholarly research has shown that television spots for campaigns at all levels are much more likely to concentrate on issues than on images.



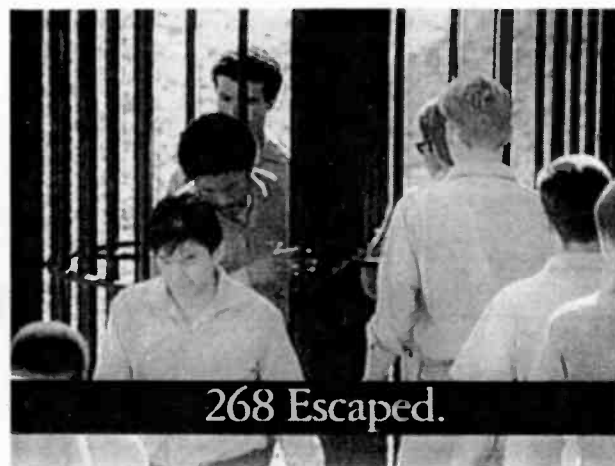
"Daisy Girl"

*Photo courtesy of the Political Communication Center,  
University of Oklahoma*

The extensive reliance on television for campaign communication has also been blamed by many observers for the rise of negative campaigning. Scholars and journalists alike have noted that more and more political campaigns rely on negative television spots to attack opponents. Although even Eisenhower's original spot campaign in 1952 contained a large number of critical or negative messages and Lyndon Johnson's 1964 campaign spots attacking Barry Goldwater are considered classics (particularly the "Daisy Girl" spot), the news media labeled the 1980s as the heyday of negative spots. Over the past five decades of political spot use, about one-third of all spots for presidential campaigns have been negative spots.

One of the causes of increased negative spot use has been the growth in "independent expenditures" by political action committees (PACs) and other special interest groups. Campaign finance regulations and related Supreme Court decisions in the 1970s (see the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, 1974 and amendments and *Buckley v. Valeo*, 424 U.S. 1, 96 S.Ct. 612, 1976) declared that, while limits on individual contributions to campaigns were legal, Constitutional free speech provisions prevented limiting what individuals or groups could spend independently to advocate for or against a given candidate. Spending by independent individuals or groups on television spots has mushroomed in the 1980s and 1990s, and often such television spending has been concentrated on negative attacks on candidates (usually incumbents).

Other than the federal election laws noted above, which created the Federal Election Commission to oversee campaign finance and expenditure reporting, there are very few regulations in the United States that affect television's role in the political process. The Federal Communications Act of 1934 contained the Equal Time Provision which obligates television and radio stations that give or sell time to one candidate to do the same for all legally qualified candidates



"The Revolving Door"

*Photo courtesy of the Political Communication Center,  
University of Oklahoma*

for federal office. The Fairness Doctrine, which has been retained only in regard to political campaigns and related attacks, provides for a prescribed right of response to attacks contained in broadcast programming. However, because of free speech concerns, neither the Federal Election Commission nor the Federal Communications Commission imposes any restrictions on the content of political message broadcasts, except to require sponsor identification.

#### **Television News Coverage of Political Campaigns**

Politics provide a great deal of natural content for television news programming. During political campaign periods, the national networks, as well as many local stations, devote substantial amounts of time to covering the candidates and their campaigns. So important has television news coverage of politics become that some observers suggest its growth has been accompanied by and perhaps caused the demise of political parties in American politics. Media producer Tony Schwartz has commented that in the past "political parties were the means of communication from the candidate to public. The political parties today are ABC, NBC, and CBS."

Because more people get their campaign news from television than from any other news source, there has been great concern about how television actually covers a political campaign. Studies have shown that television's predispositions to drama and visual imagery have resulted in television news coverage that concentrates more on candidate images, "horserace" journalism (who's winning, who's losing, opinion poll results), and campaign strategy than on issue concerns.

Television news coverage of campaigns has also come to rely extensively on "soundbites," snippets of candidate messages or commentary excerpts. By the late 1980s the average soundbite on national television news covering political campaigns was only about nine seconds. In addition to reliance on short



soundbites, television news coverage of campaigns has been characterized by reliance on "spin doctors," individual experts who interpret events for viewers by framing, directing, and focusing remarks to favor one side or the other.

Because television coverage is so important to campaigns and politicians, the question of potential bias in coverage has been raised repeatedly. Former Vice President Spiro Agnew is often credited with raising the salience of potential bias in his 1969 speeches accusing television of political, liberal-leaning bias. Early studies of political bias in television, focused initially on the 1972 presidential campaign, concluded that there was little evidence of such bias. Scholars, instead, suggested that differences among media in their attention to particular candidates and issues might be attributable to structural characteristics of the media (i.e., television needed visuals more than newspapers did, television had a predisposition to drama, etc.). However, more recent investigations in the 1980s have led to less complacency, suggesting that there may be unexplained differences in coverage of Republican and Democratic, Liberal and Conservative, political candidates.

In addition to outright political bias, television news has also been criticized for placing too much emphasis on coverage of candidate personalities, particularly the personal lives of candidates. Examples often cited as evidence of extremes in this regard are the scrutiny of the prior treatment for mental illness of McGovern's original vice-presidential choice Thomas Eagleton and 1988 primary presidential candidate Gary Hart's extramarital affairs. Both were forced from the political arena by the surrounding media frenzy.

Television news also plays a major role in the coverage of the presidential candidate selection process before the national party conventions. By covering and scrutinizing candidates in state primaries and caucuses, television coverage can help determine which candidates are perceived by the electorate as viable and which might be dismissed as unlikely to succeed. This ability to give and withhold attention has been seen by many as making television's role in the political process a very decisive one, since a candidate who does not do well in early primaries faces not only an uphill battle in subsequent contests but may have difficulty raising funds to continue at all. Coverage of primaries has also provided opportunities for coverage of events that have continued to be influential on through the general election. For instance, George Bush's unprecedentedly hostile encounter with Dan Rather on the CBS evening news in January 1988 is often credited with erasing Bush's "wimp" image and giving him the momentum for the contests ahead. Conversely, Edmund Muskie was forever diminished when television cameras caught tears in his eyes at a New Hampshire primary rally early in the 1972 campaign.

News media coverage of politics is not limited to simple coverage of candidates and campaign activities, however. Television news has also played a large role in the coverage of other aspects of the political process. In 1952 television covered its first series of national party conventions. While it was originally

believed that such attention would bring the party process into the open and help voters better understand the political selection process, parties quickly learned to "script" their conventions for television. National television networks no longer provide gavel-to-gavel coverage of national party conventions, furnishing only convention highlights to viewers.

Televised campaign debates provide other fodder for the television news operation. The first televised debates in the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon campaign were viewed as important, perhaps decisive, in Kennedy's victory. Kennedy's success has often been attributed to his impressive appearance on television in these debates. The next set of presidential debates did not occur until the 1976 contest between Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter, but there has been some type of single or multiple debate encounter in every subsequent presidential election. All of these cases have been noteworthy for the attention television news has focused on the events. In some instances, such as the second 1976 Ford-Carter debate, researchers have shown that television's emphasis on Ford's famous misstatement about Soviet domination of Poland and the Eastern bloc changed the interpretation and significance of the event to many viewers.

Several innovations in television coverage of political campaigns were apparent in the late 1980s and early 1990s. One such innovation was the attention given by the television news media to coverage of political television spots. News media personnel, in conjunction with their print journalist counterparts, decided that candidate-controlled spots should be scrutinized and critiqued by the news media. Beginning with the 1988 presidential contest, the television networks, as well as local stations, began to devote increased amounts of time to analyzing candidate spots in what came to be known as "adwatches." Television stations, particularly local ones, also began to take advantage of satellite technology and other remote feed capabilities to provide more on-the-spot coverage of campaigns and candidates. Traditional television news formats, however, have found themselves challenged by another innovation, the frequent appearance of political candidates on television talk shows and personality interview programs. These shows have provided candidates with new ways to pitch their messages, often with the benefit of direct voter call-in questions. The potential influence of such shows has been enhanced by the proliferation of cable channels offering multiple distribution systems.

### **Television and the Rise of Political Professionals**

The increased importance of television to political campaigning is also largely responsible for the growth of political or media "handlers." The need to perform well on television (in controlled paid advertising, in debates, on talk-shows, in news interviews, and on pseudo-events planned for television news coverage) has created a great demand for professional campaign consultants. Joe McGinniss' 1969 book *The Selling of the President* 1968, brought new public visibility to the process by which media consultants mold and manage candidates for television by chronicling the media strategies and packaging of Richard Nixon in his 1968



presidential bid. Dan Nimmo's *The Political Persuaders* (1970) helped a whole generation of political students and scholars understand this new partnership between candidates and media specialists. By the 1980s, it was possible to point to particular philosophies and schools of consulting thought and to identify the specific strategies used by consultants to manipulate candidate images for television.

### Television and the Governing Process

While television's role in political campaigns and elections is difficult to overestimate, television's significance in the political process carries over to the effects on governing the nation. Television "keeps an eye" on government institutions and the governing process. Every branch of government is affected by this watchdog.

The president of the United States probably bears the greatest weight of this scrutiny. It is indeed rare to see any national television newscast that does not contain one or more stories centered on the executive branch of government. In addition, presidents in general have the ability to receive free network television time for national addresses and for frequent press conferences. Their inaugural addresses and state-of-the-union addresses are covered live and in full. In *Presidential Television* (1973), Minow, Martin, and Mitchell first called attention to the tremendous advantage this coverage might yield for the President, suggesting that it gave the President the ability to command public attention and overpower the more divided and less visible Congress and Supreme Court branches. Certainly, the White House has been a plum assignment for television journalists who have often been accused of being co-opted by the aura of power that surrounds the presidency. This unique situation has been characterized as leading, not to a traditional adversarial relationship between press and president, but to a symbiotic relationship in which journalist and politician need "to use" each other in order to prosper.

However, since the introduction of cameras into the Congress in 1969 and the creation of the C-SPAN network to cover political affairs, there has been some leveling of the presidential advantage in television coverage. Although sometimes accused of "playing to the cameras" in their legislative work, legislative leaders believe this opening-up of the governing process to the television audience has provided new understanding of and visibility for the legislative branch of government. The Supreme Court nonetheless continues to function outside the realm of day-to-day television coverage.

### Television and International Political Processes

As television's role in the American political system has developed over the past five decades, increasing attention has been focused on the interrelationship between television and politics in many international political environments. Although often characterized by parliamentary and multi-party systems and government-owned media, many other democracies have been influenced by American styles of television campaigning and coverage. This "Americaniza-

tion" of the media and political process can be seen in the growth of American-style political advertising and horserace journalistic coverage. Countries such as Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Israel, many Latin American countries, and others have seen this trend, and newly developing democracies in East and Central Europe are also being affected. These countries have not only seen the growth of television advertising and American patterns of media coverage of politics, but a corollary lessening of emphasis on political parties in favor of candidate-centered politics.

### Theories and Perspectives on Television and Politics

Early research into the effects of messages delivered through the mass media, particularly television, posited the so-called "direct effects" theory—that television messages had direct effects on the behavior of recipients. However, the early research did not fully support this thesis, and scholars for a time tended to discount the notion that such messages directly affected the behavior of recipients such as voters. More recent studies of a more sophisticated design have tended to show that the media do affect behavior, although not necessarily in the most obvious ways initially anticipated.

Television has certainly been proven to have sufficiently identifiable effects to justify a belief in some direct effect of the medium in the political process. While the foregoing discussion clearly implies some direct effects of television's participation in the political process, it is important to note that there are many different theories and interpretations about the role television and other media really play in affecting voter knowledge, opinions, and behavior. Nimmo and Sanders' classic treatment of political communication in *The Handbook of Political Communication* (1981) provides a good overview of the theories that have guided research in this area. Early theorists did assume a kind of direct effect from media exposure but were later cautioned to view the media as having a more limited role. Agenda-setting researchers were the first to break with the limited effects model and to suggest that media coverage of particular issues in political campaigns affected the agenda of issues judged to be important by voters. Agenda-setting theory—the idea that the media do not tell us what to think but what to think *about*—remains an important theory of media effects, and researchers have demonstrated that the agenda of issues and candidate characteristics stressed by television and other media may become the voters' agenda as well.

Researchers interested in the political effects of the television have also espoused a "uses and gratifications" theory suggesting that voters attend to various political media messages in order to use the information in various ways. Blumler and his colleagues first proposed this theory as an explanation for why voters in Britain watched or avoided political party broadcasts.

Many other theories and perspectives on television's possible effects on political processes have been advocated. Researchers have demonstrated, for instance, that television may play an important role in political socialization, helping

both children and adults to acquire knowledge about the political system and how it operates or that exposure to television may increase voter cynicism and feelings of inefficacy. Others have suggested that we can best understand television's role in politics by viewing it as a medium through which fantasies "chain out" among the public shaping views of events and political actors in a dramatistic fashion. Critical and interpretive views also provide perspective on the interrelationship between governing philosophies, societal values, and television culture. All these approaches and orientations will be essential in the future, as television continues to play a central role in the political processes that touch the lives of citizens throughout the world.

—Lynda Lee Kaid

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- See also Parliament, Coverage by Television; Royalty and Royals and Television; U.S. Congress; U.S. Presidency

## POOL COVERAGE

**P**ool coverage involves the combined resources of media outlets to report on a major news event. Such resources include funds, supplies, equipment, and manpower. Members of the media pool often share news stories and photographic images of the event with other non-pool news outlets. Each news outlet may use the pool feed at its discretion.

In the United States press pools often are associated with war efforts. Indeed, there the free press always has been considered a little too free for the Pentagon. The Vietnam War represented the first instance of coverage that brought negative images of war into American homes. Since this war, the first example of military "guidance" occurred during the invasion of Grenada in October 1993. Outcries from the press brought the establishment of the press pool by the Department of Defense in 1994.

The Pentagon chooses members of the National Media Pool by lottery. Members of the press take turns serving in the pool. Pool reporters write accounts of the activities they view and share their information with other members. To be included in the National Media Pool, news organizations must: demonstrate a familiarity with U.S. military affairs and maintain a correspondent who regularly covers military affairs and Pentagon press conferences; maintain a Washington D.C. staff; be able to participate in the pool on standby and be able to deploy within a minimum of four hours; agree to adhere to pool ground rules; and be U.S. owned and operated.

The National Media Pool is designed to represent all news organizations and to serve as the eyes and ears of Americans. However, as a result, pool reports often have a uniformed quality. Moreover, many journalists claim that military officials often make it hard to provide objective first-hand coverage of events.

In 1992, representatives from the military and news organizations developed nine principles for pool coverage. As outlined by Gersh (1992), highlights of these principles include: open and independent reporting; pools should not be the standard means of coverage; pools may be necessary for specific events and should be disbanded when needed; journalists will be credentialed by the U.S. military and must abide by security rules; journalists will be provided access to all major military units, although special operation restrictions may limit some access; military officials will act as liaisons; field commanders will permit journalists to ride on military vehicles and aircraft when feasible; and materials will be provided to ensure timely, secure, and compatible transmission of pool material.

Media resources also have been pooled to reduce the unnecessary clutter of camera crews at the scene of an event. Pools have been implemented to cover the Republican and Democratic national conventions, presidential primaries, and high-profile elections. They also are utilized to provide coverage of individual political candidates. According to Nimmo and Combs (1990), each day on the campaign trail, a couple of members of the pool reporters are in close contact with the candidate. These members may be "on the candidate's private plane, at small enclaves, during motorcades, and so forth." These

reporters write accounts of the candidate's activities, which are then made available to pool journalists who cannot be with the candidate. In presidential elections, pool members are elite press members. Nimmo and Combs explain that there is a pecking order for pool members: "At the top are national political reporters—experienced correspondents of prestigious newspapers, the wire services, national newsmagazines, and television networks. At the bottom are the representatives of smaller newspapers and organizations." Regardless of status, pool coverage often is similar. Crouse (1974) writes, "After a while, they [pool journalists] began to believe in the same rumors, subscribe to the same theories, and write the same stories."

Recently, pools have been enlisted to organize coverage of high-profile criminal trials. According to Gersh (1993), when serial killer Jeffrey Dahmer was tried for 17 murders allegedly involving cannibalism, over 450 journalists flocked to Milwaukee from around the world to cover the bizarre story. Daniel Patrinos, media coordinator for the Wisconsin court, set up a pool system to handle coverage of the proceedings. In addition to utilizing advisories from Associated Press, United Press International, and Reuters wires, Patrinos saw to it that local community papers (including black and gay newspapers) were well informed. The judge in this case allowed 23 pool journalists into the courtroom and allowed others to watch from a media center.

Likewise, reporters, photographers, and camera crews turned out in record numbers for the opening statements of the O.J. Simpson double murder trial on 23 January 1995. Judge Lance Ito allowed only pool journalists into the courtroom, and a media room was set up for other journalists. In spite of these controls, the term most often used to describe the situation was "media circus." Stein (1995), however, reports a different and more malignant metaphor—one correspondent compared the media frenzy at the O.J. Simpson trial not to the pleasures of three ring entertainment but to the stress and danger of covering a riot or a war.

—Lori Melton McKinnon

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See also News, Network

## POST, MIKE

U.S. Composer

Mike Post, one of the most successful composers in television history, has written music for television since the 1970s. He has won five Grammy Awards for his theme songs and, by his own count, has scored more than 2,000 hours of film. Post has produced the signature melodies for programs such as *Hill Street Blues*, *L.A. Law* and *NYPD Blue*. His distinct themes often have intense, industrial rock music crosscut with smooth jazz sounds. These compositions are noted for their unique blending of styles as well as for the dramatic manner in which they complement a show's narrative.

Post is regarded as the youngest musician to be appointed as musical director for a television program; he assumed that role in 1969 at age 24, on *The Andy Williams Show*. Prior to that appointment, Post worked primarily as a session musician for a number of major artists including Sammy Davis, Jr., Dean Martin, and Sonny and Cher—he played guitar on “I Got You Babe” in 1965. He was also a successful producer and arranger, winning a Grammy at age 22 for Best Instrumental Arrangement on Mason Williams’ “Classical Gas.”

Post began his career in Los Angeles with the country-rock band First Edition, featuring Kenny Rogers. In the late 1960s he joined forces with Pete Carpenter, trombonist, arranger, and veteran of television theme scoring, and began to write music for television. Post and Carpenter began working for producer Stephen J. Cannell and first wrote the theme for Cannell's cop show *Toma* in 1973. *The Rockford Files* theme, however, was their breakthrough assignment. The whimsical synthesizer melodies seemed perfectly suited to the ironic character of James Garner's Rockford. The score sealed their reputations and won Post his first Grammy Award for Best Instrumental Arrangement in 1975.

*Hill Street Blues* brought more accolades and continued success. The theme song, an elegant composition of simple, poignant piano music, struck a chord with audiences and soared onto the pop charts. It also impressed his peers and the critics and brought Post two more Grammys in 1981—one for Best Pop Instrumental Performance and one for Best Instrumental Composition.

*Hill Street Blues* also marked the beginning of a long-running, creative collaboration with Steven Bochco. One of the most prolific producers of successful dramatic series in the 1980s and 1990s, Bochco hired Post to write the *Hill Street Blues* theme and has worked closely with him ever since. The composer's career was largely established by the music he composed for Bochco's police or law dramas.

Post's work is wholly devoted to compelling a program's story line and contributing to its overall tone. The slick, polished opening sounds of *L.A. Law* and the aggressive, chaotic drumbeats punctuating the segments of *NYPD Blue* episodes are examples of talent for melding images,



Mike Post

Photo courtesy of Mike Post

emotions, and sounds. He is also exceptionally resourceful in orchestrating his award-winning melodies. To achieve the unique sound of the *NYPD Blue* theme, for example, he used, among other effects, 1,000 men jumping up and down on a wooden floor, a cheese grater, and a subway horn. All these ideas are largely inspired by the program's script, and Post's ability to encompass a show's character in his music is what has landed him atop the elite class of Hollywood composers. Only Pat Williams, Henry Mancini and Dave Grusin have attained comparable levels of success and respect in this field.

Ironically, his music has become so popular that the themes play on pop radio, a medium wholly disconnected from the visual drama he is committed to enhancing. One of his songs, “The Greatest American Hero,” is among the few TV themes ever to reach the number one spot on the Pop Singles charts. Others, such as the themes for *Hill Street Blues* and *The Rockford Files*, have reached the Top 10.

His popular and unique compositions are not Mike Post's only enduring legacy to television, however. He can also be credited with elevating television scoring to a fine art, and creating a new dimension of drama with his “ear for the visual.”

—Jennifer Moreland

**MIKE POST.** Born in San Fernando, California, U.S.A., 1945. Married; children: Jennifer and Aaron. Began career as member of Kenny Rogers's country-rock band First Edition; went on to play for Sammy Davis, Jr., and Dean Martin; musical director, *The Andy Williams Show*, 1969; produced numerous television scores, including *The Rockford Files*, *Hill Street Blues*, *L.A. Law*, *Doogie Howser*, and *NYPD Blue*; arranged various Ray Charles LPs; record producer, Dolly Parton's *9 to 5*, among others. Recipient: five Grammy Awards.

#### TELEVISION (scoring)

*Two on a Beach*, 1971; *Gidget Gets Married*, 1972; *Griff*, 1973; *Needles and Pins*, 1973; *Toma*, 1973; *Locusts*, 1974; *The Morning After*, 1974; *The Rockford Files*, 1974, *The Texas Wheelers*, 1974; *The Bob Crane Show*, 1975; *The Invasion of Johnson County*, 1976; *Richie Brockelman: Missing 24 Hours*, 1976; *Scott Free*, 1976; *The Black Sheep Squadron*, 1977; *Charlie Cobb: Nice Night for a Hanging*, 1977; *Off the Wall*, 1977; *Doctor Scorpion*, 1978; *Richie Brockelman: Private Eye*, 1978; *The White Shadow*, 1978; *Big Shamus*, *Little Shamus*, 1979; *Captain America*, 1979; *Captain America II*, 1979; *The Duke*, 1979; *The 416th*, 1979; *The Night Rider*, 1979; *Operating Room*, 1979; *240-Robert*, 1979; *Tenspeed and Brown Shoe*, 1980; *Scout's Honor*, 1980; *Hill Street Blues*, 1980; *Coach of the Year*, 1980; *The Greatest American Hero*, 1980; *Palms Precinct*, 1982; *The Quest*, 1982; *Tales of the Gold Monkey*, 1982; *Will, G. Gordon Liddy*, 1982; *The*

*A-Team*, 1983; *Bay City Blues*, 1983; *Big John*, 1983; *Hardcastle and McCormick*, 1983; *Riptide*, 1983; *The Roust-ers*, 1983; *Running Brave*, 1983; *Four Eyes*, 1984; *Hadley's Rebellion*, 1984; *Hard Knox*, 1984; *No Man's Land*, 1984; *The Return of Luter Gillie*, 1984; *The River Rat*, 1984; *Welcome to Paradise*, 1984; *Heart of a Champion*, 1985; *Stingray*, 1985; *Adam: His Song Continues*, 1986; *L.A. Law*, 1986; *The Last Precinct*, 1986; *Destination America*, 1987; *Hooperman*, 1987; *Sirens*, 1987; *Wiseguy*, 1987; *Murphy's Law*, 1988; *Sonny Spoon*, 1988; *The Ryan White Story*, 1989; *B.L. Stryker: The Dancer's Touch*, 1989; *Unspeakable Acts*, 1990; *Without Her Consent*, 1990; *NYPD Blue*, 1993.

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See also Music and Television

## POTTER, DENNIS

### British Writer

**D**ennis Potter is arguably the most important creative figure in the history of British television. From 1965 until his death in 1994, he constructed a personal oeuvre of such remarkable character and consistency that it will probably never be equalled in the medium. The most prolific yet also most controversial of television playwrights, he remains the undisputed figurehead of that peculiarly British phenomenon of writers who expend much of their working lives and passions attempting to show that television can be just as powerful a vehicle for artistic expression as cinema or theatre.

Potter was raised in what he later described as the "tight, enclosed, backward" world of the Forest of Dean; a remote rural idyll nestling between two rivers, the Severn and the Wye, on the aggressively English side of the border with Wales. The product of a remote God-fearing community, he attended chapel at least twice every Sunday and the vividness of its language and metaphors formed a powerful influence on his writing.

He came to prominence in 1965, when, after an earlier career in journalism and politics, his first plays were all transmitted by the BBC within the space of a year, as part

of *The Wednesday Play* slot's ground-breaking policy of introducing radical new writers to television. Of these, the most successful were *The Nigel Barton Plays*—a pair of semi-autobiographical dramas which expertly dissected the effects of social class upon the psyche of its eponymous hero, winning awards and helping to seal Potter's reputation as a major new playwright of passion and ideas. Only as the 1960s wore on and he continued to write for *The Wednesday Play* and its successor *Play for Today*, did it gradually become clear that underlying the broadly political attacks of his earlier work was an older chapel sensibility: the personality moulded by biblical teaching and imagery, yet one now in desperate search of answers in the face of acute spiritual crisis.

In 1969, *Son of Man* was transmitted; a gospel play in which Potter audaciously created the messiah in his own image: a human, suffering Christ, racked by doubts over his own mission and plagued by the fear that he has been forsaken by God. With this and other titles that followed such as *Angels Are so few* (1970), *Where Adam Stood* (1976) and most controversially of all, *Brimstone and Treacle*—originally intended for transmission in 1976 but banned

by the BBC for eleven years on account of a scene where the Devil rapes a mentally handicapped girl—it became clear that Potter had discovered his true vocation as a dramatist of religious or spiritual themes, albeit one highly unorthodox and sometimes offensive to the political and moral establishment.

Central to Potter's quest for spiritual answers was his own personal affliction of psoriatic arthropathy: a painful combination of psoriasis enflaming the skin and arthritis crippling the joints which he had suffered from since the age of 26 and which had necessitated his withdrawal from the public worlds of politics and current affairs into the more private realm of life as a television playwright. This inwardness was also manifested in Potter's famous non-naturalistic style: his determination to challenge the dominant British television drama tradition of "dreary" naturalism, through an alternative emphasis on inner, psychological reality. He successfully customised a whole series of non-naturalistic devices—including flashback and fantasy sequences; direct-to-camera address by characters; the use of adult actors to play children—all of which he believed represented more truthfully "what goes on inside people's heads."

In 1978, Potter showcased what became his most famous technique when Bob Hoskins burst into song, miming to an old 78 RPM recording in the BBC TV serial, *Pennies from Heaven*. The international success of *Pennies* transformed Potter's career, leading to a lucrative spell as a Hollywood screenwriter which included a disastrous movie remake of the serial in 1981. Throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, however, Potter continued to produce original work for television, though serials now rather than one-off plays: nowhere perhaps more decisively than with *The Singing Detective* (1986), in which his famous device of characters miming to popular song was used to punctuate a narrative as complex and layered as any work of serious literature; one that will undoubtedly endure as Potter's monument to the creative possibilities of the medium.

The rapturous plaudits which greeted *The Singing Detective* in Britain and the United States may have elevated him to the rare status of genuine TV *auteur* but the period after 1986 was not an easy one for Potter. In 1989, after a falling out with his erstwhile producer Kenith Trodd, Potter decided to direct a television adaptation of his "feminist" novel, *Blackeyes*. The result was a critical bloodbath in the United Kingdom, with the director accused of precisely the misogyny and exploitation he claimed he had been trying to expose on screen. Nor was *Lipstick on Your Collar* (1993)—a six-part "drama with songs" set in the 1950s—the resounding popular success he had hoped for.

In February 1994, Potter was diagnosed with terminal cancer of the pancreas and died four months later but not before an extraordinary television interview in which he talked movingly about his imminent death, revealing his plans to complete two final television serials to be uniquely co-produced by rival national channels, BBC-1 and Channel Four. Defying the medical odds, he succeeded in completing



Dennis Potter

Photo courtesy of the British Film Institute

the works, *Karaoke* and *Cold Lazarus* and in accordance with his wishes, these were transmitted posthumously by both channels in the spring of 1996. Though critical reaction in Britain was somewhat mixed, the very fact of the joint production seemed to confirm Potter's creative legacy as the practitioner who, above all others, aspired to raise television to an art form and whose pioneering non-naturalism had indeed been successful in opening up its drama to the landscape of the mind.

—John Cook

DENNIS (CHRISTOPHER GEORGE) POTTER. Born in Joyford Hill, Coleford, Gloucestershire, England, 17 May 1935. Attended Christchurch Village School; Bell's Grammar School, Coleford; St. Clement Danes Grammar School, London; New College, Oxford, B.A. 1959. Married: Margaret Morgan, 1959; one son and two daughters. Member of the Current Affairs Staff, BBC Television, 1959–61; television critic for various publications, 1961–78; contributed to *That Was the Week That Was*, 1962; Labour candidate for Parliament, East Hertfordshire, 1964; first plays televised, 1965; first screenplay, 1981. Honorary fellow, New College, Oxford, 1987. Recipient: Writers Guild Awards, 1965 and 1969; Society of Film and Television Arts Award, 1966; British Academy of Film and Television Arts

Award, 1979 and 1980; Prix Italia, 1982; San Francisco Film Festival Award, 1987; Broadcasting Press Guild Award, 1987. Died in Ross-on-Wye, Herefordshire, 7 June 1994.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1971	<i>Casanova</i>
1978	<i>Pennies from Heaven</i>
1985	<i>Tender Is the Night</i>
1986	<i>The Singing Detective</i>
1988	<i>Christabel</i>
1989	<i>Blackeyes</i> (writer, director)
1993	<i>Lipstick on Your Collar</i>

#### TELEVISION PLAYS

1965	<i>The Wednesday Play: The Confidence Course</i>
1965	<i>Alice</i>
1965	<i>Cinderella</i>
1965	<i>Stand Up, Nigel Barton</i>
1965	<i>Vote Vote Vote for Nigel Barton</i>
1966	<i>Emergency Ward 9</i>
1966	<i>Where the Buffalo Roam</i>
1967	<i>Message for Posterity</i>
1968	<i>The Bonegrinder</i>
1968	<i>Shaggy Dog</i>
1968	<i>A Beast with Two Backs</i>
1969	<i>Moonlight on the Highway</i>
1969	<i>Son of Man</i>
1970	<i>Lay Down Your Arms</i>
1970	<i>Angels Are so few</i>
1971	<i>Paper Roses</i>
1971	<i>Traitor</i>
1972	<i>Follow the Yellow Brick Road</i>
1973	<i>Only Make Believe</i>
1973	<i>A Tragedy of Two Ambitions</i>
1974	<i>Joe's Ark</i>
1974	<i>Schmoedipus</i>
1975	<i>Late Call</i>
1976	<i>Double Dare</i>
1976	<i>Where Adam Stood</i>
1978	<i>The Mayor of Casterbridge</i>
1979	<i>Blue Remembered Hills</i>
1980	<i>Blade on the Feather</i>
1980	<i>Rain on the Roof</i>
1980	<i>Cream in My Coffee</i>
1987	<i>Visitors</i>
1987	<i>Brimstone and Treacle</i>
1996	<i>Karaoke</i>
1996	<i>Cold Lazarus</i>

#### FILMS

*Pennies from Heaven*, 1981; *Brimstone and Treacle*, 1982; *Gorky Park*, 1983; *Dreamchild*, 1985; *Track 29*, 1988; *Blackeyes*, 1990; *Secret Friends* (writer, director), 1991.

#### STAGE

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See also *Pennies from Heaven*; *Singing Detective*; *Wednesday Play*

## POWELL, DICK

U.S. Actor/Producer

Dick Powell may be best remembered as a movie star, a boyish crooner in dozens of Hollywood musicals of the 1930s, and later, a hard-boiled *film noir* tough guy. Like many stars of the studio era, Powell turned his dramatic talents to television in the 1950s, but he did so as an adjunct to his most significant television role, as an independent telefilm producer. Between 1952 and his death in 1963, Powell served as the head of Four Star Television, which became, under his leadership, one of Hollywood's leading suppliers of prime-time network programming.

As the star of numerous Warner Brothers musicals, Powell was one of Hollywood's top box-office draws during the 1930s (and quickly became just as popular on radio). By mid-decade the young singer was lobbying to break into more serious roles, but his efforts were rebuffed by Jack Warner. The parts became somewhat more varied after a 1940 move to Paramount, but the actor's dramatic ambitions were blocked there as well. The turning point came in 1944 when Powell convinced RKO to cast him as private eye Philip Marlowe in *Murder, My Sweet* (regarded by many as the definitive rendition of Raymond Chandler's fictional sleuth). Thereafter the singing roles stopped, and Powell began a new career as a hard-boiled antihero in such films as *Cornered*, *Pitfall*, *Johnny O'Clock*, and *Cry Danger*, in the process remaking his radio persona as well, with a stint as gumshoe Richard Rogue in *Rogue's Gallery*, and three seasons as *Richard Diamond, Private Detective*.

Still eager to broaden his creative horizons, Powell set his sights on movie directing in the late 1940s, but once again met with resistance from studio powers. Finally, in 1952, RKO studio head Howard Hughes gave Powell a chance to direct the thriller *Split Second*, and the success of that film led Hughes to offer Powell a producing job. While there was some speculation in Hollywood that Powell would become head of production at RKO, he was able to complete only one feature, *The Conqueror*, before Hughes sold the company in 1955. Powell went on to helm three more features in as many years at other studios.

Although the leadership of RKO had eluded him, Powell had already begun his rise as a television mogul. On the heels of his first feature assignment Powell had formed an independent telefilm production company with actors Charles Boyer and David Niven. Four Star Films derived its

name from its first project, the half-hour anthology *Four Star Playhouse*, in which one of the three partners would rotate with a different weekly guest star. In its second season the partners invited guest Ida Lupino to become the show's permanent "fourth star." Although she did not become a stockholder in the firm, Lupino went on to direct many episodes of *Playhouse* and other Four Star series, in addition to her acting duties.

While Boyer and Niven each owned a healthy share of Four Star, Powell ran the company. A 1962 *Television* magazine profile of Powell called him the company's "principal architect of policy as well as the most valuable performer and production executive," and noted that the firm's fortunes moved in direct proportion to the time the boss



Dick Powell in *The Dick Powell Show*

devoted to it. A "workaholic" in today's parlance, Powell was notoriously driven, and closely involved with both the financial and creative aspects of Four Star. He not only managed operations, but was active in developing story properties, oversaw script conferences, and, when needed, used his charm—and the weight of his celebrity—to close a program sale.

Four Star's stock-in-trade early on was anthologies. Powell followed up *Four Star Playhouse* in 1954 with the short-lived *Stage 7*, and two years later *Dick Powell's Zane Grey Theater*, hosted by, and occasionally starring, the Four Star chief executive officer himself. Powell and company also produced one season of *Alcoa Theatre* in 1958, and in subsequent years crafted anthologies around one of Powell's partners (*The David Niven Theater*), and his wife (*The June Allyson Show*), both featuring the requisite array of Hollywood stars.

*Zane Grey Theater* ran for seven years, at once feeding and riding the crest of the phenomenal surge of western programs on television in the late 1950s. Four Star generated its share of the stampede, scoring its biggest hits in the genre with *The Rifleman*, *Wanted: Dead or Alive*, and *Trackdown*, as well as less successful entries like *Johnny Ringo*, *Black Saddle*, *Law of the Plainsman*, *Stagecoach West*, and the highly-regarded but extremely short-lived Sam Peckinpah project, *The Westerner*.

Four Star's western output highlights the creative economy of program development under Powell. Anthologies were the perfect vehicles by which to generate new program pilots at a network or sponsor's expense. Most of the Four Star westerns, for example, were born as installments of *Zane Grey Theater* (*Wanted: Dead or Alive* had its trial run as an episode of *Trackdown*). *Four Star Playhouse* spawned two crime series featuring gambler Willy Dante: eight *Four Star* installments starring Powell as Dante were repackaged as a 1956 summer replacement series (*The Best in Mystery*), and a new *Dante* series was hatched in 1960 with Howard Duff in the title role. Another spin-off of sorts came in 1957 when Powell revived his *Richard Diamond* radio vehicle for television, with young David Janssen as the suave P.I. *Michael Shayne, Private Detective* was a less successful Four Star entry in the private-eye cycle of the late 1950s.

Four Star was one of the busiest telefilm suppliers in the business in 1959, when Powell hired Thomas McDermott away from the Benton and Bowles ad agency to be executive vice president of production. The following year the newly renamed Four Star Television marked its peak in prime time with a remarkable twelve series on the networks. Even after dropping to six shows in 1962, Four Star was producing more programming than any other Hollywood independent, surpassed only by MCA-Revue and Columbia-Screen Gems, leading *Broadcasting* magazine to dub the firm a "TV major." More literally "independent" than most of his producing counterparts, Powell resisted the increasingly common practice of ceding control of off-network distribution to the networks themselves. Although Four Star often had

to cut the broadcasters in on series profits, the firm retained syndication rights to all its shows, starting its own syndication division, rather belatedly, in 1962.

Powell the executive was sensitive to the creative process as well as profits, no doubt due to his own experiences as a performer and later a director. "Four Star was a paradise for writers," according to Powell biographer Tony Thomas, and many Four Star alumni have attested to their boss's sensitivity and support. Powell personally fielded ideas from writers, interceded with sponsors to protect controversial scripts from censorship, and would support any story—even if it conflicted with his own political conservatism—if the writer was passionate enough about it. Powell mentored writer-producers like Peckinpah, Blake Edwards, Bruce Geller and Aaron Spelling, and signed young writers like Christopher Knopf, Richard Levinson and William Link, Leslie Stevens, and Robert Towne early in their careers. By all accounts, Powell was universally respected by his creative personnel.

With the western on the wane in the early 1960s, Four Star diversified its product, turning out situation comedies like *The Tom Ewell Show*, *Peter Loves Mary*, *McKeever and the Colonel*, *The Gertrude Berg Show*, and *Ensign O'Toole*, as well as a courtroom drama (*The Law and Mr. Jones*), an organized crime saga (*Target: The Corrupters*), and an unusual anthology, *The Lloyd Bridges Show*. Only *The Detectives*, *Starring Robert Taylor* constituted even a modest success. In early 1961 Powell reduced his involvement in the overall operations at Four Star and focused his attentions on producing *The Dick Powell Show*, a star-studded anthology featuring Powell as host and frequent star. The new anthology presented even more pilots than *Zane Grey*—over a dozen in two years—yielding the newspaper series *Saints and Sinners* in 1962, and *Burke's Law* the following year (among the unsold projects was *Luxury Liner*—produced by future *Love Boat* creator Aaron Spelling). One of television's few remaining anthologies, the Powell show received an Emmy nomination for Outstanding Dramatic Achievement for both of its seasons on the air.

After Powell's death in January 1963, Four Star continued operation under McDermott's leadership, but Four Star's reign as a "TV major" was over. With six series on the fall schedule for 1962, a year later *Burke's Law* was the firm's only prime-time entry. The change in Four Star's fortunes probably had as much to do with ratings as anything else. The company had not had a major hit since *The Rifleman*, and its attempts to exploit the sitcom were unsuccessful. The firm's continued resistance to network control of syndication may have cost it prime-time sales. Certainly the loss of Powell's leadership, his formidable salesmanship powers, and indeed his reputation, could not have helped matters. With declining network program sales, more flops (e.g., *Honey West*, *The Rogues*), and the disappointing performance of the company's own (belated) syndication division, Four Star's ledgers were awash in red ink by 1966. *The Big Valley* was the last series being produced under the Four Star banner when the firm was sold in 1967.

The bulk of Four Star's output reflected Powell's own history in motion pictures, turning out solid, unpretentious entertainment. If Powell and company did not assay social realism or topical drama with the same panache as, say, Stirling Silliphant or Reginald Rose, neither did they pursue the radical self-imitation characterized by Warner Brothers' western and detective series. Rather, Four Star products reflected the relative diversity necessary to survive in an uncertain entertainment marketplace. Even Four Star's genre-bound series exhibited the kind of conventional innovation, and occasional quirkiness, that defines American commercial television at its most fascinating, and Powell was pursuing anthologies long after the conventional wisdom had abandoned the form.

Of all the Four Star products from Powell's tenure, only *The Rifleman* remains a syndication staple today, although *Zane Grey Theater* and *Wanted: Dead or Alive* survive on commercial video, and *Burke's Law* has been revived for the 1990s by its star (and co-owner) Gene Barry. Aficionados of Hollywood film can, on cable, video, or at the occasional retrospective screening, still enjoy Powell's innocent grin and golden tones in *Gold Diggers of 1933*, and his stubbled smirk and grim wisecracks in *Murder, My Sweet*. His final dramatic roles, on *Zane Grey* and *Dick Powell*, are the purview of collectors of TV ephemera, until their resurrection on video. It remains for historians to cite Dick Powell the independent producer, the telefilm pioneer, the "TV major," and to emphasize that by the early 1960s he was a more successful producer of motion pictures—for the small screen—than any of the old-line Hollywood studios. One wonders what Jack Warner must have thought.

—Mark Alvey

DICK (RICHARD) EWING POWELL. Born in Mountain View, Arkansas, U.S.A., 14 November 1904. Attended Little Rock College, Arkansas. Married: 1) M. Maund (divorced); 2) actress Joan Blondell, 1936 (divorced, 1945), children: Ellen and Norman; 3) actress June Allyson, 1945, one daughter and one son. Began career as singer with his own band, 1921; singer, comedian, and master of ceremonies, Stanley Theatre, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1930; film debut, *Blessed Event*, 1932; co-founder, Four Star Productions, 1952; first directed film, *Split Second*, 1953; host and producer, various shows, and film producer. Died in Hollywood, California, 2 January 1963.

#### TELEVISION

1952–56 *Four Star Playhouse*  
1956–62 *Dick Powell's Zane Grey Theater*  
1961–63 *The Dick Powell Show*

#### FILMS

*Blessed Event*, 1932; *Too Busy to Work*, 1932; *The King's Vacation*, 1933; *42nd Street*, 1933; *Gold Diggers of 1933*, 1933; *Footlight Parade*, 1933; *College Coach*, 1933; *Convention*, 1933; *Dames*, 1934; *Wonder Bar*, 1934; *Twenty Million Sweethearts*, 1934; *Happiness Ahead*, 1934; *Flirtation Walk*,

1934; *Gold Diggers of 1935*, 1935; *Page Miss Glory*, 1935; *Broadway Gondolier*, 1935; *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1935; *Shipmates Forever*, 1935; *Thanks a Million*, 1935; *Colleen*, 1936; *Hearts Divided*, 1936; *Stage Struck*, 1936; *The Gold Diggers of 1937*, 1936; *On the Avenue*, 1937; *The Singing Marine*, 1937; *Varsity Show*, 1937; *Hollywood Hotel*, 1937; *Cowboy from Brooklyn*, 1938; *Hard to Get*, 1938; *Going Places*, 1938; *Naughty But Nice*, 1939; *Christmas in July*, 1940; *I Want a Divorce*, 1940; *Model Wife*, 1941; *In the Navy*, 1941; *Happy Go Lucky*, 1942; *Star Spangled Rhythm*, 1942; *True to Life*, 1943; *Riding High*, 1943; *It Happened Tomorrow*, 1944; *Meet the People*, 1944; *Murder, My Sweet*, 1944; *Concerned*, 1945; *Johnny O'Clock*, 1947; *To the Ends of the Earth*, 1948; *Pitfall*, 1948; *Station West*, 1948; *Rogue's Regiment*, 1948; *Mrs. Mike*, 1949; *The Reformer and the Redhead*, 1950; *Right Cross*, 1950; *Cry Dangers*, 1951; *The Tall Target*, 1951; *You Never Can Tell*, 1951; *The Bad and the Beautiful*, 1952; *Susan Slept Here*, 1954.

#### FILMS (director)

*Split Second*, 1953; *The Conqueror*, 1956; *You Can't Run Away from It*, 1957; *The Enemy Below*, 1957; *The Hunters*, 1958.

#### RADIO (selection)

*Rogue's Gallery*, 1945–46; *Richard Diamond, Private Detective*, 1949–50.

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See also Independent Production Companies

## POWER WITHOUT GLORY

### Australian Serial Drama

**P***ower without Glory* is probably among the two or three finest drama series produced in Australia. The series was, in effect, a local equivalent to *The Forsyte Saga* and told the story of John West, his wife and family, from the 1890s when he was an impoverished youth in the depression-stricken city of Melbourne to his death around 1950. By that time, he has become a millionaire, although he is tainted by shady political and business dealings. The series was based on the novel of the same name by Australian author Frank Hardy, which had been published in 1949. At the time, it was widely believed that Hardy had based the figure of John West on the real-life Australian businessman John Wren. The Wren family took legal action against Hardy, accusing him of libel. Hardy successfully defended the case, however, on the basis that his novel was fiction. Subsequently the book sold extremely well, no doubt because the public believed that in fact it was based on the Wren story. *Power without Glory* should have been a natural adaptation for either radio or television in the 1950s or 1960s but no broadcast producer was willing to take on the material for fear of further legal action from the Wren family. It was not until 1974 that such a project was undertaken.

That year Oscar Whitbread, veteran producer with the public service television broadcaster, the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC), decided that the novel should be brought to the television screen. After all, despite the timidity of ABC management, the court case had happened over 20 years earlier and had, in any event, been lost. Moreover under a federal Labour Party government, the ABC was expected to be progressive and innovative in its productions; its revenue, coming directly from the government was, in real terms, at an all time high. Whitbread judged that the time was right for such a massive undertaking, and he and script editor Howard Griffiths set to work on the novel. The book was split into 26 hour-long episodes and a series of ABC and former Crawford's production writers such as Tony Morphet, Sonia Borg, and Phil Freedman were set to work to develop scripts. Writing and filming took place over the next 18 months and the series began on air nationally on the ABC in June 1976. *Power without Glory* starred Martin Vaughan as West and Rosalind Spiers as his wife. Other well-known Australian actors in the series included Terence Donovan, George Mallaby, and Michael Pate. Like many television miniseries, especially those with such a long screen time, *Power* went well beyond the domestic drama of the couple and included the developing lives and careers of their children and their acquaintances. These mostly private dramas were stitched onto a larger historical canvas that included political and national events such as the formation of the Australian Labour Party, the conscription debates of World War I, and the impact of the Great Depression and World War II.



Power Without Glory

Photo courtesy of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation

The quality and integrity of the production, most especially its writing and the performance of the large cast, effectively sustained audience interest over its 26 hours. *Power* proved enormously popular and prestigious for the ABC. In 1977 it won a host of industry awards, including nine Sammys and four Penguins. The series was repeated in 1978, and in 1981 it was sold to Network Ten where it was to receive two further screenings. *Power without Glory* has been the finest drama series made at the ABC. Its production and screening was a watershed, coinciding both with the twentieth anniversary of the first ABC television transmission and the fact that, with a change in federal government and a downturn in the Australian economy, the circumstances that had made such a production possible were now a thing of the past.

—Albert Moran

#### CAST

<i>John West</i> . . . . .	Martin Vaughan
<i>Nellie Moran</i> . . . . .	Rosalind Spiers
<i>Mrs. Moran</i> . . . . .	Heather Canning

*Mrs. West* . . . . . Irene Inescort  
*Piggy Lewis* . . . . . Michael Aitkens  
*Barney Robinson* . . . . . George Mallaby  
*Eddie Corrigan* . . . . . Sean Scully  
*Mick O'Connell* . . . . . John Bowman  
*Paddy Cummins* . . . . . Tim Connor  
*Jim Tracey* . . . . . Alan Hardy  
*Det. Sgt. O'Flaherty* . . . . . Peter Cummins  
*Sgt. Devlin* . . . . . David Ravenswood  
*Mr. Dunn* . . . . . Carl Bleazby  
*Constable Brogan* . . . . . Burt Cooper  
*Sgt. Grieve* . . . . . Terry Gill  
*Alec* . . . . . Les James  
*Arthur West* . . . . . Tim Robertson  
*Mrs. Tracey* . . . . . Marnie Randall  
*Father O'Toole* . . . . . John Murphy  
*Brendan* . . . . . Richard Askew  
*Sugar Renfrey* . . . . . John Wood  
*Bob Standish* . . . . . Reg Evans  
*Florrie Robinson* . . . . . Sheila Hayes  
*David Garside* . . . . . Leon Lissek  
*Mrs. Finch* . . . . . Esme Melville  
*Frank Ashton* . . . . . Barry Hill  
*Tom Trumbleward* . . . . . Frank Wilson  
*Jim Francis* . . . . . Telford Jackson  
*Dick Bradley* . . . . . Gerard Kennedy  
*Rev Joggins* . . . . . Jonathon Hardy  
*Martha Ashton* . . . . . Elaine Baillie  
*Commissioner Callinan* . . . . . Keith Aden  
*Constable Baddson* . . . . . Stephen Oldfield  
*Detective Roberts* . . . . . Tony Hawkins  
*Constable Harris* . . . . . Hugh Price  
*Constable Logan* . . . . . Matthew King  
*Dolly West* . . . . . Kerry Dwyer  
*Frank Lammence* . . . . . Terence Donovan  
*Lou Darby* . . . . . Gil Tucker  
*Dr. Malone* . . . . . Michael Pate  
*Ron Lassiter* . . . . . Terry Norris  
*Snoopy Tanner* . . . . . Graham Blundell  
*Mr. Johnstone* . . . . . Byron Williams  
*Harriet* . . . . . Rowena Wallace  
*T.J. Real* . . . . . Carl Bleazby  
*Turner* . . . . . Lou Brown  
*Smith* . . . . . Iain Merton  
*Margaret* . . . . . Joan Letch  
*Kate* . . . . . Sue Jones  
*Marjorie* . . . . . Lisa Crittenden  
*Mary* . . . . . Andrea Butcher  
*Brendan* . . . . . Stewart Fleming  
*Jim Morton* . . . . . Norman Hodges  
*Ned Horan* . . . . . Norman Kaye  
*Maurice Blackwell* . . . . . Tony Barry

*Mary West* . . . . . Wendy Hughes  
*Marjorie West* . . . . . Fay Kelton  
*Brendon West* . . . . . Tony Bonner  
*Luke Carson* . . . . . Fred Betts  
*Peter Monton* . . . . . Tristan Rogers  
*Hugo* . . . . . David Cameron  
*Andy Mackenzie* . . . . . Kevin Colebrook  
*Paul Andreas* . . . . . Warwick Sims  
*Bill Tinns* . . . . . Gus Mercurio  
*Graham Kennedy* . . . . . Clive Parker  
*Keith Burkett* . . . . . Charles Tingwell  
*Ted Thurgood* . . . . . Ken Wayne  
*Jimmy Summers* . . . . . Peter Aanensen  
*Smollett* . . . . . Garay Files  
*Lygon* . . . . . John Nash  
*Monton* . . . . . Arthur Barradell-Smith  
*Mrs. Granger* . . . . . Margaret Reid  
*Brenda* . . . . . Camilla Rowntree  
*Ben Worth* . . . . . Ben Garner  
*Vera Maguire* . . . . . Patsy King  
*Egon Kisch* . . . . . Kurt Ludescher  
*Jock McNeil* . . . . . Michael Duffield  
*Watty* . . . . . Fred Culcullen  
*Paddy Kelleher* . . . . . Jonathan Hardy  
*Vincent Parelli* . . . . . Alan Bickford  
*Michael Kiely* . . . . . Bobby Bright  
*Dr. Bevan* . . . . . Michael Duffield  
*Tony Grey* . . . . . Peter Cox

**PRODUCER** Oscar Whitbread

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 26 One-hour Episodes

• Australian Broadcasting Commission

21 June 1976–13 December 1976

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See also Australian Programming

## PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING CONVENTIONS

In the United States the Democratic and Republican political parties, as well as numerous smaller parties, hold conventions every four years to nominate candidates for president and vice president and to adopt party platforms. For the two major parties, these conventions are currently four-day events held during the summer of each presidential-election year. The first national political conventions emerged in the 1830s as a reform to the caucus system, which had been heavily controlled by party machines and party bosses. While the functions of the nominating conventions have not changed in the past 160 years, advances in communication technologies during the 20th century have had great influence on the nature of the meetings. The most dramatic of these alterations have come from television coverage.

The first experiments in televising the nominating conventions began in Philadelphia in 1948; by 1952, both the Democratic and Republican conventions were broadcast nationwide on television. The impact of the medium, eventually networked into a truly national phenomenon, was immediate. After watching the first televised Republican convention in 1952, Democratic party officials made last minute changes to their own convention in attempts to maintain the attention of viewers at home.

By 1956, both parties further amended their convention programs to better fit the demands of television coverage. Party officials condensed the length of the convention, created uniform campaign themes for each party, adorned convention halls with banners and patriotic decorations, placed television crews in positions with flattering views of the proceedings, dropped daytime sessions, limited welcoming speeches and parliamentary organization procedures, scheduled sessions to reach a maximum audience in prime time, and eliminated seconding speeches for vice presidential candidates. Additionally, the presence of television cameras encouraged parties to conceal intra-party battling and choose host cities amenable to their party.

Until the early 1950s, conventions actually selected as well as nominated the party's candidates. Today, the presidential nominees of the major parties are generally determined before the convention takes place. The prevalence of state political primaries, the increased power of television as a source of political news, the trend of early presidential campaigning, and the prominence of political polling almost ensure that each party's candidates are selected prior to the nominating convention. Indeed, since 1952, only two presidential nominees have not competed in the primary season (Aldai Stevenson in 1952 and Hubert Humphrey in 1968). And, in all but the Democratic convention of 1952, the Democratic and Republican nominees were chosen on the first ballot. Therefore, the conventions broadcast on television are no longer geared toward selecting nominees, but staged to celebrate candidates and attract television coverage.

Television coverage of the convention has assigned new roles to political parties, candidates, and television news divi-



*Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley at the 1968 Democratic Convention*

*Photo courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society*

sions in the presidential selection process. Today, political parties must share the convention stage with aspiring candidates and prominent journalists. Nominating conventions are no longer controlled by party bosses making decisions in smoke-filled rooms. Contemporary conventions are planned by professional convention managers and consultants who see the nominating convention as an unequalled opportunity for the party to obtain free, rehearsed exposure on television newscasts. Thus, parties use nominating conventions to project a desirable party image, and inspire party loyalty.

For presidential candidates, the televised convention has brought freedom from the party establishment. Today, it is not uncommon for presidential candidates to rise to prominence without party help. State political primaries and television news and advertising allow a greater number of candidates to seriously contest their party's nomination. Jimmy Carter's nomination in 1976 provides an example of an outsider with little national political experience benefiting from television and the primary season. The candidacies of Jesse Jackson and Pat Robertson also profited from political primaries and the televised convention. Television coverage does, of course, ensure that today's conventions are well attended by prominent politicians. Many high-profile political leaders use the televised convention to launch their own future presidential bids, promote their current legislative efforts, or support other causes, groups, or programs.

To the television news divisions, the national conventions are the biggest extended political media events of the

election year. The networks (ABC, CBS, FOX, and NBC), as well as CNN and C-SPAN, allocate prime-time coverage and assign their top personnel to the conventions. Foote and Rimmer refer to convention coverage as the "Olympics of television journalism" where the networks have a rare opportunity to go head-to-head on the same story."

Waltzer contends presidential election years are unmatched showcases for the rival networks to exhibit their competing talents. Inter-network rivalry manifests itself in several ways: (1) the networks engage in extensive advertising to capture the eye of the viewer, (2) the conventions are used to introduce new items of television equipment, (3) the networks compete in marshaling political consultants and analysts to augment their coverage staffs, (4) the networks compete for superiority in content, completeness and depth of coverage—it is a race for "exclusives," "scoops" and "firsts," and for the unusual "features" of a convention, (5) the networks compete to make news with their coverage as well as to report the news of the conventions, (6) the networks seek to overcome the bigness and confusion of the convention and their coverage by personalizing coverage with anchor correspondents, and (7) the networks compete for audiences and audience ratings.

These factors indicate why television has made a commitment to broadcasting the convention over the years, and why the networks strive continually to create the "right" formats to attract audiences. From 1956 through 1976, for example, the networks covered conventions in their entirety. Although ABC cut back on its broadcast in 1968, the other networks continued gavel to gavel coverage through 1976. Since 1980, all news outlets have cut back on their coverage. Future airtime is expected to depend on the "newsworthiness" of the convention, largely determined by the perceived competitiveness between the two party tickets as well as potential conflict or infighting within one party's nomination.

Parties much prefer to control the visual images broadcast to voters themselves, as the Republicans did in 1984. In that year, the Republicans aired Ronald Reagan's campaign film, *A New Beginning*—a film which celebrated the Reagan presidency, transformed the art of political filmmaking and, according to Morreale, established the televisual campaign film as a centerpiece of the presidential campaign.

At times, however, no one is able to control the conventions; political officials and network executives and technicians alike are caught up in events beyond their control. This was certainly the case in the 1968 Democratic Convention, perhaps the most famous of all televised events of this sort. On that occasion anti-war protesters demonstrated outside the Chicago Convention Center, drawing down the wrath of the Chicago police. Inside, the conflict was reflected in charges and counter-charges, name-calling and recrimination. Much of this activity was caught on camera, but the sense was that even the TV cameras were reacting rather than controlling. Few conventions since that time have been so dramatically

bound to television, and most are tightly controlled events exhibiting small moments of spontaneity.

Advocates of the convention system contend televised conventions inspire party loyalty and enthusiasm, and allow the selection of a candidate that represents the political middle rather than the extremes. Critics allege today's nominating conventions are undemocratic spectacles and propose replacing them with a national presidential primary system. Despite these critiques, convention reform is unlikely. Today's streamlined convention regularly attracts 30% television market shares, providing an audience for television news divisions, political parties and presidential candidates alike. While television coverage has brought many cosmetic changes to the convention, it has not interfered with its basic functions. As in earlier days, contemporary conventions continue to select presidential nominees, create party enthusiasm, and present party platforms.

—Sharon Jarvis

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See also Political Processes and Television; U.S. Presidency

## PRESS CONFERENCES

Although President Dwight D. Eisenhower regularly used television as a means to address the American electorate, John F. Kennedy was the first to utilize television as a direct means of communication with voters via the live press conference. As Davis explains, "John Kennedy enjoyed press conferences because of his skill in bantering with reporters; his press conferences reinforced the image of a president in command of the issues." His successors have been measured against his performance and have scheduled press conferences less frequently. They also have employed variations to the live-press conference format. The Carter, Reagan, and Bush administrations held mini-press conferences. President Bush also relied on impromptu, daytime televised press conferences rather than the formal, prime-time gatherings. President Clinton has used a variation of the press conference with his televised "town meetings." With these conferences Clinton has managed to sidestep the White House press corps and address questions asked by average citizens. One such mini-conference featured children and was moderated by PBS's Mister Rogers.

As a general category of media strategy, focused for the last fifty years in the orchestrated use of television, press conferences involve the communication of news about an individual or organization to the mass media and specialized media outlets. The objective, obviously, is favorable news coverage of the sponsor's actions and events. According to Hendrix, press conferences are classified as uncontrolled media. Thus, with press conferences, media decision makers become the target audience members. These decision makers then determine what information to communicate with the public.

Professionals generally agree that, as a public relations tool, press conferences should be used sparingly, reserved for circumstances that truly are newsworthy. Such occasions often call for a personal presentation by the organization's chief executive officer, a celebrity, a dignitary, etc. In the general realm of business affairs some organizations have used press conferences to announce the introduction of major corporate changes such as new product lines, takeovers, or mergers. But press conferences also have been utilized to organize and manage information in crisis situations or to respond to accusations of wrongdoing.

Although in the business sector press conferences are not viewed as a routine means of public relations, major

government agencies employ them on a more regular basis. Indeed, press conferences are a principle component of political communications. They are relied upon by politicians as a way of providing important information to the public and shaping public opinion and by correspondents as a means of obtaining such information and examining the opinion shaping process.

In the United States the press and politicians have traditionally enjoyed an adversarial relationship. While political press conferences are utilized to provide information to the public, the goal for the politician is persuasion or news management. Thus, the political figure wants to control the release of information. Conversely, the press rely on such conferences as a means for assuring that the politician is held accountable for his or her policies and actions. Media outlets also rely on press conferences as a way of obtaining new information so it can be released as quickly as possible.

In the United States press conferences also are essential to communications between the executive branch of government and the public even prior to television. According to Smith, Theodore Roosevelt was one of the first U.S. presidents to use the press as a frequent means of communicating with the public. Although he did not hold formal press conferences in their contemporary sense, he realized that the media could be used to shape public opinion and established close relationships with journalists. Woodrow Wilson was the first president to hold regular and formal press conferences. Not only did he view the press as a means of influencing public opinion, but he also believed that communication via the press was a chief duty of democratic leaders.

Although not bound by law, presidential press conferences have become somewhat institutionalized. According to Smith, a sense of "public contract has evolved to such a degree that the general occasion of the press conference cannot be avoided with political impunity." Since the Wilson administration, all presidents have held formal press conferences. However, the decision to grant a press conference is always made by the White House, and press conferences have varied in frequency and format with each administration.

Not surprisingly, presidents are most likely to employ press conferences when the conferences serve their best advantage. Ultimately, the president can control the time, place, and setting for a press conference. To some extent,

they also control the participants. In the contemporary era press conference journalists have traditionally included: ABC, CBS, and NBC; wire services; national news magazines; and national newspapers such as *The New York Times* and *Washington Post*. They also usually include a selection of reporters from other news organizations, such as regional newspapers or news syndicates, who may be more likely to pose favorable questions.

In general, press conferences often are criticized for their theatrical nature. However, for individuals, organizations, and government branches, press conferences serve an important public relations function. They are an effective means of organizing and disseminating newsworthy information to the public.

—Lori Melton McKinnon

## PRIME SUSPECT

### British Crime Series

In 1991 *Prime Suspect* was broadcast on British television to great critical and public acclaim. The production received numerous awards for its writer Lynda La Plante and star Helen Mirren, including a rather controversial BAFTA Award for Best Drama Serial. *Prime Suspect*'s importance to the development of the police drama series as a genre in Britain is great. By installing a woman as the head of a murder squad, *Prime Suspect* broke new ground in terms of both gender and the authenticity in the portrayal of the internal dynamics of the police as an organisation.

Almost six years earlier, La Plante brought to the television audience the formidable Dolly Rawlins as the single-minded leader of a group of disparate but gutsy women criminals in her successful television crime drama *Widows*. With *Prime Suspect* and the creation of DCI Jane Tennison, La Plante continued to elaborate on her predilection for problematic heroines, but this time her central character is not a criminal but a woman both shaped and defined by her role as an officer of the law.

By being positioned as the head of a murder squad hunting for a sadistic serial killer, Tennison transcends many of the traditions of the British police series. It is interesting to note that La Plante did not put Tennison forward primarily as a woman police officer who does her job the feminine way. In terms of the British police series, Tennison's female predecessors such as Kate Longton (*Juliet Bravo*) and Maggie Forbes (*The Gentle Touch*), had been deliberately represented as bringing the nurturing and compassionate aspects associated with femininity to the role of senior police officer. In fact, it would be true to say that central to programmes such as *Juliet Bravo*, *The Gentle Touch* and, indeed, the American police series *Cagney and Lacey*, was the exploration of the contradictions inherent between the institutionalised masculinity of the police and the presence of femininity. The dramatic resolution, how-

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See also Political Processes and Television; Pool Coverage; U.S. Presidency

ever, was usually to endorse the compassionate compromise made by the female characters between being a good police officer and being a "real" woman. The fascination of Tennison as a character was the powerful and compelling focus on the internal and external confrontations and contradictions faced by a leading female character who was in most circumstances a police officer first and a woman second.

It is in fact the Tennison character, and Mirren's performance of her, that unify and act as the reference for the six programmes in the series. And although La Plante has only written *Prime Suspect I* and *III*, her creation of Tennison, her exacting original script, and Mirren's own compelling performance, have generated a successful and repeatable legacy and framework.

Symptomatically, the subtext for each individual drama in the series has some kind of social issue as its basis and could be read as in order as: sexism, racism, homosexuality, young male prostitution, the results of physical abuse in childhood, class, and institutional conformity in the police. Equally symptomatically, it could be noticed that each drama contains a character who has a particular investment in the chosen subtext—e.g. one of the officers is black, in the next drama, one is gay, in the next, one has suffered childhood abuse, and so on. In a rather obvious, sometimes crude manner, this device has been used to situate and contextualise the tensions of the internal police dynamics within those of the larger society. It is our fascination with Tennison that spawns a more integrated and sophisticated involvement with the drama. Because of Tennison's place in the text, the issue of gender in the police force is never far away, as evidenced by the fact that masculinity and male relationships are also always under inspection.

Above all, no matter the focus of a case on a particular social problem, it is the institutionalised performance of mas-



Prime Suspect

Photo courtesy of Goodman Associates

culinity and femininity within the police force which dictates the often considerable dramatic tension. In Tennison's pursuit of serial killer George Marlowe in *Prime Suspect I*, for example, not only must she prove she is an exceptional detective and win the support of her male colleagues, but the narrative is shot through with her compulsive need to succeed in her job at any cost. Her obsession with her police career even becomes tinged with perversity when the interrogation sessions between Tennison and Marlowe are used to generate a fake, yet compelling, sexual tension. The fact that she will get out of bed at night to interview a serial killer but will not make time to see to the needs of the man in her life heightens the idea of perversity and obsession.

In a culture still guided by the binary divisions of active masculinity and passive femininity, the fact that Tennison is a woman means that her sexuality and sexual practices are subject to much more dramatic scrutiny than if she were a man. Tennison does not, however, stray much from the sexual conduct expected from the male officer in the television police genre. As Geoffrey Hurd explains "the main characters... are either divorced, separated, widowed or unmarried, a trail of broken and unmade relationships presented as a direct result of the pressures and demands of police work."

The focus on sexuality, however, is dramatically changed by Tennison's pregnancy in *Prime Suspect III* and her consequent abortion in *Prime Suspect IV*. This moment marks the watershed

in her personal and career conflict and it is interesting that the following programmes (not written by La Plante) then seem to devote themselves to saving Tennison's soul. No moral judgement is made about the abortion; in fact, it is not even discussed. The imperative is clearly to establish Tennison's reputation and stature within the police (she is promoted to the rank of superintendent) and to re-establish her and contain what femininity remains within a heterosexual relationship with a professional equal, the psychologist played by Stuart Wilson.

In *Prime Suspect VI*, an interesting intertextual exercise is carried out when the Marlowe case is re-opened, with the investigation now centred on Tennison's own police practices. Apart from one long-standing loyal male colleague, the male ranks are again seen to close in the face of this unsympathetic woman who remains insistent on her infallibility and methodical detection. Her ultimate triumph in the case casts her in a new but recognisable mould, that of maverick cop, where gender is even less of an issue.

—Ros Jennings

#### CAST (*Prime Suspect I*)

<i>Jane Tennison</i>	Helen Mirren
DS Bill Otley	Tom Bell
DCS Michael Kiernan	John Benfield
DCI John Shefford	John Forgeham
Terry Amson	Gary Whelan
DI Frank Burkin	Craig Fairbrass
DI Tony Muddyman	Jack Ellis
WPC Maureen Havers	Mossie Smith
DC Jones	Ian Fitzgibbon
DC Rosper	Andrew Tiernan
DC Lillie	Phillip Wright
DC Haskons	Richard Hawley
DC Oakhill	Mark Spalding
DS Eastel	Dave Bond
Commander Trayner	Terry Taplin
DC Avison	Tom Bowles
DC Caplan	Seamus O'Neill
DI Caldicott	Marcus Romer
George Marlow	John Bowe
Moyra Henson	Zoe Wanamaker
Mrs. Marlow	Maxine Audley
Felix Norman	Bryan Pringle
Willy Chang	Gareth Tudor Price
Tilly	Andrew Abrahams
Joyce	Fionnuala Ellwood
Lab Assistant	Maria Meski
Lab Assistant	Martin Reeve
Lab Assistant	John Ireland
Peter	Tom Wilkinson
Marianne	Francesca Ryan
Joe	Jeremy Warder
Major Howard	Michael Fleming
Mrs. Howard	Daphne Neville
Karen	Julie Sumnall
Michael	Ralph Fiennes

<i>Mr. Tennison</i>	Wilfred Harrison
<i>Mrs. Tennison</i>	Noel Dyson
<i>Pam</i>	Jessica Turner
<i>Tony</i>	Owen Aaronovitch
<i>Sgt. Tomlins</i>	Rod Arthur
<i>Carol</i>	Rosy Clayton
<i>Linda</i>	Susan Brown
<i>Painter</i>	Phil Hearne
<i>Helen Masters</i>	Angela Bruce
<i>Mrs. Salbanna</i>	Anna Savva
<i>Arnold Upcher</i>	James Snell
<i>Mr. Shrapnel</i>	Julian Firth

PRODUCER Ron Lever

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

• Granada TV

7-8 April 1991

2 Two-Hour Episodes

#### PRIME SUSPECT II, 1992

PRODUCER Paul Marcus

#### PRIME SUSPECT III, 1993

PRODUCER Paul Marcus

#### PRIME SUSPECT SERIES, 1995

EXECUTIVE PRODUCER Sally Head

#### INNER CIRCLES

PRODUCER Paul Marcus

#### THE LOST CHILD

PRODUCER Paul Marcus

#### THE SCENT OF DARKNESS

PRODUCER Brian Pak

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See also British Programming; La Plante, Lynda; Mirren, Helen; Police Programs

## PRIME TIME

Prime time is that portion of the evening when the American audience levels for television viewing are at their highest. In the Eastern and Pacific time zones, prime time is 7:00 - 11:00 P.M., in the Central and Mountain time zones prime time is 6:00 - 10:00 P.M.. The 9:00 P.M. hour (Eastern and Pacific) and the 8:00 P.M. hour (Central and Mountain) have the highest HUT (homes using television) level.

The commercial broadcast networks have always attracted the largest portion of the prime-time viewing audience. Through the 1960s, it was not unusual for the three networks to attract 85%-90% of the available prime-time audience. The remaining 10%-15% of the audience would be watching programming available on independent television stations or on public television stations.

Broadcast networks pay their affiliated stations in each local market to air the network offerings (this is called network compensation). In return, the networks retain the bulk of the commercial time for sale to national advertisers. This arrangement works well for both parties—the networks attract audiences in each local market for their programming, which enables them to sell commercial time during such programs to advertisers wanting to reach a national audience. The local affiliated television stations receive high quality programming, payment from the network, and the opportunity to sell the remaining commercial time (usually about one minute each hour) to local advertisers.

In the mid-1990s, the average 30-second prime-time network television advertising spot cost about \$100,000. These same spots on a top-rated series average, about \$325,000, and such spots on low-rated network prime-time programs average, about \$50,000. Top-rated prime-time spots in local television markets cost as much as \$20,000.

Because of network dominance in prime time, independent television stations (those not affiliated with a major broadcast network) have found it difficult to compete directly with network-affiliated television stations during these most desirable hours. In an attempt to allow independents to compete somewhat more fairly, during at least a portion of prime time, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) enacted the Prime Time Access Rule (PTAR). The rule limits the amount of time a local affiliate can broadcast programming provided by the network. The most recent version of PTAR became effective in September 1975. It basically limited network-affiliated television stations in the 50 largest markets to no more than three hours of network (or off-network syndicated) programming during the four hours of prime time. The three-hour limit may be exceeded if the additional programming is public affairs programming, children's programming, or documentary programming, or if the additional programming is a network newscast that is adjacent to a full hour of local newscasts. Other exceptions to the three-hour limit include runover of live sporting events, and feature films on Saturday evenings.

The growth of cable television in the 1980s resulted in a plethora of viewing options for the audience. Where audiences once had a choice of up to five, perhaps six options at any point in time, the new multi-channel environment provided viewers with more than 50 programming choices at once. In addition, the advent of the video cassette recorder (VCR) also enabled viewers to rent pre-recorded tapes, or to time-shift (watch programs that were recorded at an earlier time). The result of all this increased competition is that the networks' share of the audience declined throughout the 1980s and 1990s. This was most evident in the prime-time hours. By the 1990s the networks' share of the audience had dropped from their routine 80%-90% to 60%-65%. And as cable and VCR penetration levels (63% and 79%, respectively in 1995) continue to grow, the fate of network television in prime time may decline once again.

According to Shapiro (1992), while prime-time programming has changed much during the first 45 years of television, three main trends continue: (1) the continued growth of the situation comedy; (2) the continued decline and ultimate death of the variety show; and (3) the consistent appeal of drama.

As new technologies, increased competition and decreased regulation of television systems have developed throughout the world in the late decades of the twentieth century, the notion of prime time has become more and more prevalent in systems outside the United States. Where television programming was once a special activity, often a limited number of hours roughly equivalent to American prime time, the move toward 24-hour programming has added new significance to the evening hours. Prime time is now a common marker in the days of citizens around the globe and this televisual "clock" has become part of everyday experience in almost every society.

—Mitchell E. Shapiro

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## PRIME TIME ACCESS RULE

The Prime Time Access Rule (PTAR) was instituted by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to restrict the amount of network programming that local television stations owned by or affiliated with a network may air during the evening. Prime time is normally from 7:00 P.M. to 11:00 P.M. in the Eastern and Pacific time zones, and from 6:00 P.M. to 10:00 P.M. in the Central and Mountain time zones.

By the 1960s, the networks' programs dominated prime time schedules of network stations throughout the United States, and reruns of old network shows dominated schedules of independent (non-network) television stations. The FCC began to investigate this virtual monopoly in 1965, and issued its initial PTAR in 1970. The rule has undergone several modifications since, and the FCC reexamines PTAR periodically.

Nationally there are over 200 television markets, metropolitan areas ranked by population. The number one market is New York, followed by Los Angeles, and Chicago. The current PTAR applies only to network owned or network affiliated television stations in the 50 largest markets. The rule restricts these stations from airing more than three hours of network programming during the four hour prime time block each evening and establishes the first hour of prime time as the "access hour." In practice, the networks provide only three hours of programming to affiliates in all 200 plus markets. They do so because they are unable to make a profit selling network time for commercials that would only appear in smaller markets.

The networks normally provide 22 hours of network programming weekly, three hours Monday through Saturday, and four on Sunday. Sunday includes an extra hour because feature films, news and public affairs, and family programs qualify as exemptions from the rule. There are also exceptions made for fast-breaking live news events and runovers of live broadcasts of sports contests. In some local television markets, the half-hour network evening newscast is aired during primetime because this qualifies as another

exemption if the local affiliate broadcasts a one hour local newscast immediately preceding the network newscast.

The current PTAR also prevents top 50 market network owned or affiliated stations from airing off-network programs during the access hour. Off-network programs are old episodes of shows originally broadcast on the network (e.g. *The Cosby Show*) that are sold as packages to local stations in smaller markets and non-network stations in larger markets. This part of PTAR was enacted originally to encourage more locally produced shows, and to increase opportunities for smaller independent production companies to sell original programs to local stations. Prior to PTAR, almost all network programming was produced by major studios or the networks themselves. In practice, and in spite of the rule, there is very little locally produced access programming, and the major portion of access programs produced by independent producers are inexpensive game shows.

The FCC is examining PTAR again in response to an appeal for eliminating PTAR by the major networks. In recent years, the networks' share of the national primetime audience has shrunk because of many more channel options available to television viewers via cable or satellite. The Prime Time Access Rule will continue to be modified periodically. Whether or not it will be totally eliminated cannot be predicted because of the many other factors affecting television programming and the broadcast industry itself.

—Robert G. Finney

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See also Allocation; Federal Communications Commission; License; Syndication

## PRINZE, FREDDIE

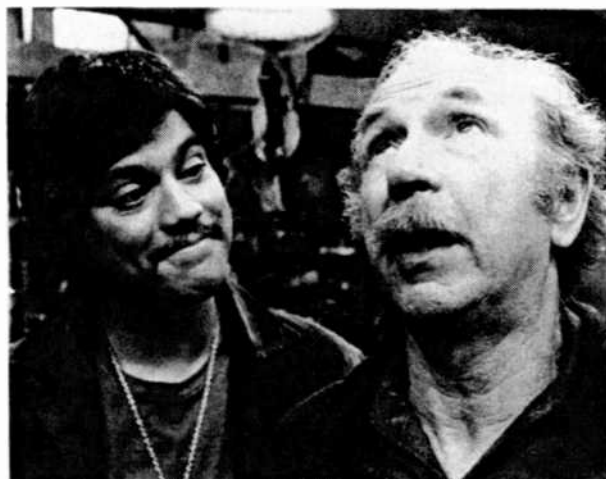
U.S. Actor

**F**reddie Prinze is one of only a handful of Puerto Rican Americans to earn national prominence as a popular entertainer—in his case, as a stand-up comedian. Prinze was born in Washington Heights, New York, a working-poor, multi-ethnic neighborhood on the Upper West Side. His father was a Hungarian immigrant who worked as a tool and die maker, his mother a Puerto Rican immigrant who worked in a factory. Playing on the name "Neuorican," as many New York Puerto Ricans identify themselves, Prinze called himself a "Hungarian."

Prinze came from a diverse religious as well as ethnic background. His father was part Jewish, his mother Catholic, and they chose to send him to a Lutheran elementary school. On Sundays he attended Catholic mass. "All was confusing," he told *Rolling Stone* in 1975, "until I found I could crack up the priest doing Martin Luther." Prinze was also overweight when he was a young boy, which further heightened his anxiety about his "mixed" identity. "I fitted in nowhere," he continued. "I wasn't true spic, true Jew, true anything. I was a miserable fat schmuck kid with glasses and asthma." Like many comedians, Prinze used humor to cope with the traumas of his childhood. "I started doing half-hour routines in the boys room, just winging it. Guys cut class to catch the act. It was, 'What time's Freddie playing the toilet today?'" His comedic talents paid off, as he was selected to attend the prestigious High School of the Performing Arts in New York.

Prinze did not graduate from the High School of the Performing Arts, though after his later professional successes school administrators awarded him a certificate. The young comedian skipped many of his morning classes, most commonly economics, because he often worked as late as 3:00 A.M. in comedy clubs perfecting his routine and style. Of his time spent in these clubs, Prinze would later say, "My heart doesn't start till 1:00 P.M." One of his favorite spots was the Improvisation on West 44th Street, a place where aspiring comics could try out their material on receptive audiences.

Prinze called himself an "observation comic," and his routines often included impressions of ethnic minorities and film stars such as Marlon Brando. One of his most famous impressions was of his Puerto Rican apartment building superintendent who, when asked to fix a problem in the building, would say with a thick accent: "Eez not mai yob." The line became a national catch phrase in the early 1970s. His comedy also had a political edge that was poignant and raw, perhaps best illustrated by his line about Christopher Columbus: "Queen Isabelle gives him all the money, three boats, and he's wearing a red suit, a big hat, and a feather—that's a pimp." Prinze's comic wit, based in the tradition of



*Freddie Prinze (with Jack Albertson)*

street humor pioneered by such comics as Lenny Bruce and Richard Pryor, landed him a number of television appearances, including *The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson* in 1973. His performance there was a major success and the start of his television career.

Indeed, James Komack, a television producer, liked what he saw in Prinze's routine, and cast him to play the part of Chico Rodriguez, a wise-cracking Chicano, in a situation comedy called *Chico and the Man*. Komack told *Time* magazine that Prinze "was the best comic to come along in 20 years." *Chico and the Man* also starred veteran actor Jack Albertson as "the Man," a crusty old-timer, owner of a run-down garage in a Chicano barrio of East Los Angeles. Among the supporting cast were Scatman Crothers, who played Louie the garbageman, and Della Reese, who played Della the landlady. In the style of other situation comedies such as *All in the Family* and *Sanford and Son*, most of the plots involved ethnic conflicts between Chico, who worked in the garage, and the Man, the only Caucasian living in the mostly Latino neighborhood. "Latin music sounds like Mantovani getting mugged," the Man says to Chico in one episode. Chico would often respond to the old-timer's bigoted statements with the line, "Looking good," which also became a national catch phrase. Premiering on NBC-TV in September 1974, *Chico and the Man* quickly rose to the top of the Nielsen ratings. *Time* reported that Prinze was "the hottest new property on prime-time TV," and the comedian literally became an overnight star—the first and, to date, only Puerto Rican comedian to command a nationwide audience. He began working in Las Vegas for a reported \$25,000 a



night. He bought himself a new Corvette and his parents a home in the Hollywood hills. He was only twenty years old.

*Chico and the Man* faced criticism and protests from the Los Angeles Chicano community, who protested the use of Prinze, a New York Puerto Rican, to play a Los Angeles Chicano. Citing dialect and accent differences—and the fact that network television rarely employed Chicano actors—Chicano groups picketed NBC's Burbank studios and wrote protest letters. Prinze responded with his usual irreverent humor: "If I can't play a Chicano because I'm Puerto Rican, then God's really gonna be mad when he finds out Charlton Heston played Moses." Nonetheless, the network and producers of the show buckled under the pressure, changing the character to half-Puerto Rican and half-Chicano brought up in New York City. The shift in the character's ethnic identity apparently did not bother television audiences, for *Chico and the Man* never slipped below sixth place in the ratings when Prinze was its star.

Prinze, however, had a difficult time adjusting to the pressures of his overnight success and stardom, and during this period, he experienced many personal problems. His wife of 15 months, Katherine Elaine Cochran, filed for divorce and Prinze was now less able to see his adored 15-month-old son. Early in the show's run, Prinze was arrested for driving under the influence of prescription tranquilizers, fueling speculation of a drug problem. Indeed, friends reported that Prinze turned to drugs to cope with the pressures of fame and the break-up of his marriage. "Freddie was into a lot of drugs," comedian Jimmy Walker said to *The New York Times*, "not heroin, as far as I know, but coke and a lot of Ludes. The drug thing was a big part of Freddie's life. It completely messed him up."

On 28 January 1977, after a night of phone calls to his secretary, business manager, psychiatrist, mother and estranged wife, Freddie Prinze shot himself in the head in front of his business manager. He was rushed to the hospital, where he was pronounced dead. He was 22 years old. A note found in his apartment read: "I can't take any more. It's all my fault. There is no one to blame but me." According to *The New York Times*, Prinze had previously threatened suicide in front of many of his friends and associates, often by holding a gun to his head and pulling the trigger while the safety was on. It is not known whether the young comedian actually intended to kill himself that night or merely suggest that he might, as he had done in the past, but it is clear that he was critically depressed.

The death of Freddie Prinze is an American success story turned tragedy. His street-wise insight and raw wit is surely missed, perhaps most by the Puerto Rican American community who have yet to see another politically-minded Puerto Rican comedian grab national attention. "I am eenoyed there is no Puerto Rican astronaut," Prinze told *Rolling Stone* in an exaggerated Spanish accent, "Thee bigots think we will blow thee horn all the way to thee moon, play thee radio, stick our heads out thee window and whistle ... and then, on thee moon, the white astronaut says, 'bring in the rocks now,' and we reply, 'Eez not mai yob, man!'"

—Daniel Bernardi

**FREDDIE PRINZE.** Born in New York City, U.S.A., 22 June 1954. Educated at the High School of the Performing Arts, 1970. Married: Katherine Cochran, 1975. Performed in Manhattan comedy nightclubs; appeared on Jack Paar's television show, 1972; appeared on *The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson*, 1973; starred in television show *Chico and the Man*, 1974–77. Died in Los Angeles, California, 28 January 1977.

#### TELEVISION SERIES

1974–77 *Chico and the Man*

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## PRISONER

### Australian Prison Melodrama

**P**risoner, aired from 1979 to 1986 in Australia and in other countries as *Cell Block H*, is a triumph of the Australian television industry, a classic of serial melodrama. *Prisoner* was conceived by the Grundy Organisation for Network Ten. Reg Watson, in the senior ranks of Grundys, had just returned

from Britain, where he had been one of the originators of the long-running serial *Crossroads*. In 1978 Watson set out to devise a serial set in a women's prison, in the context of considerable public attention being given in Australia to prison issues generally and to the position of female prisoners

in particular. *Women Behind Bars* had been founded in 1975, and had successfully campaigned for the eventual release of Sandra Willson, Australia's longest-serving female prisoner. The combination of an active women's movement, prisoner action groups, and an atmosphere of public inquiry and media attention, stimulated by gaol riots and a royal commission, laid a basis for an interest in the lives of women in prison. Watson and his team at Grundys, in their extensive research for the new drama, interviewed women in prison as well as prison officers (the "screws," as they are always called in *Prisoner*), and later some of the actors also visited women's prisons. Notice was taken of prison reform groups, whose desire for a halfway house for women was incorporated into the program. The result was a very popular long-running serial, shown from 8:30 to 10:30 P.M., which only in its eighth year revealed signs of falling ratings.

*Prisoner* became as controversial as it was popular. In its frequent grimness, pathos, sadness, toughness of address, occasional violence, and atmosphere of threat, it appeared very decidedly to be adult drama, its "look" spare, hard, dynamic. Yet ethnographic research pointed to *Prisoner's* consistent appeal to schoolchildren, not least schoolgirls, perhaps identifying the harsher screws with cordially disliked teachers. It was not the favourite text of school principals, and was the subject of complaint by them.

With *Prisoner*, the audience is invited to sympathise and empathise with a particular group of prisoners, in particular, mother figure Bea Smith, aunt figure Judy Bryant, grandmother figure Lizzie Birdsworth, as well as some young prisoners, the acting daughters and granddaughters, Doreen and Maxie and Bobby. Often we see this group at work in the prison laundry, where Bea rules as "top dog," having the right to press the clothes. Here Bea and her "family" resist the oppression of a labour process the prison management forces on them by taking smokes, having fun, exercising cheek and wit, chatting, planning rituals like birthday celebrations, or being involved in dramas of various kinds that distract them from the boredom of work.

Such "kinship" relationships, often remembered rather wistfully by ex-prisoners who are having a hard time of it alone on the outside, offer the possibility of close friendship, fierce loyalty, cooperation, genuine concern for each other: an image of *communitas*, inversionary since it is this community of "good" prisoners, not those in authority, that the text continually invites us to sympathise and empathise with. Opposed to the powerful resourceful figure of Bea are various other women, also powerful personalities, like Kate or Nola MacKenzie or Marie Winters, individualistic and ruthlessly selfish, manipulative and wily, who scheme and plot (sometimes with harsh screws like Joan Ferguson, known as the Freak, who is also corrupt, or Vera Bennett, known as Vinegar Tits) to topple Bea and destroy her authority and influence.

Yet relationships in *Prisoner* of all kinds are always complicated, shifting, and often uncertain. Not all screws are harsh; there is for example Meg, more a social worker, though still suspected by the women. The struggle between a more permis-



*Prisoner*

*Photo courtesy of Grundy Television*

sive, helping approach, as with Meg, and the advocates of rigid discipline like Ferguson and Bennett and to a lesser degree Colleen Powell, goes on and on and is never resolved, as each approach is alternately seen to result in further tension, restlessness, and disorder. As the women's leader, Bea is particularly ambivalent. Bea possesses impressive wisdom about human relations which she shrewdly uses for the benefit of the prisoners as a whole. She dislikes and tries to counter and sometimes punishes actions that are self-seeking and competitive at the expense of what she perceives as a family group. But if Bea is a kind of moral centre in *Prisoner*, she's an unusual and complex one, drawn as she is to exerting her control through violence or the threat of it: after killing her, she brands "K"—for Killer—on Nola MacKenzie's chest with a soldering iron (Nola had tried to drive Bea insane over the memory of her dead daughter Debbie).

*Prisoner* relies very little on conventional definitions of masculinity and femininity, beyond the basic point that sympathy generated for the women rests on the perception that women are not usually violent or physically dangerous. Many of the women are very strong characters indeed, active and independent. Bea, Nola, Marie Winters, the Freak, are most unusual in the gallery of characters of television drama. They are not substitute men, but active strong women. Strength and gentleness are not distributed in *Prisoner* on male-female lines. The binary image of the powerful man and the weak or decorative woman is simply not there. Nor are the women in *Prisoner* in the least glamourised. They are usually dressed in shabby prison uniforms, or for those on remand usually in fairly ordinary clothes. Their faces suggest no make-up, and they range in bodily shape from skinny wizened old Lizzie (loving, concerned and kind, yet also a mischievous old lag rather like a child, liable to

get herself into trouble) to the big girls like Bea, Doreen, and Judy. Their faces, luminously featured as in so much serial melodrama, are shown as grainy and interesting, faces full of character, of signs of hardship and suffering, alternately soft and hard, happy and depressed, angry or bored. The women are not held up voyeuristically as sexual objects, but present themselves as human, female, subjects.

While *Prisoner* talks to very contemporary, historically specific concerns, it also draws on much wider, longer, older cultural histories. *Prisoner* can be located in a long female tradition of inversion and inversionary figures in popular culture, from the "unruly" or "disorderly" women of early modern Europe evoked by Natalie Zemon Davis as Women on Top to the rebellious Maid Marians important in Robin Hood ballads and associated festivities of the May-games, to the witches of seventeenth-century English stage comedy. In such "wise witch" figures we perhaps approach the female equivalent of the male mythological tradition of Robin Hood, Dick Turpin, Rob Roy—outlaws and tricksters who, like Bea in *Prisoner*, inspired fear as well as admiration.

As well as such carnivalesque traditions of world upside-down, misrule, and charivari, *Prisoner* speaks to and takes in new directions dramas of crime on television where private passions erupt into public knowledge, debate, contestation, judgment. As dramaturgy *Prisoner* revels in the possibilities of the TV serial form, of cliffhangers at the end of episodes, intensifying melodrama as (in Peter Brooks' terms in *The Melodramatic Imagination*) an aesthetic of excess. *Prisoner* is already a classic of serial melodrama, yet, in world television, there is and has been nothing else quite like it.

—Ann Curthoys and John Docker

#### CAST

<i>Doreen May Anderson/Burns</i> . . . . .	Colette Mann	<i>Andrew Fry</i> . . . . .	Howard Bell
<i>Freida "Franky" Doyle</i> . . . . .	Carol Burnas	<i>Sarah West</i> . . . . .	Kylie Belling
<i>Vera "Vinegar Tits" Bennett</i> . . . . .	Fiona Spence	<i>Matthew "Matt" Delaney</i> . . . . .	Peter Bensley
<i>Lizzie Birdworth</i> . . . . .	Sheila Florance	<i>Lisa Snell</i> . . . . .	Liza Bermingham
<i>Monica Ferguson</i> . . . . .	Lesley Baker	<i>Randi Goodlove</i> . . . . .	Zoe Bertram
<i>Marilyn Mason</i> . . . . .	Margaret Laurence	<i>Tracy Belman</i> . . . . .	Alyson Best
<i>Bea Smith</i> . . . . .	Val Lehman	<i>Harry Grovesnor</i> . . . . .	Mike Bishop
<i>Karen Travers</i> . . . . .	Peta Toppano	<i>Toni McNally</i> . . . . .	Pat Bishop
<i>Lynn Warner</i> . . . . .	Kerry Armstrong	<i>Evy Randel</i> . . . . .	Julia Blake
<i>Strud Wilson</i> . . . . .	Peter Lindsay	<i>Judy Bryant</i> . . . . .	Betty Bobbit
<i>Jim Fletcher</i> . . . . .	Gerard Maguire	<i>Mervin "Merv" Pringle</i> . . . . .	Ernie Bourne
<i>Erica Davidson</i> . . . . .	Patsy King	<i>Dennis Cruickshank</i> . . . . .	Nigel Bradshaw
<i>Colleen Powell</i> . . . . .	Judith McGrath	<i>Jill Clarke</i> . . . . .	Katy Brinson
<i>Bob Moran</i> . . . . .	Peter Adams (II)	<i>Merle Jones</i> . . . . .	Rosanne Hull Brown
<i>Tammy Fisher</i> . . . . .	Gloria Adjenstrat	<i>Ida Brown</i> . . . . .	Paddy Burnet
<i>Officer Green</i> . . . . .	John Allen	<i>Sonya Stevens</i> . . . . .	Tina Bursill
<i>Jean Vernon</i> . . . . .	Christine Amor	<i>Sandra Williams</i> . . . . .	Andrea Butcher
<i>Camilla Wells</i> . . . . .	Annette Andre	<i>Barbara Davidson</i> . . . . .	Sally Cahill
<i>Di Hagen</i> . . . . .	Christine Andrew	<i>Deirdre Kean</i> . . . . .	Anne Charleston
<i>Reb Kean</i> . . . . .	Janet Andrewartha	<i>Linda Gorman</i> . . . . .	Mary Charleston (II)
<i>Valarie Jacobs</i> . . . . .	Barbara Angell	<i>Anne Yates</i> . . . . .	Kirsty Child
<i>Meg Morris</i> . . . . .	Elsbeth Ballanryne	<i>Fay Donnally</i> . . . . .	Maud Clark
<i>Susan Rice</i> . . . . .	Briony Behets	<i>Bella Abrecht</i> . . . . .	Liddy Clarke
		<i>Edie Warren</i> . . . . .	Collene Clifford
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		<i>Alan Farmer</i> . . . . .	Michael Cormick
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		<i>Janet Williams</i> . . . . .	Christine Earl
		<i>Scott Collins</i> . . . . .	Tim Elston
		<i>Jessie Wyndem</i> . . . . .	Pat Evison
		<i>Len Murphy</i> . . . . .	Maurie Fields
		<i>Lainie Dobson</i> . . . . .	Marina Findley

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<i>Jennifer Bryant</i>	Susannah Fowle	<i>Rita Connors</i>	Glenda Linscott
<i>Cindy Moran</i>	Robyn Frank	<i>Jenny Hartley</i>	Jenny Lovell
<i>Brandy Carter</i>	Roslyn Gentle	<i>Faye Quinn</i>	Anne Lucas
<i>Mo Maquire</i>	Browyn Gibbs	<i>Clara Goddard</i>	Betty Lucas
<i>Samantha "Sam" Greenway</i>	Robyn Gibbs	<i>Janice Grant</i>	Jenny Ludlam
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<i>Barbara Fields</i>	Susan Gurin	<i>Rosie Hudson</i>	Anne Maree McDonald
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<i>Dr Kate Peterson</i>	Olivia Hamnett	<i>Catherine Roberts</i>	Margo McLennan
<i>Terry Harrison</i>	Brian Hannan	<i>Cass Parker</i>	Babs McMillan
<i>Pippa Reynolds</i>	Christine Harris	<i>Tom Lucas</i>	John McTernan
<i>Sally Dempster</i>	Liz Harris	<i>Ernest Craven</i>	Ray Meagher
<i>Roach Walters</i>	Linda Hartley	<i>Ray Proctor</i>	Alex Menglet
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<i>Steve Ryan</i>	Peter Lind Hayes	<i>Eddie Cooke</i>	Richard Moir
<i>Barbie Cox</i>	Jayne Healey	<i>Chrissie Latham</i>	Amanda Muggleton
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<i>Kath Maxwell</i>	Kate Hood	<i>Anne Reynolds</i>	Gerda Nicolson
<i>Wally Wallace</i>	Alan Hopgood	<i>Joyce Martin</i>	Judy Nunn
<i>Paddy Lawson</i>	Anna Hruby	<i>Ken Pierce</i>	Tom Oliver
<i>Rodney Adams</i>	Philip Hyde	<i>Helen Masters</i>	Louise Pajo
<i>Stan Dobson</i>	Brian James (I)	<i>Sara Webster</i>	Fiona Paul
<i>Steve Faulkner</i>	Wayne Jarrett	<i>Lisa Mullins</i>	Nicki Paul
<i>Martha Ives</i>	Kate Jason	<i>Philis Hunt</i>	Ray Pearce
<i>Sarah Higgins</i>	Nell Johnson	<i>Anna Geltschmidt</i>	Agnieska Perpeczko
<i>Ros Fisher</i>	Marinia Jonathon	<i>Myra Desmond</i>	Anne Phelan
<i>Kathy Hall</i>	Sue Jones	<i>Melinda Cross</i>	Lulu Pinkus
<i>Lorna Young</i>	Barbara Jungwirth	<i>Minnie Donovan</i>	Wendy Playfair
<i>Denise Crabtree</i>	Lynda Keane	<i>Lucy Fergusson</i>	Yoni Prior
<i>Alison Page</i>	Fay Kelton	<i>Greg Miller</i>	Barry Quinn
<i>Gerri Googan</i>	Deborah Kennedy	<i>Ethel May "Ettie" Parslow</i>	Lois Ramsay
<i>Frank Burke</i>	Trevor Kent	<i>Agnus Forster</i>	Lois Ramsey
<i>Philip Clary</i>	Steve Khun	<i>Sandy Hamilton</i>	Candy Reymond
<i>Joan Ferguson (The Freak)</i>	Maggie Kirkpatrick	<i>Leone Burke</i>	Tracy Jo Riley
<i>Bobbie Mitchell</i>	Maxine Klibingaitus	<i>Zara Moonbeam</i>	Ilona Rodgers
<i>Sharon Gilmour</i>	Margot Knight	<i>Queenie Marshall</i>	Marilyn Rodgers
<i>Noelene Burke</i>	Jude Kuring	<i>Spike Marsh</i>	Victoria Rowland
<i>Michelle Parkes</i>	Nina Landis	<i>Janet Dominguez</i>	Deidre Rubenstein
<i>Daphne Graham</i>	Debra Lawrence	<i>Kath Deakin</i>	Michelle Sargent
<i>David Andrews</i>	Serge Lazareff	<i>Pamela Madigan</i>	Justine Saunders
<i>Sandy Edwards</i>	Louise Le Nay	<i>Dan Moulton</i>	Sean Scully
<i>Tony Bernum</i>	Alan David Lee	<i>Janet Conway</i>	Kate Sheil

Angie Dobbs . . . . .	Gonza Sheils
Lou Kelly . . . . .	Louise Siverson
Nola McKenzie . . . . .	Carol Skinner
Delia Stout . . . . .	Desiree Smith
Ted Douglas . . . . .	Ian Smith
Mighty Mouse . . . . .	Jentah Sobott
Caroline Simpson . . . . .	Ros Spiers
May Worth . . . . .	Adair Stagg
Kath Leach . . . . .	Penny Stewart
Eve Wilder . . . . .	Lynda Stoner
Spider Simpson . . . . .	Tyra Stratton
Ben Fulbright . . . . .	Kevin Summers
Shane Monroe . . . . .	Robert Summers
Nora Flynn . . . . .	Sonja Tallis
Roslyn Coulson . . . . .	Sigrid Thornton
Mr. Hudson . . . . .	Bud Tingwell
Rachael Millson . . . . .	Kim Trentgrove
Lexie Patterson . . . . .	Pepe Trevor
Lisa Mullins . . . . .	Terrie Waddell
Anne Griffin . . . . .	Rowena Wallace
David Bridges . . . . .	David Walters
Jeanette Mary "Mum" Brooks . . . . .	Mary B. Ward
Joyce Barry . . . . .	Joy Westmore
Maggie May Kennedy . . . . .	Davina Whitehouse
Donna Mason . . . . .	Arkie Whitely
Janice Young . . . . .	Catherine Wilken
Marty Jackson . . . . .	Michael Winchester
Julie "Chook" Egbert . . . . .	Jackie Woodburne
Neil Murray . . . . .	Adrian Wright
Joanne Slater . . . . .	Carole Yelland
Rosmary Kay . . . . .	Jodi Yemm

**PRODUCERS** Philip East, John McRae, Ian Smith, Marie Trevor

#### PROGRAMMING HISTORY

- Ten Network 692 Episodes  
February 1979–November 1980  
Tuesday/Wednesday 8:30-9:30
- February 1981–June 1981 Tuesday/Wednesday 7:30-8:30

## THE PRISONER

### British Spy and Science-Fiction Series

**T**he *Prisoner*, an existential British spy and science-fiction series, was first aired in England in 1967. Actor Patrick McGoohan conceived of the idea for the series, wrote some of the scripts, and starred in the central role. McGoohan had become bored with his previous series, *The Secret Agent*, and wanted something very different. The new series comprised 17 "adventures," each self-contained but each also carrying the story forward to its remarkable, highly ambiguous conclusion.

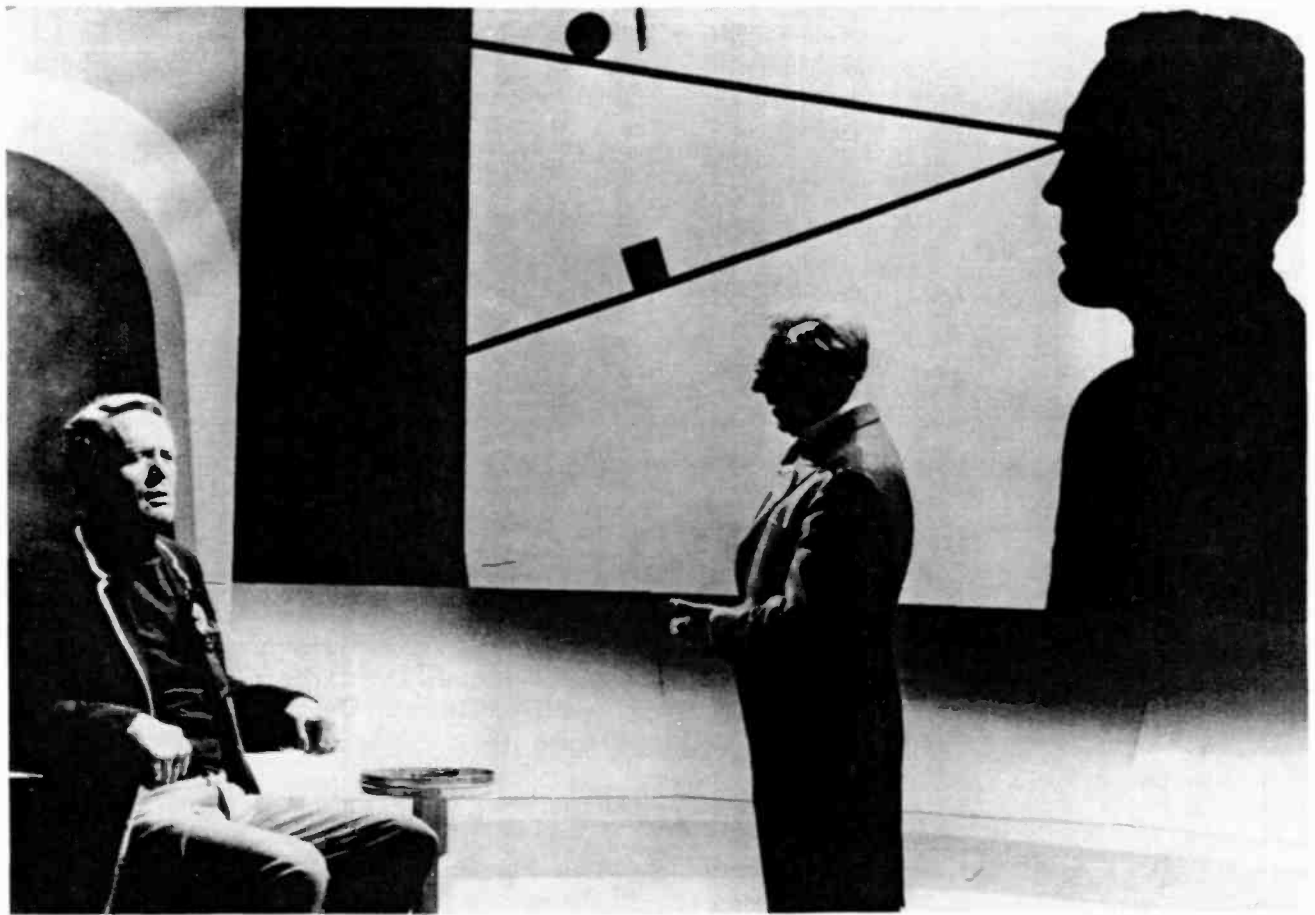
- June 1981–November 1981  
Tuesday/Wednesday 8:30-9:30
- February 1982–November 1982  
Tuesday/Wednesday 7:30-8:30
- February 1983–December 1986  
Tuesday/Wednesday 8:30-9:30

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See also Australian Programming

The series has attained cult status because it is so complex, so filled with symbolism, with dialogue and action working at several levels of meaning, that the entire story remains open to multiple interpretations. *The Prisoner* was shot in the Welsh village of Portmeirion, whose remarkable architecture contributes to the rich, mysterious atmosphere of the series. In many ways an allegory, the adventures within *The Prisoner* can be read as commentaries on contemporary British social and political institutions.



The Prisoner

*Photo courtesy of ITC Entertainment*

The hero of the series is an unnamed spy first shown resigning his position. He leaves the bureaucratic office building housing his agency, goes to his apartment, starts packing—and is gassed—presumably by those for whom he used to work. He wakes up in “The Village,” a resort-like community on what seems to be a remote island. “The Village,” however, is actually a high-tech prison, and the spy is a prisoner, along with others, men and women who were, it is understood, spies. All have been sent to “The Village” to be removed from circulation in any circumstances where their secret knowledge might be discovered.

Every member of “The Village” is known only by a number. The McGoohan character becomes Number Six, and finds himself engaged in constant intellectual, emotional, and sometimes physical struggles with Number Two. But each episode presents a different Number Two. With a few exceptions, each episode begins with a repetition of some of the opening sequence from the first episode—McGoohan resigns; his file is dropped by a mechanical device into a filing cabinet labeled “Resigned”; he is gassed; he wakes in “The Village” and confronts (the new) Number Two. This beginning is followed by a set piece of dialogue:

Prisoner: Where am I?  
 Number Two: In the Village.  
 Prisoner: What do you want?  
 Number Two: Information.  
 Prisoner: Which side are you on?  
 Number Two: That would be telling. We want information, information, information...  
 Prisoner: You won't get it.  
 Number Two: By hook or by crook we will.  
 Prisoner: Who are you?  
 Number Two: The new Number Two.  
 Prisoner: Who is Number One?  
 Number Two: You are Number Six.  
 Prisoner: I am not a number. I am a free man.  
 Number Two: Ha, ha, ha, ha....

Some fans of the series argue that there is a slight gap between the words “are” and the “Number Two” in this exchange (“You are. Number Six”), which would mean that Number Six is also Number One, a character who remains unseen until the final episode. Number Two pushes the inquiry. He wants to know why Six resigned. Six says he will not tell him, then vows to escape from “The Village” and destroy it.



Each episode in the series consists of an attempt by a new Number Two and his or her associates to find out why Six resigned and of measures taken by Six to counter these attempts. Every possible method, from drugs to sex, from the invasion of his dreams to the use of supercomputers, is used to get Number Six to reveal why he resigned. In some episodes Six shifts his focus from escape attempts to schemes for bringing down the administration of "The Village," though it is always understood that escape is his ultimate goal.

The concluding episode, written by McGoohan, was extremely chaotic, confusing, and very controversial. Number Six has defeated and killed Number Two in the previous episode, "Till Death Do Us Part." When Number Six finally gets to see Number One, he turns out to be a grinning ape. But when Number Six strips off the ape mask, we see what appears to be a crazed version of Number Six, suggesting that Number One was, somehow, a perverted element of Number Six's personality. Six, aided by several characters also deemed "revolutionaries" by the administration (including the Number Two of the previous episode, somehow brought back to life), does destroy "The Village." He escapes with his associates in a truck driven by a midget, who may have been the servant of all previous Number Two figures. They blast through a tunnel just before "The Village" is destroyed and find themselves, surprisingly, on a highway near London.

*The Prisoner* is considered by some critics to be television's first masterpiece, the most brilliant television series ever produced. It is continually rebroadcast, usually presented as a science-fiction program, though it is probably best described as a spy series filled with technological gadgetry. Each program and every aspect of the series has been subjected to scrutiny by its fans. Dealing with topics ranging from the nature of individual identity to the power of individuals to confront totalitarian institutions, *The Prisoner* remains one of the most enigmatic and fascinating series ever produced for television.

—Arthur Asa Berger

#### CAST

*The Prisoner* . . . . . Patrick McGoohan

*Number Two* . . . . . Guy Doleman  
 . . . . . George Baker  
 . . . . . Leo McKern  
 . . . . . Colin Gordon  
 . . . . . Eric Portman  
 . . . . . Anton Rodgers  
 . . . . . Mary Morris  
 . . . . . Peter Wyngarde  
 . . . . . Patrick Cargill  
 . . . . . Derren Nesbitt  
 . . . . . John Sharpe  
 . . . . . Clifford Evans  
 . . . . . David Bauer  
 . . . . . Georgina Cookson  
 . . . . . Andre Van Gysegham  
 . . . . . Kenneth Griffith  
*The Kid/Number 48* . . . . . Alexis Kanner  
*The Butler* . . . . . Angelo Muscat  
*The Supervisor* . . . . . Peter Stanwick  
*Shopkeeper* . . . . . Denis Show

**PRODUCER** David Tomblin

**PROGRAMMING HISTORY** 17 50-minute Episodes

• ITC/Everyman Films for ITV  
 September 1967–February 1968

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See also Spy Programs

## PRODUCER IN TELEVISION

Although the medium's technical complexity demands that any television program is a collective product involving many talents and decision makers, in American television it is the producer who frequently serves as the decisive figure in shaping a program. Producers assume direct responsibility for a show's overall quality and continued viability. Conventional wisdom in the industry consequently labels television "the producer's medium"—in contrast to film, where the director is frequently regarded as the key formative talent in the execution of a movie.

In fact, producers' roles vary dramatically from show to show or organization to organization. Some highly successful producers, such as Quinn Martin and Aaron Spelling, are primarily business executives presiding over several programs. They may take an active role in conceiving new programs and pitching (presenting them for sale) to networks, but once a show is accepted they are likely to concentrate on budgets, contracts, and troubleshooting, handing over day-to-day production to their staffs, and exercising control only in a final review of episodes. Other producers are more intimately involved in the



details of each episode, participating actively in screenwriting, set designs, casting and—like James Burrows—serving as a frequent director for their programs. Still others serve as enabling mid-managers who delegate crucial activities to directors, writers, and actors, but who choose such personnel carefully, and enforce critical standards, while working to insulate the creative staff from outside pressures. Many producers dispatch their duties within studio hierarchies, while others own independent companies, sometimes contracting space, equipment, and personnel from studios.

Some scholars consider the producer television's auteur, suggesting that shows should be considered above all extensions of the producer's individual, creative sensibility (Marc, 1989; Marc and Thompson, 1992). Rather than creators freely following a vision, however, producers typically function as orchestrators of television programs, applying the resources available within an organization to the problem of mounting a show each week. Those resources—and deeper cultural presumptions about television's social roles and limits—may shape the producer's ambitions as much as he shapes them (Gitlin, 1983).

Beginning in the mid-1970s, Hollywood embraced an auteurist theory of its own, when the success of well-written comedies produced by small, writer-centered independent companies led to the presumption that the literate writer-producer was the single most indispensable creative resource for generating new shows attractive to demographically desirable audiences. Both studios and networks began an escalating trend of signing promising writer-producers to long-term, concessionary contracts. The most notorious—and arguably the most successful—was ABC and 20th Century-Fox's 1988 agreement with Steven Bochco to underwrite and air the next ten shows he conceived—a decision which offered Bochco room to experiment, sometimes disastrously, with shows like *Cop Rock*, an attempt to bring opera to prime time. The emphasis on the producer-as-author marked the culmination of a concerted shift from 1950s industry procedure, which regarded the networks' relationships with particular studios as the most decisive aspect in generating new programming. Arguably, the shift represented a move away from a factory system whose emphases were standardization and cost containment, and whose most desirable TV producer was an effective employee or bureaucrat, toward an arts and crafts model of TV whose emphasis was differentiation and variety, and whose most desirable producer was a talented visionary with a track record. (The shift manifests the transformation of filmmaking from studio-centered Hollywood to the talent packages of the New Hollywood.)

The expanding syndication market assured that producers—who can negotiate part-ownership of their shows—could enjoy not only creative scope but considerable financial reward as well. By the 1990s, observers within the industry noted that college graduates once eager to become network executives or studio employees now arrived hoping to become producers—a shift in the sociology of television production with potential import to the comparatively new medium.

Respect for producers' creativity, however, did not mitigate Hollywood's strong inclination to treat producers as specialists

in specific genres. When, for example, the successful action-adventure producer Stephen Cannell tried to diversify into comedy in the early 1980s, the networks were unreceptive, on the grounds that Cannell had no demonstrated skill in comedy. As with many commercial artists, then, the television producer's scope of innovation is generally delimited by convention, and often amounts to a variation in formula rather than a dramatic break with practices or expectations held by the industry or the producer's audiences (Newcomb and Alley, 1983; Selnow and Gilbert, 1993).

One sign that the producer is not an individual auteur is the multiplication of producer credits seen on American shows since the mid 1980s. Programs may identify an "executive producer" (sometimes a financial underwriter, sometimes the conceiver of the show's premise), an associate producer, a supervising producer (who usually serves as head writer), a line producer (who oversees day-to-day production), or list any combination of these titles (which hardly comprise an exhaustive list), all in addition to the regular "producer." Such credits may reflect a complex division of labor established by the organization or packagers producing a show. They can also reflect the growing negotiating power of participants in a highly successful show, who, no longer content simply to write or act, wish to have contractual control over the assembly of entire episodes, and perhaps, eventually, develop a measure of artistic and financial independence by forming their own production companies. In any case, the proliferating credits suggest that "producerly" authority is divisible and negotiable, not individual and singular—a construction emerging from institutional pressures and politics (though individual talents and preferences of course affect how a given person executes any institutionally-defined role).

The first television producers were studio personnel in local stations across the country. They included advertising agency employees who put together shows in the years of sponsor controlled programming. Somewhat later, the Hollywood executives assigned to the first television divisions of the studios were known as producers (Anderson, 1994). All, in turn, may have owed elements of their jobs to precursors in radio (Hilmes, 1990). But the TV producer's definition as a uniquely creative figure was probably initiated by Desi Arnaz and Lucille Ball, who, in 1950, formed Desilu expressly to produce *I Love Lucy* on their own terms. Their crucial innovation of shooting shows on film in front of a studio audience combined the excitement of live performance with the quality control of film, and enabled reruns and syndication, thus transforming television economics, as well as the struggle for creative control (Schatz, 1990).

Desilu serves as an important example of the simultaneously artistic and commercial role of the producer. Given the series format of most television programming, the producers—much more than are film directors—ultimately faced with operating an economically, logistically, and theatrically successful assembly line, and so their influence on a program stems from their entrepreneurial, as well as their formal, ingenuity. Like so much else about television, the producer's role combines traditionally conceived realms of

"artistic" and "managerial" decision making into a hybrid activity in which artistic criteria and commercial calculation impinge on each other.

—Michael Saenz

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See also Director, Television; Independent Production Companies; Lear, Norman; Link, William, Levinson, Richard; Martin, Quinn; Powell, Dick

## PROGRAMMING

The term "programming" obviously refers both to television content and to strategies of content selection and presentation. Yet shifts in the medium over the past two decades have called into question the apparently obvious nature of both. Modern television, after all, goes beyond the broadcast-based mode of operation which shaped the medium for so many years. Today a television is not just a set for receiving entertainment, but also a device for viewing videotapes, playing computerized games, or going channel surfing. Increasingly, it is also a means of telecommunication, of accessing dedicated information services, or of transacting home shopping. These events leave a single obvious definition of television programming—whatever appears on a television set—unwieldy and highly mutable.

Another definition of television programming might turn on the formal aspects of content appearing on the tube. But in fact, many elements of television programming have never been limited exclusively to television. Historically, television programming has borrowed liberally from other media. In addition, Hollywood promotion, sponsor marketing, and the self-promotion of the television industry have long assured that the imaginative worlds of television characters and stories are also available through T-shirts, toys, or other products. Much television programming, in fact, serves as part of the staged release of products by horizontally integrated entertainment companies like Paramount, Time Warner, or Disney.

The essential point in these processes is that television programming rarely appears in discrete, isolable units, or displays an innately "televisual" form. Instead programming is often part of a broader set of commercial or cultural trends that are being drawn upon, commented upon, or manipulated.

Moreover, these trends are continually being reconfigured by the appearance of new technologies and businesses which establish new potential forms and forums for programming. U.S. television programming may once have been defined by Hollywood studios and U.S. television networks, but increasingly it seems likely to be defined by AT and T, Microsoft, Netscape, or America Online—companies bringing different business agendas, technical expertise, and marketing strategies to newly reconceived "texts" and "audiences."

This tie to larger sequences of events is one of the major reasons that television programming provokes broader cultural analysis and evaluation by viewers, regulators, and critics. Certainly contemporary television programming—in whatever form—seems to be more socially significant, and more revelatory of general cultural dialog, than, say, contemporary opera, or even contemporary written literature. The idea of programming, indeed, might be better served by abandoning narrow definitions based on content or form, and focusing on a set of social processes organized under the rubric of television programming. From this view, ultimately, television programming is a historically developed, changing cultural system for circulating and transforming meaning and value—a system collectively shared and supported by television producers, distributors, and users, who subscribe to and bend its priorities through their participation.

Programming, then, is a process for imbuing public value which—advertisers, celebrities, government officials, cultural monitors, and program producers all hope—can be traded in later for cash or the political power to continue their specific forms of program production and distribution. Treating programming as a processual cultural system for the circulation of meaning and value is to focus on television

programming as always organized but always changing. Any examination of television programming must ultimately analyze such a system institutionalized through an array of activities.

### **Programming as Industrialized Commodity**

The variety of television formats—and the continuing fluidity of television genres within this social process—stem from programming's status as a malleable form which can be developed for profit in often divergent ways. They stem, in short, from programming's status as a commodity.

Yet television programming is a complex and expensive product, and profitability demands standardization and routinization as much as it requires entrepreneurial experimentation or market differentiation. Programming standards and routines—and the scope for innovation—depend intimately on the financial and political configuration of the medium at any moment. And so programming emerged as a fluid commodity form whose diversity, mode of address and regularity are delimited, at any given time, by television's industrial underpinnings.

In the first five decades of television, for example, the difficulties of developing the new medium typically meant that television lay in the hands of institutions that could weather high start-up costs and that would benefit from crucial economies of scale in the medium's use. The result was early broadcasting's distinctive mode of address: wide audiences were typically exposed to a handful of channels centrally programmed by institutions seeking large audiences, institutions like national commercial networks in the United States, or the state in the Soviet systems, or to sets of certain cultural expectations, as in the Reithian version of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Programming had to conform respectively to the dramatic expectations and financial investments provided by advertisers, to the ideological goals and prescriptions of government bureaucracies, or to the standards of cultural guardians and tutors.

Over the last decade, the nature of programming has been profoundly renovated. New institutions have put forward a different set of economic, technological, and organizational arrangements, and seek to profit from television in ways that diverge from the centralized broadcasting model. The commodity of programming has accordingly been complicated and differentiated.

These developments suggest how specifically early television programming focused on wide, simultaneous presentation of a limited number of information and entertainment formats. And they suggest that programming is not a static collection of texts or conventions, but rather a flexible notion, a locus of potential commodities whose capacity to convey meaning or particular kinds of social exchange can be redefined as the institutions profiting from them alter their strategies.

Though it is familiar enough to seem simple, then, television programming is a complicated cultural phenomenon establishing a shared speculative reality among wide

audiences. The next section focuses on the specific ways in which television programming has been developed as a commodity under the U.S. broadcast network model. The focus on the United States is limiting, but instructive, since U.S. television programming, like U.S. filmmaking, has enjoyed a disproportionate influence on television worldwide—an advantage not coincidentally related to U.S. television's elaboration of effective means for attracting unprecedented investment, controlling risk, and developing efficiencies of production, distribution, and exhibition of its commodity texts. Despite the considerable strictures of its commodity form, however, U.S. television programming has also experienced considerable development and elaboration, as changing institutional relationships have altered the financial strategies behind programming.

### **Historical Changes in U.S. Programming**

For the first three years, television programming was all live, since there existed no feasible means of recording the signal produced by television cameras. Shows were confined to studios or to on-location programs. In the United States, studios were located in network headquarters in New York—yet in the medium's first five years, from 1948 to 1953, the networks did not produce much of their programming. Instead, sponsors hired advertising agencies to design, budget, and produce shows which fit their marketing needs. Sponsor-controlled production suited the new networks, which could not afford to produce the quantity of programming they had promised affiliates, particularly in such an experimental and trouble-prone medium. Sponsors were encouraged to purchase the time slot they wished and think of it as their franchise, to develop as they so desired. In the words of David Sarnoff, the president of RCA, NBC's holding company, the network existed simply as a "pipeline" for sponsors.

After 1953, however, television became less uncertain, and networks began to suspect they could maximize profits by undertaking their own program production, centralizing control over the schedule, and extending the still-haphazard programming day to new time slots. Under president Sylvester Weaver, NBC ejected recalcitrant sponsors and advertising agencies, and launched new network-produced live programs—*Today*, *Tonight*, and *Home*, a failed afternoon program—which made programming an ever-present commodity. Weaver also undertook a concerted effort to popularize television through expensive, attention-grabbing, variety show "spectaculars." His expensive strategies were effective, so much so that by 1955 they were no longer needed, and he was succeeded, quickly, by a new generation of executives who boosted profitability through routinization.

In 1954 and 1955, the U.S. networks turned to a new program source that would become a central part of modern television worldwide: Hollywood. The first routinely filmed television show, *I Love Lucy*, had begun in 1951, but filming remained the exception rather than the rule.

By 1955, Hollywood—as part of its long-term response to the Paramount Decree of 1948, an anti-trust agreement which forced the studios to sell their highly lucrative theater chains—was ready to consider television a crucial new client and point of exhibition. The result of the partnership was a new standard of television programming, the telefilm mass-produced by newly formed divisions of the Hollywood studios.

The concerted move to products of the Hollywood factory system altered the look and production of programming. The plays which had comprised much of earlier television programming drew frequently on writers and actors available from Manhattan theater, radio, and literary circles. Live television, moreover, had frequently depended on “anthology” programs which could vary considerably from week to week. The telefilm’s use of recurrent actors, sets, stock footage and dramatic formulas, by contrast, helped establish the recurring series as the basis of television programming, and emphasized programming’s standardization. The results prompted many critics to consider earlier live TV a “Golden Age” of television drama. Others have subsequently questioned the aesthetic superiority of live TV, granting its spontaneity and occasional dramatic ambitions, but pointing to the persistent incursion of ads within sponsor-produced shows, and questioning, ironically, the consistency of its achievements.

Programming in the 1960s reflected a stabilizing network oligopoly. Series had longer average runs than shows in later decades. The number of cancellations per season declined steadily. Even the networks’ relative position remained fixed: CBS continued building a remarkable (and given later events, a decidedly induplicable) 20 years as the number-one network in television ratings. ABC, the smallest and youngest network, remained the perennial third; NBC in the middle. Throughout the decade, however, all three networks’ ratings converged. Their programming philosophy was summed up by NBC’s Paul Klein, who articulated a policy: Least Objectionable Programming. Viewers, the philosophy assumed, will watch anything unless they are offended into changing channel. Many critics have consequently regarded 1960s programming—characterized by the most popular show in television history, *The Beverly Hillbillies*—as assembly line, escapist TV, though others are re-examining the presumed homogeneity of programming in the period. The perennial third place network, ABC, was in some respects the most interesting, introducing shows that titillated (*Bracken’s World*, *Love American Style*), sought out young audiences (*The Flying Nun*) or highlighted the spectacular (*ABC’s Wide World of Sports*).

A decisive break in programming came in 1970. That year, three milestone developments—the cigarette ad ban, the Prime Time Access Rule, and the Financial Interest and Syndication Rules—prompted the networks to address an inevitable question: how could continued network growth come from the finite amount of advertising time available on television, and the inevitable plateauing of demand by

advertisers. The primary answer was to develop finer demographic targeting, a strategy which could make some shows more expensive than the prevailing norm. The consequence was a new emphasis on programming which would attract varying demographics. Differentiation rather than standardization, and active attraction rather than innocuousness, became the basis of network strategies. In 1969, CBS president Robert Wood cancelled 13 shows appealing to older and rural audiences in favor of a more urban, higher-income audience. Among the replacements were the three innovative sitcoms which served as the basis for what later critics have called the “Television Renaissance”: *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *All in the Family*, and *M\*A\*S\*H*, programs which ultimately found broad appeal, yet did so through ambitious character development, topical controversy, and innovative production styles. “Quality” television had emerged as a desirable, even necessary commodity for the networks to develop.

CBS’ move contradicts a common tenet that the last-place network in the oligopoly was the most likely to experiment with innovative programming in an effort to raise its standing. Third-place standing could be a powerful motive for some innovations, but it was probably only the perennial first-place network, CBS, which could have risked such an abrupt and wholesale change in programming philosophy.

Not only did television programming develop a more complex hierarchy of quality after 1970, it became less of an anonymous, industrial product. Some producers, like Norman Lear, Stephen Cannell, Aaron Spelling, and Steve Bochco, became household names, and were credited with functioning as television authors. At the same time, the first generations of TV children were achieving adulthood, and brought to their viewing a cumulative, retrospective acquaintance with the history of programming. Producers and viewers alike became more self-conscious about television programming’s variety, its capacities as an expressive medium, and its historical depth.

For producers, these developments marked a codification of unstated industry practices, into more self-consciously assumed production “styles,” “authorial” qualities, and, increasingly, “innovative” distribution and mode of exhibition. Independent producer Stephen Cannell, for example, began to develop an entire menu of programs—some for prime time, some for syndication, some exclusively for cable, each with different target appeals, and each observing different budgetary constraints according to expected income. Yet all bore the Cannell imprimatur—made explicit by a trailer following each show, in which Cannell flourishingly ripped a script from a typewriter. In one show designed for fringe-hour cable, Cannell appeared personally as host, using his name recognition to attract audiences to a highly tongue-in-cheek suspense anthology reminiscent of the old *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*. The show’s appeal—actively dwelling on its divergence from prime time budgets, topics, and taste—presumed a much more complex sense of televi-

sual position and quotation than would have normal in 1960s programming.

By 1988, the networks, surrounded by new competition, were in the historically unique position of having to react to program trends, rather than working to select and cultivate them. The emergence of the FOX broadcast network in 1986—the Big Three's first viable competition—was based in programming which parodied or transgressed the oligopoly's genres. It used irreverence to target and imply a savvy, urban, youthful audience. When FOX did use more routine forms, it put in a twist by featuring black characters, assuring disproportionately large and loyal black audiences. Prime time television on the Big Three—which, despite falling audiences, still constituted the industrial, financial, and aesthetic point of reference—began to reflect the influence of FOX, music videos, syndicated tabloid shows, and producers (often arriving from filmmaking) whose projects were conceived for multiple distribution. From 1988 to 1990, the networks actively experimented with new generic hybrids and outre programming with shows like *Twin Peaks*; *Bagdad Cafe*; and *Northern Exposure*.

Accompanying these changes was a profound shift in the cultural role of programming. Given the medium's persistent popularity, the finite amount of programming available under the three-network oligopoly had served as a prominent and recognizable social touchstone, a set of social facts that most Americans acknowledged and shared as part of their national culture. In the days before videotape, such programming had also been ephemeral, assuming the aspect of an occasion or experience; and programming's simultaneous broadcast nationwide made that ephemeral experience a uniquely collective one. Programming, then, possessed the attributes of a public ritual, through which viewers collectively attended to experiences constituting a sense of social connection through the establishment of collective representations.

Just as pronounced was the sense of comparative propriety and circumspection in programming prevailing under the network oligopoly. Aware that their most unique commodity was widespread acceptance by audiences—and that the U.S. regulatory framework defined broadcasting as a public resource serving the public interest—networks used censors to enforce what they regarded as prevailing public mores of sexuality, violence, and sensationalism. Individual networks occasionally sought to boost ratings through titillation or scandal, but these attempts were measured departures from conventional TV standards that remained far more circumscribed than the license taken routinely in films or novels.

As television programming began to expand beyond the three-channel network system, its ritual aspects and its highly conventionalized moral circumspection began to dissolve. Shows were no longer singular, punctual experiences, once they could be recorded, viewed later the same day in syndication, or bought at a video store. Audiences were no longer collective and mass, but fragmented according to the particular time and venue they chose to engage a program. Moreover, viewers choosing from many, rather than just

three options, were arguably less of a public, and more of a self-elected fractional interest group, likely to be watching programming which could diverge dramatically from "mainstream" interests or values. With the decline of the three networks, then, programming became less of a central social ritual attended by wide audiences, and more of a varied, highly differentiated medium circulating commodities which could be more casually engaged by viewers. Scholars of the 1970s had identified television programming as a public forum and a modern bard. By the 1990s, television programming arguably constituted a variegated cultural "newsstand." The profound alterations outlined here have been paralleled by an equally important set of institutional arrangements and developments designed to best control television programming at any given time.

### **Institutional Changes in Broadcast Programming**

As a commodity, commercial programming is produced following familiar priorities of standardization (to control costs), differentiation (to penetrate markets), and innovation conceived largely as variation within repetition (to contain risk). While some critics regard these attributes as evidence of programming's lamentable role in manifesting the values of the marketplace, others see them as "enabling conditions" establishing some of television programming's most unique and recognizable pleasures.

Perhaps the strongest symptom of commercial programming's commodity status is its common organization into recurrent daily or weekly series. U.S. television is not generally filled with unique, one-time programs. Such programming would frustrate not only producers and networks, who are trying to extract reliably continuous income from television, but viewers too, who (many commentators would argue) are accustomed by consumer society to pleasure that is organized around a continual but measured introduction of novelty. Unlike a painting or a novel, a television show which appears once is unsatisfyingly ephemeral, while a show which is exactly reproduced is just a rerun. The series format, in which episodes invoke familiar settings and characters in slightly varied situations, satisfies ambitions both for more of the same and for something new. The series allows producers to develop long-term elaborations and complications of characters and situations which (most notoriously in the case of the soap opera), can make a program's fictional world part of the viewer's own. Such involvement also makes viewers' loyalty to the show into a reliable commodity which networks can either sell to advertisers or use to secure reliable subscriber fees. At the same time, the series routinizes production schedules and standardizes the costs that producers and networks must expect to pay to produce a new week of programming.

The seasonal schedule long prevalent in the U.S. also served to routinize production, viewing, and advertising sales not just week to week, but on a yearly calendar which concentrated the industry's introduction of novelty in a single spectacular moment. The impending fall season could

foment substantial bidding wars for the coming years' commercial slots, by advertisers involved in active speculation over the popularity of future programs. Definite seasons were a strong fixture of the industry when it was dominated by the oligopoly of ABC, NBC, and CBS, but new developments such as overnight ratings systems, competition from cable and syndication, and the rise of new networks such as FOX have blurred the outlines of these markers.

Conventions like the length of a series and the integrity of the season alter, in fact, with changing pressures within the industry. In the 1960s, during the height of a stable three-way network monopoly, U.S. TV functioned on a reliable calendar inherited from radio, in which a 39-week season was interrupted by a 13-week summer rerun period (the lack of new summer production costs enhanced profits for networks). As competition for network growth became more intense after 1970, and as viewers began to abandon network television for cable and syndication after 1976, networks became more reluctant to make long-term mistakes, and tried routinely to contract a minimum of episodes—as few as four at a time in 1990.

If series programming forms a major part of the schedule in order to regularize viewership and cultivate loyalty over the long term, shorter-run formats like the docudrama, miniseries, the sports special, and feature film introduce a sense of novelty and occasion, of divergence from one's own routine and that of competitors. Often they represent attempts to capitalize on timely, singular events—a sports championship, a scandalous murder, political intrigue—which are likely to have sufficient recognition to assure a large immediate audience. (Here entertainment blurs indissolubly into information.) Historically, the most persistent complement to standard series programming have been feature films licensed from Hollywood studios, and run under titles such as the *Wednesday Movie of the Week*.

The commodity form of television programming is evident not just in the rhythm of seasons and the length of series, but in the specific distribution of shows among eight "dayparts." Scheduling strategies and purchases of advertising time vary with dayparts, each of which foster unique genres in an effort to attract the presumably distinctive audiences available at different times of the day. Many critics suggest that television's dayparts ultimately represent the penetration of rationalized economic organization into the most mundane, casual, and intimate activities of domestic life; others suggest that they form the basis for familiar pleasures and ease of use. The composition of dayparts has changed historically, but since the mid-1980s typical dayparts for an ideal typical U.S. network affiliate station have remained relatively stable.

#### Early Morning (7:00-10:00 A.M.)

Audience: adults preparing for work; pre-school children. Programming: news, talk; local or network

#### Daytime (10:00 A.M.-6:00 P.M.)

Audience: mid-morning until mid-afternoon, "housewives."

Programming: talk, fiction (soap operas) networks, syndicated.

Audience: mid-afternoon until early evening, children.

Programming: cartoons and light drama; local, network, and syndicated.

#### Early Fringe (6:00-7:00 P.M.)

Audience: elders and adults returning from work.  
Programming: news; local and network

#### Prime Access (7:00-8:00 P.M.)

Audience: busy adults in the home, children  
Programming: "infotainment," game shows, comedies; syndicated, local.

#### Prime Time (8:00-11:00)

Audience: first hour, "family"; progressively "adult".

Programming: comedy, into melodrama, action-adventure, etc.; network.

#### Late Fringe (11:00-11:30 P.M.)

Audience: Adults  
Programming: news; local.

#### Late Night (11:30 P.M.-12:30 A.M.)

Audience: Adults, "liminal adults" (maturing adolescents)

Programming: talk shows, fiction; network, syndicated.

#### Overnight (12:30-7:00 A.M.)

Audience: Adults, liminal adults.

Programming: syndicated talk, comedy, drama, and "old movies"; network, syndicated.

Though these conventionally labeled audiences reflect the hoped-for targets of advertisers, from the viewer's perspective they constitute modes of address which do not necessarily conform with actual identities. Many teenagers, for example, probably indulge in late night programming explicitly to feel more like liminal adults; while many single adults enjoy the warm and fuzzy feelings of early-evening shows "aimed" at children.

The highly familiar succession of genres and implied audiences associated with dayparts reflects the U.S.



medium's priority on maximizing available viewership at all times, in order to maximize the fees advertisers will pay. Important dayparts accrue an identifiable tone: early morning, a hale, nationwide conviviality which orients viewers to the day; early fringe, a local-community focus supported by the plethora of local ads sold by affiliates; prime access, the netherworld of syndicated tabloid and game shows. Prime time, of course, is the costliest, most-watched period of television, featuring the most elaborately produced dramas, comedies, or films, and harboring the greatest sense of public event. Late night engages in moral license for off-color humor in the part of the day most distant from work and school, and having a presumably adult audience.

Systems with less stake in appealing to audiences often develop a less differentiated programming day. Even within the United States, the tendency to target dayparts remains most pronounced on the major networks and their affiliates, and is less consistent on cable and independent channels whose appeal may already lie in a particular audience segment, programming genre, or for that matter, in programming against the norm set by broadcast television.

In the United States between 1950 and 1984, the overwhelming majority of profitable stations were affiliates of one of the three major networks. New network shows were the most ambitious production on television, and their contractually-secured prominence in favored dayparts made them the most familiar to audiences. All network programs, however, eventually lost enough of their popularity to be removed from network schedules. The most successful then entered into circulation in the piecemeal syndication market that sold programs for rebroadcast on U.S. stations during dayparts not filled by network feeds—or to international markets. Syndication was thus responsible for a distinctive kind of programming based on the re-use of proven commodities: the rerun.

Syndication of network programs was highly profitable, since it involved the recycling of commodities whose production costs had been almost entirely paid for by network fees. Originally, U.S. networks tried to secure syndication profits by demanding part ownership of a show as a condition for airing it, but this became illegal because of antitrust concerns in 1970. As product suppliers assumed control, syndication quickly became less of an appendage to network programming, and more of a competitor. When the number of television stations in the United States increased dramatically in 1984 (because of relaxed regulation of television licenses) a wholly alternative market for syndicated programming suddenly emerged. Demand for additional shows was sufficient to stimulate a boom in first-run syndication—programs produced exclusively for individual bidding stations, and never intended for network release. The syndication market was a somewhat poorer one than the traditional network oligopoly, and so first-run syndication frequently constituted a kind of B-grade programming.

As networks audiences continued to decline throughout the 1980s, suppliers became less concerned with a long-

standing convention governing reruns. Networks had typically preferred their programming to be exclusive, and had discouraged early episodes of a current program from airing in syndication while the show still remained part of the network lineup. In the mid-1980s, offers from independent stations and cables channels for network-quality programming became too lucrative to ignore, and so it became common for viewers to be able to see a show on the same day from two radically different perspectives: as the wholly novel experience of a new network episode, and as a re-encounter with syndicated episodes from the show's past. This accentuated the series nature of programming, and made retrospective evaluation of dramatic characters and situations a routine part of viewing. It also undermined the networks' sense of exclusive venue by emphasizing the independence of shows from particular channels.

In sum, syndication—the attempt to increase profits through reuse of old programming or to develop cheaper alternatives to network programming—complicated and enriched the body of television programming, introducing historical depth; a new “low end” of programming inviting self-conscious irony in viewing; multiple, simultaneous views of individual series; and a divorce of specific shows from previously inevitable network lineups. Changes which demanded that programming serve as a commodity in new ways, also altered how programming would be used as a text.

### **Programming Strategies**

Commercial television generally profits from advertising revenues, which increase with audience size. Both local stations and networks thus devote considerable effort to structuring their programming to hold the largest desirable audiences possible.

The premium on holding audiences leads to one of the most identifiable characteristics of commercial U.S. television: its continual interruption by commercials. The industry has long presumed that viewers are alienated by commercials and will only watch them if they are interspersed with other programming. The length, frequency, and grouping of ads is a constantly-renegotiated aspect of the television ad market. Networks try to limit ads to keep prices high and viewers tuned in, while advertisers try to secure many commercials—short, cheap, and well separated from those of the competition. In the long term, advertisers' demands have steadily decreased the length, increased the frequency, and fragmented the grouping of ads, making commercial television seem increasingly like a cluttered “flow” of programming.

Programming strategies are not, of course, limited to the distribution of advertisements. Station and network programmers work concertedly not just to select attractive programming, but to sequence shows in a way which will hold audiences once they have tuned in. A number of tactics have been developed to build a profitable schedule.

Block programming involves scheduling a series of related shows which are likely to attract and hold a given



audience for an entire daypart. U.S. stations and networks, for example, have traditionally filled Saturday mornings with cartoons aimed at children, and Sunday afternoons with (presumably) male-oriented sports. A block may be defined by particular demographics, but its definition can take other forms. From 1984 to 1987, NBC scheduled a famous Thursday evening lineup featuring five critically acclaimed series in a row: *Cosby*, *Family Ties*, *Cheers*, *Night Court*, and *Hill Street Blues*. The first four were sitcoms which attracted such inclusive audiences that they ended most years in the top 20. The last program was an innovative drama with a much smaller, but quite exclusive audience whose demographics made *Hill Street Blues*' advertising rates the highest of the season. Despite their differences, all five programs were treated as an identifiable block of programming because they fostered NBC's strategy of offering a night of high-quality television.

Block programming has become increasingly overt, and now it is quite common for cable or broadcast networks to package particular nights of programming as blocks devoted to "Our television heritage," "Bette Davis night," or "All Comedy Night." Such promotions potentially highlight aspects of shows which viewers may not have conceived alone: as in the case of reruns, programming's nature as a packageable commodity can affect the public's appreciation of shows.

Counter-programming involves running an attractive alternative to competitors' shows. CBS, for example, has tried several times to develop Monday night as a lineup of shows attractive to women, whom they presume are alienated by ABC's ratings-leading *Monday Night Football*.

Hammocking refers to scheduling a new or comparatively unpopular show between two established popular programs, on the theory that audiences are less likely to change channels for a single time slot. Hammocking has historically been a reliable strategy, raising the ratings of the middle show, if not always making it into a hit. The risk is that the weak show will diminish audiences which would have stayed if the two popular programs had formed a block.

Lead-ins and lead-outs, like hammocking, try to achieve success through association, lead-ins by placing a popular program right before a lower-rated one, lead-outs by placing the popular program immediately after the less successful show. Historically, lead-ins have proved more successful.

Bridging staggers the start of a long-format program so that viewers would have to abandon it in the middle in order to tune in to the beginning of the competitor's show.

Ridgepoing distributes the individual shows comprising a successful block across different nights of the week, where they can serve as lead-ins (or -outs) for additional programming.

New or ailing stations and networks have frequently reversed their fate by combining these strategies: after establishing a minimal block of two or three programs, they will extend the block by hammocking a new show. Then each of the shows in the block will be ridgepoled to establish a foothold on several nights of the week.

Stunting refers to a variety of exceptional tactics used to boost viewership during key weeks of the season, or when a network, station, or program is in special trouble. Frequent stunts involve programming a highly promoted miniseries or feature film to attract concentrated viewer attention; having one show's star appear on another program; or mounting highly promoted, end-of-season weddings, births, or cliffhangers. More dramatic stunts involve delaying the season debut of a highly popular program a few weeks in order to build suspense—and, hopefully, steal audiences decisively away from competitors' just-rolling season. In 1990, CBS pulled a stunt which experimented with long-held presumptions about the acceptable frequency and amount of repetition allowed on network prime time. Following the example of syndication and cable channels, it ran each episode of a new series (*The Flash*) in two different time slots each week. The idea was both to save money, and to give the show twice the chance for its audience to discover it and build loyalty. The experiment failed. The seeming incongruity of such an attempt attests to how strongly the conventional season and schedule format organizes producers and viewers' expectations for different varieties of television programming: what works for syndication did not work for network prime time.

All of these strategies, of course, have been developed through experimentation, trial and error, throughout the history of the medium. They reflect adaptations to the changing circumstances that have defined U.S. television.

### Programming in Other National Contexts

This history of programming in the U.S. television system should serve to emphasize its differences from other national systems, which are grounded in different forms of financial support and different regulatory circumstances. In the public service tradition, for example, most closely identified with the British Broadcasting Corporation, programmers are mandated to provide diversity. Free of the advertiser's necessary search for the largest audience or the audience with the most purchasing power, alternative forms of programming may be provided minority audiences. More attention may be paid to children and elder groups. Linguistic distinctions can be more readily recognized and honored. Moreover, programming schedules need not be so regularized and routinized; "seasons" and "dayparts" need not be so rigidly applied. As a result, expectations of creative communities, industries, and audiences may all be different from those attached to the U.S. system.

In the Soviet model, also free from advertiser demands, programming took on yet other configurations, more closely aligned to state agendas and more overtly ideological goals. Here again, the routines and patterns were easily altered by fiat.

Throughout the world mixtures of these systems have been developed, often forged in specific relationships to neighboring nations and almost always in some relation to the U.S. television industry, which often supplied supplemental programming, even in systems constructed along lines of the Soviet

model. But as ideological, technological, economic, and regulatory shifts have spread, more and more the patterns of industrial and programming arrangements seem to converge. The "newsstand" model is now expanded by satellites to a global level, and it has become possible to acquire "information" and "entertainment" in many languages and forms or to observe changes within specific nations and regions that are the direct result of new technological configurations.

In India, for example, the publicly-operated state broadcast channels long offered an "official" version of news. As household videotape machines became more common, however, alternative monthly video newsmagazines emerged, supported by subscribers. These video magazines offered fuller exposes into important events. Because they were also directed at those wealthy enough to own videotape machines, they also served to constitute a self-conscious elite, newly defined by its well-informedness. Here programming is again tied to the shifting institutional arrangements which enable production, distribution, and exhibition and the specific kind of commodity formed by programming delimits, not just its financial viability, but its historical aesthetic, social, and cultural import.

In this process the struggles of nations and regions to maintain forms of aesthetic, social, and cultural autonomy and distinction—to place their own items on the global newsstand or to construct a continuing local identity—are now carried out in relation to international media conglomerates. These organizations make use of new technologies that blur national boundaries as easily as they blur program genres and once again throw television programming into a process of significant redefinition.

—Michael Saenz

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- See also Arledge, Roone; Australian Programming; British Programming; Canadian Programming in English; Canadian Programming in French; Dann, Michael; Family Viewing Time; Goldenson, Leonard; Genre; Independent Production Companies; Paley, William S.; Prime Time; Rerun/Repeats; Sarnoff, David; Silverman, Fred; Syndication; Tartikoff, Brandon; United States: Networks

## PRYOR, RICHARD

U.S. Comedian/Actor

Richard Pryor, comic, writer, television and film star, was the first African-American stand-up comedian to speak candidly and successfully to integrated audiences using the language and jokes blacks previously only shared among themselves when they were most critical of America. His career really began when, as a high school student, his teacher persuaded him to discontinue cutting and disrupting class

with the opportunity to perform his comic routine once a week for his classmates. Nevertheless, Pryor dropped out of high school, completed a tour of duty in the army, then began playing small clubs and bars, anywhere he could secure a venue. His keen and perceptive observation of people, especially his audiences, enabled him to develop into a gifted monologist, mimic, and mime.

The first phase of his career began in the 1960s, when as a clean-cut imitation of Bill Cosby, Pryor played New York clubs. His material, best suited for an integrated audience, did not contain the cutting edge dialogue for which he later became most noted. By 1970, tired of the constant comparisons to Cosby and feeling disgusted with himself for the direction of his career, he walked off the Las Vegas Aladdin Hotel stage in the middle of a performance. After a two-year hiatus in Berkeley where he spent time reading Malcolm X's work, visiting bars, clubs and street corners to observe people, and collaborating with a group of African-American writers later known as the "Black Pack," Pryor returned to performing. A metamorphosis took place during those two years and Pryor offered his audiences a new collection of characters, earthy metaphors, and the tough, rough profane language of the streets. No longer did he mimic Cosby, for he now spoke on behalf of the underclass and his monologues and jokes reflected their despair and disillusionment with life in America.

His performances, enhanced by his use of body language, captured the personalities of the numerous black characters he created to ridicule and comment upon the circumstances under which African Americans lived. It was revolutionary humor. Pryor's characters introduced to his audiences persons from black folklore as well as characters from the streets of Anytown, U.S.A. He integrated his personal style of comedy with commentary on the social condition. His popularity skyrocketed and his career as a stand-up comedian expanded to that of a television and film star.

*The Richard Pryor Show* premiered on NBC in 1977 and rocked the censors until, after only five shows, the series was cancelled. Television was not ready for his explosive talent and Pryor was not ready to alter the content of his program. He portrayed the first African-American president of the United States and, in another skit, used costumes and visual distortion to appear nude. Simultaneously, his concert films, full of his impersonations, cockiness, and assertiveness and balanced by his perceptive vulnerability, achieved wide audience appeal and became legendary in their content. *Richard Pryor: Live in Concert* (1979), considered by critics to be one of his best concert films and his first concert released to theaters, showcased Pryor and his unique ability to capture ethnic humor and make it acceptable to a mainstream audience. Pryor appeared on numerous television programs and served as a co-writer for *Blazing Saddles* and as a writer for *Sanford and Son*, *The Flip Wilson Show*, and *The Lily Tomlin Special*, for which he won an Emmy in 1973.

Even though his early movie roles are forgettable, film served as another venue for Pryor's dangerous and uncontrollable personality. *Lady Sings the Blues* was the turning point. As the Piano Man, Pryor proved he was capable of sustaining a supporting role in a dramatic film. He added life and vitality to the role and to the film. After *Lady Sings the Blues*, he starred or co-starred in *The Mack* (1973), *Hit* (1973), *Uptown Saturday Night* (1974), *Car Wash* (1976), *The Bingo Long Traveling All-Stars and Motor Kings* (1976),



Richard Pryor

and *Silver Streak* (1976). Co-starring in *Silver Streak* served as another breakthrough for Pryor and he soon received starring roles in *Which Way Is Up?* (1977) and *Greased Lightning* (1977), among others. His record albums, full of his special humor and street-wise characters, topped the charts: *That Nigger's Crazy* (1974); *Is It Something I Said?* (1975); *Bicentennial Nigger* (1976); and *Wanted, Richard Pryor Live and in Concert* (1979).

In 1980 Pryor sustained third-degree burns over most of his body while, it was reported, he was freebasing cocaine. The response to this tragedy was overwhelming and Pryor received attention from the media as well as from citizens throughout the United States. He returned to the large screen to complete *Bustin' Loose*, then went on to receive rave reviews for his concert films, *Richard Pryor: Live on Sunset Strip* (1982) and *Richard Pryor: Hear and Now* (1983). The autobiographical film, *Jo Jo Dancer, Your Life is Calling* (1986), offered his audiences some insight into his troubled personal life.

After his accident, Pryor's other star movies did not portray the comic as the dynamic, controversial storyteller he became after his exile in Berkeley. The roles in his latter films presented a meeker, more timid person; and, in *The Toy* (1982), he literally played the toy for a spoiled white child. This character and his dialogue were a far cry from the Pryor persona most admired by his audiences.

Stricken with multiple sclerosis in the 1990s, Pryor appeared on television talk shows and toured infrequently. He still played to sold-out audiences, but the old fire and cutting edge rhetoric evident in his monologues of the 1970s were missing. Pryor in the 1970s would never allow a heckler to intrude on his story and ruin his timing. The Pryor of the 1990s, weak and deeply affected by his disease, did not give the quick, biting, and sarcastic comeback that would always silence a brave heckler from the audience.

Richard Pryor and his comic style emancipated African-American humor, and his influence and ascendancy crushed boundaries and opened frontiers in comedy unheard of until he appeared on the concert stage. A testament to his influence was evident in a September 1991 televised gala tribute to Pryor presented by comic stars.

—Bishetta D. Merritt

**RICHARD PRYOR.** Born Franklin Lenox Thomas in Peoria, Illinois, U.S.A., 1 December 1940. Married numerous times; children: Elizabeth Ann, Richard, Rain, Renee. Served in the U.S. Army, 1958–60. Began career as a stand-up comic in the 1960s; recorded hit comedy album, 1974; co-wrote and starred in motion pictures, since 1974; star of television's *The Richard Pryor Show*, 1977. Member: National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences; Writers Guild of America. Recipient: Emmy Award, 1973; two American Academy of Humor Awards, 1974; American Writers Guild Award, 1974; Grammy Awards, 1974, 1976.

#### TELEVISION

- |         |  |
|---------|--|
| 1973    | <i>The Lily Tomlin Special</i> (co-writer)   |
| 1977    | <i>The Richard Pryor Show</i> (writer, star) |
| 1984-85 | <i>Pryor's Place</i>                         |

#### TELEVISION SPECIALS (selection)

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| 1973 | <i>The Lily Tomlin Show</i> (guest)              |
| 1973 | <i>Lily</i> (guest)                              |
| 1977 | <i>The Richard Pryor Special</i>                 |
| 1982 | <i>The Richard Pryor Special</i>                 |
| 1982 | <i>Hollywood: The Gift of Laughter</i> (co-host) |
| 1993 | <i>The Apollo Hall of Fame</i> (honoree)         |

#### FILMS (selection)

*The Busy Body*, 1967; *The Green Berets*, 1968; *Wild in the Streets*, 1968; *The Phynx*, 1970; *Dynamite Chicken*, 1970; *Lady Sings the Blues*, 1972; *Hit*, 1973; *Wattstax*, 1973; *The Mack*, 1973; *Some Call It Loving*, 1973; *Blazing Saddles* (co-writer only), 1974; *Adios Amigos* (also writer), 1976; *Car Wash* (also writer), 1977; *Silver Streak* (also writer), 1976; *Greased Lightning*, 1977; *Which Way Is Up?*, 1977; *Blue Collar* (also writer), 1978; *The Wiz*, 1978; *Wholly Moses*, 1980; *In God We Trust*, 1980; *Stir Crazy* (also writer), 1980; *Bustin' Loose* (also producer), 1981; *Live on Sunset Strip*, 1982; *Some Kind of Hero*, 1982; *The Toy* (also director), 1982; *Superman III*, 1983; *Brewster's Millions*, 1985; *Jo Jo Dancer, Your Life is Calling* (also writer, producer, director), 1986; *Critical Condition*, 1987; *Moving*, 1988; *See No Evil, Hear No Evil*, 1989; *Harlem Nights*, 1989; *Another You*, 1991.

#### RECORDINGS

*That Nigger's Crazy*, 1974; *Is It Something I Said?*, 1975; *Bicentennial Nigger*, 1976; *Wanted, Richard Pryor Live and in Concert*, 1979.

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## PUBLIC ACCESS TELEVISION

Public access television is one of the most exciting and controversial U.S. media developments within the past two decades. Beginning in the 1970s, cable systems began to offer access channels to the public, so that groups and individuals could make programs for other individuals in their own communities. Access systems began to proliferate and access programming is now being cablecast regularly in such places as New York, Los Angeles, Boston, Chicago, Atlanta, Madison, Urbana, Austin, and perhaps as many as 1,200 other towns or regions.

When cable television began to be widely introduced in the early 1970s, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) mandated in 1972 that "beginning in 1972, new cable systems [and after 1977, all cable systems] in the 100 largest television markets be required to provide channels for government, for educational purposes, and most importantly, for public access." This mandate suggested that cable systems

should make available three public access channels to be used for state and local government, education, and community public access use. "Public access" was construed to mean that the cable company should make available equipment and air time so that literally anybody could make noncommercial use of the access channel, and say and do anything they wished on a first-come, first-served basis, subject only to obscenity and libel laws. The result was an entirely different sort of programming, reflecting the interests of groups and individuals usually excluded from mainstream television.

The rationale for public access television was that, as mandated by the Federal Communications Act of 1934, the airwaves belong to the people, that in a democratic society it is useful to multiply public participation in political discussion, and that mainstream television severely limited the range of views and opinion. Public access television, then, would open television to the public, it would make possible

community participation, and thus would be in the public interest of strengthening democracy.

Creating an access system required, in many cases, setting up a local organization to manage the access channels, though in other systems the cable company itself managed the access center. In the beginning, however, few, if any, cable systems made as many as three channels available, but some systems began offering one or two access channels in the early to mid-1970s. The availability of access channels depended, for the most part, on the political clout of local governments and committed, and often unpaid, local groups to convince the cable companies, almost all privately owned, to make available an access channel. A 1979 Supreme Court decision, however, struck down the 1972 FCC ruling on the grounds that the FCC had no authority to mandate access, an authority which supposedly belongs to the U.S. Congress alone. Nonetheless, cable was expanding so rapidly and becoming such a high-growth competitive industry that by the 1980s city governments considering cable systems were besieged by companies making lucrative offers (20 to 80 channel cable systems) and were able to demand access channels and financial support for public access systems as part of their contract negotiations. Consequently, public access grew significantly during the 1980s and 1990s.

Not surprisingly, public access television has been controversial from the beginning. Early disputes revolved around explicit sexuality and obscenity, particular in New York city public access schedules with programs like "Ugly George" and "Midnight Blue" drawing attention. Focus then turned to controversial political content when extremist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and Aryan Nation began distributing programs nationally. Many groups like the American Atheists, labor groups, and a diverse number of political groups began producing programs for syndication, and debates emerged over whether access systems should show programming that was not actually produced in the community where it was originally cablecast.

Despite the controversy, public access television is currently thriving. A few systems charge money for use of facilities, or charge a fee for use of air time, but due to competitive bidding among cable systems in the 1980s and 1990s for the most lucrative franchises, many cable systems offer free use of equipment, personnel, and air time, and occasionally even provide free videotapes. In these situations, literally anyone can make use of public access facilities without technical expertise, television experience, or financial resources.

Many public access systems also offer a range of conceptual and technical training programs designed to instruct

groups or individuals who wish to make their own programs from conception through final editing. As video equipment costs have rapidly declined it has even become possible for some groups to purchase their own equipment.

In the 1990s, following the trends of talk radio, many talk television access shows emerged. Individuals fielded calls from members of the community, and discussed current political problems, or, in some cases, personal problems. In many ways, this "conversational" mode exemplified the community focus and personal orientation of access television, again moving away from mainstream TV designed to reach the largest possible audiences.

But various actions moving toward greater media deregulation in the 1990s threaten the continued survival of access, as do the Internet and other new communications technologies. In a highly competitive environment, cable systems may very well close down access systems if there is insufficient government pressure to keep them open, though competitive market pressures might promote the survival of popular access channels. And while the Internet, and other emerging delivery systems could render obsolete the relatively low-tech access systems, these same forms of communication may even multiply access television, enabling literally any group or individual to make their television programs and distribute them over the Internet. Thus, the future of access is uncertain and is bound up with the unforeseeable consequences of what may be one of the most dramatic communications revolutions in history.

—Douglas Kellner

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See also *Activist Television*; *United States: Cable*

## PUBLIC INTEREST, CONVENIENCE AND NECESSITY

### U.S. Broadcasting Policy

Originally contained in United States public utility law, the "public interest, convenience and necessity" provision was incorporated into the Radio Act of 1927 to become

the operational standard for broadcast licensees. This act contained a regulatory framework which ensured broadcasters operated within their assigned frequencies and at the appro-

prate time periods. It not only specified technical, but programming and licensing requirements as well. The Communications Act of 1934 expanded upon the Radio Act of 1927 to include the telephone and telegraph industries, and has been amended to accommodate subsequent telecommunications technologies, such as television and cable.

The obligation to serve the public interest is integral to the "trusteeship" model of broadcasting—the philosophical foundation upon which broadcasters are expected to operate. The trusteeship paradigm is used to justify government regulation of broadcasting. It maintains that the electromagnetic spectrum is a limited resource belonging to the public, and only those most capable of serving the public interest are entrusted with a broadcast license. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) is the government body responsible for determining whether or not applicants for broadcast license meet the requirements to obtain them and for further regulation of those to whom licenses have been granted.

Interpretation of the "public interest, convenience and necessity" clause has been a continuing source of controversy. Initially, the Federal Radio Commission implemented a set of tests, criteria which would loosely define whether or not the broadcasting entity was fulfilling its obligation to the listening public. Specifications included program diversity, quality reception, and "character" evaluation of licensees. These initial demands set a precedent for future explications of the public interest.

The pre-television "Blue Book", as it was popularly known, was developed by the FCC in 1946 to evaluate the discrepancy between the programming "promise" and "performance" of radio broadcasters. Since license renewal was dependent upon serving the public interest, program content became a significant consideration in this procedure. The "Blue Book" required licensees to promote the discussion of public issues, serve minority interests and eliminate superfluous advertising. Unpopular with commercial broadcasters, the "Blue Book" was rendered obsolete after five years because of the economic threat it posed.

In its "1960 Program Policy Statement", the FCC echoed similar sentiments pertaining to television broadcasters. In response to assorted broadcasting scandals, the FCC issued this statement in order to "remind" broadcasters of how to serve the public interest. Although previous tenets of the "Blue Book" were rejected, this revised policy included the "license ascertainment" stipulation, requiring broadcasters to determine local programming needs through distribution and analysis of surveys. However, adherence to such programming policies has never been strictly enforced.

The deregulatory fervor of the 1980s seriously challenged the trusteeship model of broadcasting. Obviously, this same move toward deregulation subsequently challenged the means by which satisfaction of the "public interest, convenience and necessity" should be determined. The rise of cable television undermined the "scarcity of the spectrum" argument because of the newer system's potential for unlimited channel capacity. The trusteeship model was replaced with the "marketplace"

model (which had always undergirded commercial broadcasting in America). It was now argued that the contemporary, commercially supported telecommunications environment could provide a multiplicity of voices, eradicating the previous justification for government regulation. Under this model the public interest would be defined by "market forces." A broadcaster's commercial success would be indicative of the public's satisfaction with it.

Advocates of the marketplace argument reject the trusteeship model of broadcasting. It is no surprise that the Cable Act does not contain a "public interest, convenience and necessity" stipulation. However, because cable also falls under the regulatory scrutiny of the FCC, serving the public interest is encouraged through the PEG (public, educational and government) access requirement related to the granting of cable franchises.

Among the deregulatory policies implemented during the 1980s were the relaxation of ownership and licensing rules, eradication of assorted public service requirements and the elimination of regulated amounts of commercial advertising in children's programming. Perhaps most detrimental to the legal justification for the trusteeship model of broadcasting, however, was the abolition of the Fairness Doctrine. This action altered future interpretations of the "public interest, convenience and necessity."

In 1949, the FCC established the Fairness Doctrine as a policy which guaranteed (among other things) the presentation of both sides of a controversial issue. This concept is rooted in the early broadcast regulation of the Federal Radio Commission (FRC). Congress declared it part of the Communications Act in 1959 to safeguard the public interest and First Amendment freedoms. The Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Fairness Doctrine in the case of *Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. FCC* (1969). Although the Fairness Doctrine was enacted to promote pluralism, eventually it produced an opposite effect. Concerned that advertising time would be squandered by those who invoked the Fairness Doctrine, broadcasters challenged its constitutionality claiming that it promoted censorship instead of diversity. Declared in violation of the First Amendment, the Fairness Doctrine was repealed, and attempts to provide constitutional protection for the doctrine were vetoed by President Reagan in 1987.

The obligation to serve the "public interest, convenience and necessity" is demonstrated through myriad broadcast policies. Licensing requirements, the equal-time and candidate access rules, the Fairness Doctrine and the Public Broadcasting and Cable Acts are just some examples of regulations which were implemented to safeguard the public from the possible selfish motives of broadcasters.

History has proven that interpretation of the "public interest, convenience and necessity" is subject to prevailing political forces. The development of new technologies continues to test the trusteeship model of broadcasting and what the public interest epitomizes. Despite its ambiguity, this phrase remains the regulatory cornerstone of telecommunications policy in the United States.

—Sharon Zechowski

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See also Allocation; Federal Communications Commission; License; Local Television; Prime Time Access Rule; Ownership; Station and Station Group

## PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENTS

In the United States a public service announcement (PSA) is defined by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in a formal and detailed manner. A PSA is "any announcement (including network) for which no charge is made and which promotes programs, activities, or services of federal, state, or local governments (e.g., recruiting, sale of bonds, etc.) or the programs, activities or services of non-profit organizations (e.g., United Way, Red Cross blood donations, etc.) and other announcements regarded as serving community interests, excluding time signals, routine weather announcements and promotional announcements."

PSAs came into being with the entry of the United States into World War II. Radio broadcasters and advertising agencies offered their skills and facilities toward the war effort and established the War Advertising Council which became the official homefront propaganda arm of the Office of War Information. Print, outdoor advertising and especially radio became the carriers of such messages as "Loose lips sink ships," "Keep 'em Rolling" and a variety of exhortations to buy War Bonds.

By the end of the war, the practice of volunteering free air time had become institutionalized as had the renamed Advertising Council, which now served as a facilitating agency and clearing house for nationwide campaigns which soon became a familiar part of daily life. "Smokey the Bear" was invented by the Ad Council to personify its "Only You Can Prevent Forest Fires" campaign; "A Mind Is a Terrible Thing to Waste" raised millions for the United Negro College Fund; the American Cancer Society's "Fight Cancer with a Checkup and a Check" raised public awareness as well as funds for research and patient services.

The ultimate demonstration of the effectiveness of public service announcements came in 1969. Two years earlier, a federal court upheld the FCC's application of the Fairness Doctrine to cigarette advertising on radio and television, and ordered stations to broadcast "a significant amount of time" for anti-smoking messages.

This effectively meant one PSA for every three tobacco commercials. The PSAs proved so effective that smoking rates began to decline for the first time in history, the tobacco industry withdrew all cigarette advertising, and Congress

made such advertising illegal after 1971. Paradoxically, yet in further support of the success of the PSAs, with the passage of that law the bulk of the antismoking messages disappeared and cigarette consumption rose again for a while. On balance, however, public health professionals credit the PSA's with having saved many millions of lives by initiating the decline in American smoking.

During the 1960s and 1970s, as media access became an issue, the Advertising Council, and to some extent the very concept of public service announcements, came under criticism as being too narrow in focus. David Paletz points out in *Politics in Public Service Advertising on Television* that campaigns such as "Only You Can Stop Pollution" were seen as distracting attention from the role of industry in creating demands for excessive energy and in creating dangerous waste products. Other campaigns struck critics as too eager to build consensus around seemingly inconsequential but carefully non-partisan concerns. The networks sought to distance themselves from the Ad Council, and to set their own agenda by dealing directly with the organizations themselves. Local stations were under additional pressure from innumerable new community-based organizations seeking airtime; many stations created and produced announce-



U.S. Department of Transportation PSA  
Photo courtesy of the Advertising Council



ments in an effort to meet local needs especially since the FCC had come to require that stations report how many PSAs they presented and at what hour.

In the 1980s, a number of stations long held by their founders' families went public or changed hands. The resulting debt load, mounting costs, as well as increased competition from the new media, all resulted in demands for greater profitability. Most unsold airtime was devoted to promoting the station or network. Moreover, deregulation saw government relinquishing the model of trusteeship of a scarce national resource in favor of a marketplace model. To some extent offsetting this trend were growing concerns about the illicit drug problem. The Advertising Media Partnership for a Drug-free America ("This is your brain..." over a shot of an egg; "This is your brain on drugs. Any questions?" over a shot of an egg frying), was set up by a group of media and advertising agency executives, spearheaded by Capital Cities Broadcasting Company, then completing the take-over of ABC.

Rallying unprecedented support, the organization mounted the largest public service campaign ever. Indeed, at its height, with more than \$365 million a year worth of print lineage and airtime, it rivaled the largest advertising campaign. Consistent with contemporary thinking about the nature of social marketing, the campaign was solidly grounded in McGuire's paradigm of behavioral change: awareness of a problem by a number of people will result in a smaller number who undergo a change of attitude toward the problem; an even smaller number from this second group will actually change their behavior. During the first years of the campaign, its research team documented considerable difference in attitudinal and behavioral change among young people. Later results were less hopeful as a number of societal factors changed and media time and space became less readily available.

Other recent developments include two distinctive strategies. The Entertainment Industries Council combined high-profile film, television and recording stars doing network PSAs with depiction efforts: producers, writers and directors incorporated seat belt use, designated drivers, and AIDS warnings and anti-drug references in story lines. The other major development, championed and often carried out

by consultants, was the appearance of the Total Station Project. Stations would adopt a public service theme, and, often after months of planning and preparation, coordinate PSAs with station editorials, heavily promoted public affairs programs and features in the local news broadcasts. Total Station Projects most frequently are aired during sweep periods, the months when the station's ratings determine the next year's commercial time prices.

—George Dessart

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## PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTING

Public service broadcasting is based on the principles of universality of service, diversity of programming, provision for minority audiences (including the disadvantaged), sustaining an informed electorate, and cultural and educational enrichment. The concept was conceived and fostered within an overarching ideal of cultural and intellectual enlightenment of society. The roots of public service broadcasting are generally traced to documents prepared in support of the establishment of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) by Royal Charter on 1 January 1927. This corporation grew out of recommendations of the Craw-

ford Committee appointed by the British Postmaster General in August 1925. Included in those recommendations was the creation of a public corporation which would serve as a trustee for the national interest in broadcasting. It was expected that as public trustee, the corporation would emphasize serious, educational, and cultural programming that would elevate the level of intellectual and aesthetic tastes of the audience. The conception of the BBC was that it would be insulated from both political and commercial influence. Therefore, the corporation was a creation of the crown rather than parliament, and funding to support the venture was

determined to be derived from license fees on radio (and later television) receivers rather than advertising. Under the skillful leadership of the BBC's first director general, John Reith, this institution of public service broadcasting embarked on an ethical mission of high moral responsibility to utilize the electromagnetic spectrum—a scarce public resource—to enhance the quality of life of all British citizens.

Within the governance of national authorities, public service broadcasting was recreated across western European democracies and beyond in various forms. At the core of each was a commitment to operating radio and television services in the public good. The principal paradigm adopted to accomplish this mission was the establishment of a state-owned broadcasting system that either functioned as a monopoly or at least as the dominant broadcasting institution. Funding came in the form of license fees, taxes, or similar noncommercial options. Examples of these organizations include the Netherlands Broadcasting Foundation, Danish Broadcasting Corporation, Radiodiffusion Television Francaise, Swedish Television Company, Radiotelevisione Italiana, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and Australian Broadcasting Corporation. While the ideals on which these and other systems were based suggested services that were characterized by universality and diversity, there were notable violations to these ideals, especially in Germany, France, and Italy. In some cases the state-owned broadcasting system became the political mouthpiece for whomever was in power. Such abuse of the broadcasting institutions' mandate made public service broadcasting the subject of frequent political debates.

Contemporary accounts of public service broadcasting worldwide often include the U.S. Public Broadcasting Service and National Public Radio as American examples. However, unlike the British model which was adopted across Europe, the U.S. system came into being as an alternative to the commercially-financed and market-driven system which has dominated U.S. broadcasting from its inception. Whereas 1927 marked the beginning of public service broadcasting in Britain, the United States Radio Act of 1927 created the communication policy framework that enabled advertiser-supported radio and television to flourish. Language contained within this act explicitly mandated broadcasting stations to operate "in the public interest, convenience and necessity," but the public service ideals of raising the educational and cultural standards of the citizenry were marginalized in favor of capitalistic incentives. When the Radio Act was replaced by the Communications Act of 1934, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) recommended to Congress that "no fixed percentages of radio broadcast facilities be allocated by statute to particular types or kinds of non-profit radio programs or to persons identified with particular types or kinds of non-profit activities." It was not until 1945 that the FCC created a license for "noncommercial educational" radio stations. But even though these stations were envisioned to be America's answer to the ideals of public service broadcasting, the

government's failure to provide any funding mechanism for noncommercial educational stations for nearly 20 years resulted in a weak and undernourished broadcasting service. Educational radio in the United States was referred to as the "hidden medium." Educational television was authorized by the FCC's Sixth Report and Order adopted 14 April 1952, but the creation of a mechanism for funding educational radio and television in the United States had to wait for passage of the Public Broadcasting Act on 7 November 1967. Funding levels never approached the recommendations set forth by the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television in its report, *Public Television: A Program for Action*, in which the term "public television" first appeared.

During the 1970s and 1980s public service broadcasting worldwide came under attack, as the underlying principles on which it was based were called into question. The arrival of new modes of television delivery—cable television, satellites, video cassettes—had created new means of access to broadcast services and thus changed the public's perception about the importance and even legitimacy of a broadcasting service founded on the principle of spectrum scarcity. From an ideological perspective, questions were being raised about the very notion of a public culture by conservative critics, and charges that public service broadcasting was a closed, elitist, inbred, white male institution were put forward by liberal critics. Movement toward a global economy was having an ever-increasing impact on the way policy-makers saw the products of radio and television. The free market viability of educational and cultural programming as successful commercial commodities seemed to support the arguments of critics that public service broadcasting was no longer justified. Deregulation of communication industries was a necessary prerequisite to the breakdown of international trade barriers, and the shift toward increased privatization brought new players into what had been a closed system. The growing appeal of economic directives derived from consumer preferences favored the substitution of the American market forces model for the long-standing public trustee model that had been the backbone of public service broadcasting. Adding to this appeal was the growing realization that program production and distribution costs would continue to mount within an economic climate of flat or decreasing public funding.

By the early 1990s, the groundswell of political and public dissatisfaction with the privileged position of public service broadcasting entities had reached major proportion. Studies were revealing bureaucratic bungling, cost overruns, and the misuse of funds. One commission after another was recommending at least the partial dismantling or reorganization of existing institutions. New measures of accountability demanded more than idealistic rhetoric, and telecommunication policy makers were turning a deaf ear to public service broadcasting advocates.

Communication scholars who had been reticent on these issues for the most part, began to mount an intellectual counterattack, based largely on the experiences of public broadcast-

ing in the United States. Critiques of American communications policy underscored concerns about the evils of commercialization and the influence of the open marketplace. Studies pointed to the loss of minority voices, a steady decline in programs for segmented populations, and a demystification of the illusion of unlimited program choices introduced by the new television delivery systems of 500 channel cable networks and direct broadcast satellites. Content analyses revealed program duplication, not diversity, and the question of just how far commercial broadcasters would venture away from the well-proven formulas and formats was getting public attention. A concerned electorate was beginning to ask whether the wide-scale transformation of telecommunications was not without considerable risk; that turning over the electronic sources of culture, education, and political discourse to the ever-shifting forces of the commercial marketplace might have profound negative consequences.

By the mid-1990s, telecommunications policy issues ranged from invasion of privacy to depictions of violence on television, the manufacturing of parent-controlled TV sets, revisions in technological standards, and finding new funding alternatives to sustain public service broadcasting in some form. These issues were also firmly embedded in the public discourse. Communication corporations appeared and disappeared daily. The environment of electronic communications was in a state of flux as the new technologies vied for a piece of a quickly-expanding and constantly-evolving marketplace. Public service broadcasters were reassessing their missions and were building new alliances with book publishers, computer software manufacturers, and commercial production houses. In the United States, public radio and television stations were experimenting with enhanced underwriting messages that were looking and sounding more and more like conventional advertising. The relative success of these and other new ventures worldwide was

still an unknown. Whether public service broadcasting will continue into the 21st century remains a topic for robust debate.

—Robert K. Avery

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See also British Television; Public Television; Reith, John

## PUBLIC TELEVISION

U.S. public television is a peculiar hybrid of broadcasting systems. Neither completely a public service system in the European tradition, nor fully supported by commercial interests as in the dominant pattern in the United States, it has elements of both. At its base this system consists of an ad hoc assemblage of stations united only by the fluctuating patronage of the institutions that fund them, and in the relentless grooming of various constituencies. The future of public broadcasting in America may in fact be assured by the range of those constituencies and by public television's malleable self-definition. It may come to be as much an electronic public library as a broadcaster.

Given its perpetually precarious arrangements, public television has had a significant cultural impact since it became a national service in 1967. Through its programming choices, it has not only introduced figures such as Big Bird and Julia Child into national culture, and created a home

for sober celebrities such as Bill Moyers and William Buckley, but it has also pioneered new televisual technologies such as closed captioning and uses such as distance learning and on-line services.

U.S. public television programming has evolved to fill niches that commercial broadcasters have abandoned or not yet discovered. Children's educational programming, especially for preschoolers; "how-to" programs stressing the pragmatic (e.g., cooking, home repair, and painting and drawing); public affairs programming and documentaries; upscale drama; experimental art; and community affairs programming all contribute to the tapestry of public television. In the course of a week, more than 100 million American television viewing homes turn to a public television program for at least 15 minutes, and overall, the demographics describing viewers of public TV more or less match those of the nation as a whole. However, based on an annual

average, its prime-time rating hovers at a low 2.2% of the viewing audience, and demographics for any particular program are narrowly defined. Overall they are weakest for young adults. Lesser heralded, but increasingly important in public television's rationale, is its extensive instructional programming and information-networking, most of which is non-broadcast.

In the critical design period of American broadcasting (1927–34), which resulted in the Communications Act of 1934, public service broadcasting had been rejected out of hand by legislators and their corporate mentors. A small amount of spectrum space on the UHF (the more poorly received Ultra High Frequency) band was set aside for educational television in 1952. This decision was modelled after the 1938 set-aside for educational (not public or public service) radio stations that had ensued upon rampant commercialization of radio. In TV, as in radio, much of that spectrum space went unused, and most programming was low-cost and local (e.g., a broadcast lecture).

After mid-century, the situation had changed to some degree. The Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 reflected in part the renewed emphasis placed on mass media by major foundations such as Carnegie and Ford, as well as the concern of liberal politicians and educators. The historic 1965 Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, willed into being by President Lyndon Johnson in search of a televisual component to the Great Society, claimed that a "Public Television" could "help us see America whole, in all its diversity," and "help us know what it is to be many in one, to have growing maturity in our sense of ourselves as a people." Many legislators and conservatives, however, openly feared the specter of a fourth network dominated by Eastern liberals. Commercial broadcasters did not want competition, although they supported the notion of a service that could relieve their public interest burden.

The service was thus deliberately created as the "lemon socialism" of mass media, providing what commercial broadcasters did not want to offer. The only definition of "public" was "noncommercial." Token start-up funds were provided. And the system was not merely decentralized but balkanized.

The current complex organization of public television reflects its origins. The station, the basic unit of U.S. public TV, operates through a nonprofit entity, most commonly a university. Of about 1500 stations in the United States, there are about 360 public television stations (about 150 of these are repeaters), and almost everyone in the U.S. can receive a public TV signal. About two-thirds of the public TV stations are UHF, still a significant limiting factor in reception.

Stations are fiercely independent, cultivating useful relationships with local elites, though they often form consortia for program production and delivery and to shape more general policy. A handful of wealthy, powerful producing stations contrasts with a great majority of small stations that produce no programming. (Three stations produce 60% of

the original programming appearing on all the stations.) In most large markets there are several stations, with much duplication of PBS programming, but stations may also establish some distinctive services catering to minorities and showcasing independent and experimental productions.

The 1967 law, however, also created a Corporation for Public Broadcasting (the CPB) as a private entity, to provide support to the stations. The governing board of the CPB is politically-appointed and balanced (along partisan lines), and is funded by tax dollars. The CPB was designed to assist stations with research, with policy direction, with grants to upgrade equipment and services, and eventually with a small programming fund. But the CPB was specifically banned from distributing programs. This minimized the threat that the member stations would ever constitute a true fourth network. The Corporation has, over the years, acted as the lightning rod for Congressional discontent, since it is the funnel for federal tax dollars. Congress has usually removed the board's discretionary authority over funds rather than cut them. As a result most of CPB's funds are now set up to flow directly to local stations.

Despite governmental intent to keep public broadcasting local, centralized programming services of several kinds quickly sprung up. Public affairs services centered, just as political conservatives had feared, on the Eastern seaboard. Resulting programs enraged then-President Richard Nixon, who tried to abolish the service and did succeed in weakening it.

Out of this conflict grew, by 1973, today's Public Broadcasting Service, the first and still premier national programming service for public television. Shaped in part by station owners who, like Nixon, disliked Eastern liberals, it is a membership organization of television stations. Member stations pay dues to receive up to three hours of prime-time programming at night, several hours of children's programming during the day, and other recommended programs. Since 1990 stations have accepted a programming schedule designed by a PBS executive. This policy replaced a previous system in which programs were selected by a system driven by majority vote. Stations were persuaded to cede power because overall ratings for public television were declining. Although not obliged to honor the prime-time schedule, stations are urged to do so. This version of a common schedule assists in enlarging the audience and enables stations to benefit from national advertising. Other programming services abound, both regionally and nationally, but none has the imprimatur of PBS.

While CPB and PBS both provide funds for the development and purchase of programming, they do not make programs. Television stations (especially the "big three" in New York, Boston and Los Angeles) produce the bulk of programming. Public television also depends heavily on a few production houses, both commercial and non-commercial—notably Children's Television Workshop for children's programming. Independent television and film producers chronically complain that the service, which

should depend on their work, slights them. Their complaints, coordinated over a decade, finally convinced Congress in 1988 to create the Independent Television Service, as a wing of the CPB, with the specific mission to fund innovative work for underserved audiences.

Public TV's funds come from a variety of sources. These include, (for fiscal year 1993) federal (19%), state and local (30%), and private funders, subscribers (23%) and corporations (17%). Each of these three major sources of funding comes with its own set of constraints. The federal appropriation (accounting for an average 13% of the budget) brings controversy virtually on an annual basis. Even so, the Corporation's budget has, with few exceptions (notably the first Reagan presidency and 1995, with a new Republican Congressional majority), been regularly increased to keep its total amount roughly steady with 1976 levels measured in 1972 dollars. State and local governments have cut funds in the 1990s consistent with funding crises. Public affairs programming has consistently been the target of Republican and conservative legislators' ire, and has caused public TV to be hypercautious in such programs. This may explain why public TV never developed an institutional equivalent of National Public Radio's daily news reporting.

The majority of funds for public television come from the private sector. Viewers are the single largest source of funding; their contributions come, effectively, without strings and so are especially valuable. These funds are often raised during "pledge drives" in which special, highly popular programming is presented in conjunction with heartfelt pleas for funds from station staff, prominent local supporters, and other celebrities. These pledge drives are supplemented, in many markets, with other fund raising efforts such as auctions or special performances. The tenth of viewers who become donors tend to be culturally and politically cautious, and the need to cultivate them skews programming to what venerable broadcast historian Erik Barnouw calls the "safely splendid"—the bland, the middle-brow, the stamped-and-approved. Reruns of Lawrence Welk programs have historically been some of the most successful shows for pledge week.

Business contributes not quite a fifth of the funding, but its contributions tend to shape programming decisions, because business dollars are usually given in association with a particular program. Public broadcasters openly market their audience to corporations as an upscale demographic, one that businesses are eager to capture in what is known as "ambush marketing"—catching the attention of a listener or viewer who usually resists advertising. The hallmark PBS series *Masterpiece Theatre* was designed from logo to host by a Mobil Oil Corporation executive looking to create an image for Mobil as "the thinking man's gasoline." Conflict of interest issues ensue, as do questions of allowing corporations to set programming and production priorities. (If stations hadn't aired *Doing Business in Asia*, a series sponsored by Northwest Airlines, which has Asian routes, what else might they have been able to do with their time and money?)

These pressures in combination have made the service vulnerable to political attack from both the left and right as elitist. After Nixon accused the service of being dangerously liberal, many broadcasters scanted public affairs and presented "safe" cultural programming, only to be accused by the Reagan administration in 1981 of providing "entertainment for a select few." Reagan's attempt to cut funds also failed, although the administration succeeded in rescinding advance funding that had been designed as a political "heat shield" after Nixon's attack. In 1992, Senator Bob Dole (R-Kansas) threatened to hold up funding for public broadcasting on charges that it was too liberal, and succeeded in making broadcasters nervous and forcing CPB to spend a million dollars on surveys and studies that changed nothing. In 1994, following on the Republican victory in Congress, House of Representatives leader Newt Gingrich (R-Georgia) and Dole both targeted CPB for rescission, on grounds that it was both elitist and liberal.

At the same time, the variety of funding sources has made it advantageous for public TV bureaucrats to resist bringing into focus public television's purpose as either primarily an entrepreneurial niche service or one that upholds public service. Changes in corporate media have precipitated anguished discussion over mission within public TV, and have brought new opportunities and problems. Cable TV has not been the challenge it was once thought, both because some 40% of the population does not receive it, and because public TV continues to program unique, non-commercial material and to have the reputation for quality and decency. But commercial investors, hungry for content, have increasingly invested in public TV, eroding public/commercial lines. The largest cable operator, TeleCommunications Inc., became part-owner of the MacNeil-Lehrer news production company in 1994, and in 1995 the long-distance telephone service provider MCI invested \$15 million in PBS's on-line and other new technologies services.

The digitalization and convergence of electronic media, developments which also bring the possibility of tailoring media to consumer desires, drive broadcasters to rethink their role. CPB and PBS planners see the manipulation of content provision as the key to future survival. They imagine future public television as a community public information resource. Because stations with satellite hookups exist in virtually every community, they could become a here-now version of an information superhighway or network for public uses (and in the process justify the ubiquity of stations and their high-tech, federally-funded satellite links). PBS has already developed pilot on-line services as well as distance learning. This visionary perspective on public television's role is ahead of most station managers, who continue to see public TV as a broadcast service competing for viewers by offering "better" programming.

An improbable, many-headed creature, public TV is unlikely to disappear even under steady political assault. It is also unlikely to suddenly become a service that a plurality

of Americans would expect to turn to on any given evening. It is likely to become more commercial in its broadcast services and more entrenched—and defensible as taxpayer-funded—in its infrastructural and instructional services.

—Patricia Aufderheide

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## PUERTO RICO

Television could not develop in Puerto Rico as early as in other areas of the Caribbean region because of the island's status as a territory of the United States. As a result of that legal condition, the communication industry in Puerto Rico was placed under the overriding control of the U.S. Federal Communications Commission (FCC), a situation that remains to this day.

When the FCC implemented the television freeze and "ordered applications for new TV stations placed in the pending file" on 29 September 1948, Puerto Rico had no choice but to postpone its development of this new medium until the agency renewed the process for the issuance of broadcasting licenses on 12 April 1952. Soon thereafter, on 24 July 1952, the FCC granted the first permit for the construction of a commercial television station in a U.S. territory to El Mundo Broadcasting Company. WKAQ, Telemundo, was founded by Angel Ramos, who also owned *El Mundo* newspaper and WKAQ radio—Radio el Mundo—the first radio station in Puerto Rico, established in 1922. Telemundo received its FCC license to transmit over channel 2 in San Juan on 12 February 1954. It went on the air with regular programming on 28 March 1954. The second permit for the construction of a commercial television station was granted to Ramón Quiñónez, owner

of WAPA radio on 12 August 1952. WAPA-TV received its FCC license to transmit over channel 4 in San Juan on 15 March 1954 and began regular transmission on 1 May 1954. Programming at both TV stations extended from 4:30 P.M. to 10:30 P.M. and included varied genres such as live comedy and drama, variety shows, women's programs (cooking), news programs, and films (mostly Mexican). Competition has always been fierce among these two broadcasters, which have alternated in their success at being the first to offer videotape technology (1966), color television (1968) and satellite broadcasting (1968). In many cases such innovations have occurred at both stations, at times within a week from each other. They have also alternated in obtaining the largest share of the audience and the top programs.

These two stations attracted the attention of mainland corporations. On 14 April 1983 WKAQ, Telemundo, was sold to John Blair and Comapany, a diversified, publicly traded American company. WKAQ was sold again in October 1987 to Reliance Inc., the owners of Spanish television network Telemundo in the United States. Thus, Telemundo of Puerto Rico became part of the ample network of Hispanic TV stations on the mainland.

Since 1975, WAPA has changed ownership several times. It was acquired first by Western Broadcasting in the



United States, later sold to Screen Gems, a subsidiary of Columbia Pictures, and finally acquired in 1980 by Pegasus Inc., a subsidiary of General Electric.

In the early 1950s the Department of Education, headed by Mariano Villalonga, lobbied for the establishment of public broadcasting. On 25 June 1954 the Puerto Rican legislature approved the funding for the creation of public radio and television service and the installation and operation of public TV and radio stations. After obtaining approval by the FCC to transmit over channel 6, WIPR went on the air on 6 January 1958, becoming the first educational TV station in Latin America. Initially it transmitted from 3:30 P.M. to 9:00 P.M. on weekdays and only for three hours on weekends, and offered an educational and cultural fare unavailable in commercial broadcasting. Its affiliation with the National Educational Television and Radio Association in 1961 increased its programming. In this same year, WIPM in Mayagüez, an affiliate of WIPR, retransmitted programs on the West Coast over channel 3. On 12 May 1971, trailing the commercial stations, WIPR offered regular programming in color. By 1979 WIPR and WIPM joined the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), further increasing its offerings and bringing English language programs from the United States. On 21 January 1987 radio and TV broadcasting was transferred from the Department of Education to a newly created state venture, named *Corporación para la Difusión Pública* (Corporation for Public Broadcasting). An increased budget allowed improvements in physical facilities, equipment, and programming. The station is on the air from 6:00 A.M. to 12:30 A.M. Long-term goals call for the creation of a news department and the development of international exporting of local productions.

WRIK was established in Ponce, on the south coast of Puerto Rico, after receiving FCC permit to go on the air on channel 7 on 2 February 1958. Its owner was Alfredo Ramírez de Arellano and, lacking its own programming, the station retransmitted Telemundo's fare. By 1970 it was bought by United Artists, moved to San Juan, renamed Rikavisión and started to produce its own programming without much success. In 1979 it was acquired by Puerto Rican producer Tommy Muñiz and became WLUZ. Economic problems forced him to sell in 1985 to Malrite Communications Group, where it became WSTE; in 1991 it was sold to Jerry Hartman, a Florida entrepreneur. Known locally as *SuperSiete*, it is mostly an outlet for several independent producers who buy time to present their programs.

In 1960 Rafael Pérez Perry received authorization to start WKBM and transmit over channel 11. At the time, he owned one of the most successful radio stations on the island (WKBM-AM). His success in radio did not extend to television. As has happened to channel 7, competition with channels 2 and 4 was never effective. After Perry's death, economic problems worsened and the station declared bankruptcy, closing in 1981. In 1986 Lorimar Telepictures acquired the station from bankruptcy court and renamed it WSII-TV. It was subsequently sold to Malrite Communications Group in 1991. Called Teleonce, it has obtained great success and is capable of competing with

channels 2 and 4, having obtained equal or better share of ratings in several time periods.

At one point, during the 1980s and early 1990s, several other commercial stations, all lesser players, struggled without much success. All were unable to effectively compete with the older, more solidly established stations. Serious economic problems forced some into bankruptcy and all went off the air. Of these stations, WPRV, channel 13 was bought by the Catholic Church, Archdiocese of San Juan, in January 1995. Plans for this station called for the use of its own studio facilities in the launch of a commercial station built around social, religious, and cultural programming sometime in 1995. WSJU-TV, channel 18, was acquired in December 1990 and belongs to International Broadcasting Corporation, a Puerto Rican enterprise with scarce programming that caters to independent producers and mostly plays Spanish language music videos. WSJN, Telenet, was bought by S and E Network, Inc., also a Puerto Rican venture which went on the air on November 1994. Besides extensive world news coverage in Spanish originating in Miami, Telenet produces some 50 hours a week of sports programs and talk shows in their studios.

Other stations have appeared in the last decade. WMTJ, channel 40, is an educational station belonging to the Ana G. Méndez Foundation, a private university. It was inaugurated in 1985 as a PBS affiliate and besides PBS programming, it also offers its own news, current affairs programs and televised college courses. Four religious stations belong to diverse Protestant groups. Offerings range from televised mass to revivals, testimonials, interviews and news programs.

With the exception of a limited number of programs, all stations transmit in Spanish. Commercial television content mostly consists of Puerto Rican productions, particularly comedy, children's programs, news, talk shows and variety shows. Dubbed American TV series and movies, and Mexican and Venezuelan soap operas comprise the rest of the offerings. There are hardly any European or Canadian offerings except for BBC or CBC specials which are carried over the PBS stations, WIPR and WMTJ.

An estimated 1.1 million households exist in Puerto Rico, of which 98% have at least one television set. A number of affiliate stations exist on the island so that TV signals of local channels reach all geographic areas. Channels 2, 4, and 11 consistently get the largest share of the audience; all other channels trail far behind.

Television audience measurements are an important element for marketing and programming decisions and through the years several companies have performed this function. The earliest measurements took place in September 1956 (Business Research Institute), but it was not until the 1970s that companies such as Clapp and Mayne, and Stanford Klapper made inroads into the rapidly developing field. However, Mediafax was the only company in 1995 offering television audience measurements. Mediafax is sponsored by several television channels and local advertising agencies who subscribe and pay a fee for these services.



Cable television is a fast growing alternative to local television and programs. Franchises are authorized by the Public Service Commission. In the mid-1960s Puerto Rico Cablevision, a subsidiary of International Telephone and Telegraph, offered better reception, with availability limited to major San Juan Hotels. The first franchise for residential service for San Juan was granted in 1970 to the Cable Television Company of Puerto Rico. The company went bankrupt and Cable TV of Greater San Juan took over the franchise in March 1977. By 1980 there were 35,000 subscribers, increasing to 127,400 in 1985 and 218,900 in 1990. In the mid-1990s, 10 cable TV operators serviced 90% of the island, reaching over 272,000 subscribers and billing close to \$100 million. Penetration was only about 25% in 1996, compared to 60% in the United States.

Cable TV systems carry all local stations and over 50 North American channels via satellite. Their fare is mostly in English and includes all major American networks as well as channels specializing in sports (ESPN), news (CNN), music (MTV, VH1), movies (American Movie Classics, HBO, Showtime, Cinemax, the Movie Channel), cartoons (Cartoon Network), children's programs (Nickelodeon, the Disney Channel), science (the Discovery Channel, the Learning Channel), arts (Arts and Entertainment, Bravo!),

public affairs (C-SPAN), comedy (Comedy Central), religion (EWTN), shopping (HSC, HSN, QVC, QVC2), weather (the Weather Channel), pay-per-view, and many others.

If the trends in the Puerto Rican television industry continue, further expansion of large media corporations through acquisitions, mergers, and realignments may be expected. Educational broadcasters enjoy relative success and investment in infrastructure and programming is increasing. Rapid growth will continue in the still developing market of cable television as it increases in market penetration.

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