

**Streaming in Progress
Television in the Age of Online Distribution**

By
Imogen Browder

Department of Film and Media Studies Senior Honors Thesis
Tufts University

Thesis Advisor:

Julie Dobrow | Co-Chair Film and Media Studies

Defense Committee:

Julie Dobrow | Co-Chair Film and Media Studies
Malcolm Turvey | Co-Chair Film and Media Studies

Somerville, MA
Defended on May 3rd, 2016

Table of Contents

Introduction: Redefining Television	2-12
<i>Changes in TV from the Network Era to the Present</i>	
Chapter I: Television as Digital Media	13-31
<i>Streaming as Distribution and Its Effect on the Industry</i>	
Netflix: Distributor or Creator	17-23
Competition in the Online Sphere	23-25
Reforming Ratings	25-31
Chapter II: Chapter II: Steaming Effects On Content	32-48
<i>Adapting the Creative Process for Online Distribution</i>	
Binge-Watching and Reactionary Release Logistics	34-39
Wild West of Television: Streaming Content Pushing Boundaries?	40-44
Transmedia Storytelling and Viewer Participation: A Problem of Control?	44-48
Chapter III: Empowered but Divided	49-61
<i>Television Audiences Reaction to Streaming</i>	
Boom In Content, But It's All For You – Viewer Agency	50-53
Proverbial Water Cooler – Privatization of the Public Experience	53-56
The Power of Millennials – Generational Divides in Viewing Experience	57-61
Conclusion: Changing But Not Deceased	62-66
Neilson Graph	67
References	68-73
Survey Results	74-76
<i>For Reference and Interest</i>	

Introduction

Redefining Television – Changes in TV from the Network Era to the Present

Television is not dead. While some might claim “it was killed by cable TV and the VCR in the 1980s, by the internet and video games in the 1990s, by Netflix, TiVo and the iPod in the 2000s, and by smartphones in the 2010s,” these various deaths have left television with enough strength to remain the “principal medium through which most people obtain visual entertainment and information and through which advertisers reach the largest audiences” (Butler, 1). A medium that powerful cannot be dead. Changed? Absolutely, but death requires something more finite, and conventional television broadcast is not leaving the ring without a fight. Ten years after the beginning of the new millennium when speculation ran rampant, “forecasting the demise of television as the primary site for social and cultural discourse [...] television as a form, a set of genres and formats, an audiovisual aesthetic of flow, and as a production sector looks set to survive whatever becomes of the appliance in the lounge-room, although the survival of the ‘box’ now also seems far less threatened” (Debrett). Television has changed, is changing. Such is the nature of a medium that relies so heavily upon technology: it is always evolving alongside the advances made in the consumer technology world and the growing perspectives of the audiences it caters to. In order to discuss television in its current state, and reflect upon the ways in which streaming technologies have affected the industry, the content, and the viewer, it is important that we redefine “television,” separate it from the decaying bones that proponents of the “Post-Network Era” would have us pick at, and instead broaden its definition in such a way that allows us to discuss the variations of television, traditional or otherwise. In order to know how to define the television of today, it is important

to understand why the box through which we traditionally view content, the physical television box, currently defines television.

Welcome to the very recent history of television, an era defined as “The Network-Era,” from 1952 to the mid-1980s when television broadcasting was dominated and defined by three networks, which grew out of radio: ABC, CBS, and NBC. Viewers of the Network Era had very few choices when it came to content, and were extremely limited by technology, as television was an entirely non-portable, domestic medium. Despite the trouble of having to adjust the antenna in order to pick up a limited amount of creative content at a certain time of day, the television set was cutting edge technology, creating a huge demand for every home to own one: “the number of television sets in use rose from 6,000 in 1945 to some 12 million by 1951; by 1955 half of all U.S. homes had one” (Stephens). Television quickly became more than a technology, it became a cultural institution as families across America joined one another on the couch and tuned in to network television. This was an era of broadcasting in which “Network programmers knew that the whole family commonly viewed television together, and they consequently selected programs and designed a schedule likely to be acceptable to, although perhaps not most favored by, the widest range of viewers” (Lotz, *Revolutionized* 24). The rigidity of the network schedules, and the limited availability of choices, made advertisers and audience members dependent upon the big three networks, which experienced a period of unparalleled control over what commercial content Americans had access to. Producers had very few options for content distribution, selling their series either to one of the networks or to local stations, which created a significant bottleneck that only allowed a very specific amount of content to get to viewers who “grew accustomed to arbitrary norms of practice—many of

which were established in radio—such as a limited range of genres, certain types of programming scheduled at particular times of the day, the television “season,” and reruns. These unexceptional Network-era conventions appeared “natural” and “just how television is” to such a degree that altering these norms seemed unimaginable” (Lotz, *Revolutionized* 24). In 1964, when color broadcasting began on prime-time television (prime time - broadcasting occurring during the peak time, usually evening, when the most viewers were known to tune in), television watching was limited to one of the big three networks or a few independent stations (mostly playing reruns of old network shows), but all of that began to change in the mid-1980s with the emergence of new technologies.

Technology shifted the game for television. Once cable and telephone firms began to function as distribution platforms, the broadcast networks that had once experienced such power were forced to rely upon their ability to survive primarily as content providers. The invention of the VCR allowed for audience members to record shows as they aired, meaning they were no longer bound to the schedules created by the network. Technology began to provide audiences with choices and unprecedented control over what they watched and how they watched it, and advertisers followed the audiences, shifting their spending towards targeted media instead of sponsoring single programs. This is an era of television that became known as the Multi-Channel Era. Beginning in the mid 1980s the television industry experienced two decades of very gradual change that challenged the conventions of many Network-era practices. These new technologies included the videocassette recorder (VCR), analog cable systems, and remote control, all of which expanded viewer’s choice and control. On the business side of things, producers responded to government regulations that forced networks

to relinquish some of their creative control, new cable channels and networks (FOX in 1986, the WB in 1995 and UPN in 1995) challenged ABC, CBS, and NBCs dominance¹, subscription channels launched an advertisement-free form of television, and new methods for measuring audiences grew increasingly detailed and sophisticated through the Nielson's People Meter, which replaced the diary method. As a result the commonality of the television experience was altered. With more content, and more choice, audience members began to have personal experiences with the content they chose to engage with, no longer reliant upon the networks to provide them with entertainment:

The combined broadcast share—the percentage of those watching television who watched broadcast networks—declined from 90 to 64 during the 1980s, and that percentage was shared by six broadcast competitors instead of three. Broadcast networks (ABC, CBS, FOX, NBC, the WB, and UPN) collected an average of only 58 percent of those watching television at the conclusion of the 1999-2000 season, and only 46 percent by the end of the 2004-2005 season. Alternative distribution systems such as cable and satellite enabled a new abundance of viewing options, and 56 percent of television households subscribed to them by 1990—a figure that grew to 85 percent of households by 2004 (Lotz, *Revolutionized* 25-26).

Because of the sheer amount of distribution platforms, the type of programming likely to be produced shifted from mass broadcast, designed to appeal to the broadest (read: white middle class) audience to more niche programming that might be satisfying to certain audience members. From this, more channels grew out of a need to target certain audiences: MTV for

¹ Herman, Karen

² Koblin, John

youth, CNN for news junkies, ESPN for the growing sports audience, etc. Niche programming was particularly popular with cable companies, whose model of paid subscriptions allowed them to succeed with smaller audiences. The sheer number of channels available to the average audience member spread the audience attention very thin, creating increased competition for viewer attention. The Networks continued to create broad content, intended to appeal to a wide range of audience members and encourage loyalty to their programming, while cable companies targeted niche audiences and created space for themselves as distributors for delayed-viewing of network shows.

And now we have reached the modern era, a period of television that is contested and questioned – how to define an era that is in process and changing? Television is in an age of uncertainty and everyone, from network executives, advertisers, venture capitalists, individual station owners, producers, directors, distributors, scriptwriters, actors, critics, historians, scholars, viewers, all the way down to a 20-something college senior writing a thesis, are aware that television is changing but don't know exactly what it is morphing into. Some would argue that the term "Post-Network Era" (or post-broadcast era) is applicable to our new age, a concept that was popularized by scholar Amanda D. Lotz in the first edition of *The Television Will Be Revolutionized* (2007) that, at the time, described the ways in which the addition of cable channels created more choices for viewers and weakened the strength of the networks. In the second edition of her book, Lotz redefines the parameters of the Post-Network, allocating the weakening of the networks through cable companies to the Multi-Channel Era and reserving the term "Post-Network Era" "as an indicator of more comprehensive changes in the medium's use [that] acknowledges the break from a dominant Network-era experience, in

which viewers lacked much control over when and where to view and chose among a limited selection of externally determined linear viewing-options” (Lotz, *Revolutionized* 28). Lotz believes that the Post-Network Era emerged in October 2005, when ABC and Apple entered into an agreement that allowed “Apple to distribute a handful of ABC prime-time programs for viewers to purchase and download over Apple’s iTunes system [...] this agreement enabled viewers to begin legally experimenting with new ways of viewing television” (Lotz, *Beyond* 8). The term has grown to describe more than just the erosion of network control and is now used to imagine a reality in which networks and channels are no longer the mainstream providers – or controllers—of content. I find this term somewhat problematic as a blanket description of the era we find ourselves in mostly because the networks, while forced to deal with more competition than ever due to an abundance of distribution platforms, are still incredibly popular. Take, for instance, the top 10 regularly scheduled primetime television programs of 2015 according to the Nielson ratings:

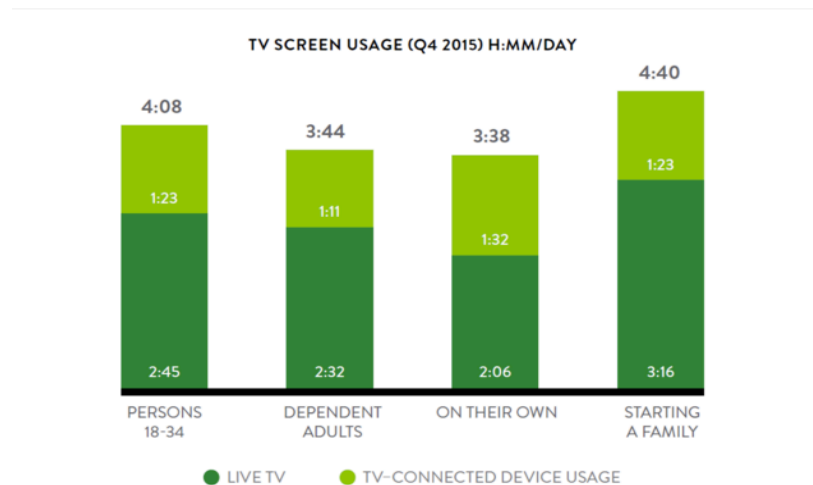
Rank	Program	Originator	Persons 2+ Rating	Average No. of Viewers
1	NBC SUNDAY NIGHT FOOTBALL	NBC	7.8	23,292,000
2	BIG BANG THEORY, THE	CBS	7.1	21,065,000
3	NCIS	CBS	7.1	20,913,000
4	WALKING DEAD	AMC	6.6	19,669,000
5	EMPIRE	FOX	6.0	17,747,000
6	CBS+NFLN THU NT FOOTBALL	CBS	6.0	17,665,000
7	NCIS: NEW ORLEANS	CBS	5.8	17,316,000
8	SUNDAY NIGHT NFL PRE-KICK	NBC	5.8	17,084,000
9	BLUE BLOODS	CBS	5.1	14,974,000
10	DANCING WITH THE STARS	ABC	4.9	14,555,000

Source: Nielsen NNTV Program Report

The ratings show that the number one scripted show in America is CBS's very popular series *The Big Bang Theory*, which is now in its ninth season. In fact, the only cable company represented on this report is AMC with *The Walking Dead* and there are no streaming-only companies present (perhaps because they do not air any content during "primetime" but rather encourage an "anytime" model for watching television). Despite the plethora of innovative content available on different distribution platforms, it is interesting to note that audiences are still gravitating towards the familiar: the most popular shows follow a familiar format and are released in a familiar way. *The Big Bang Theory* is a classic example of series television, a situation comedy that contains a set of characters that rely heavily on archetypes and social conventions. To be frank, it is not a show that I personally find interesting, but it relies upon a format that has been around since the Network-Era, a format that audiences enjoy. Distribution is changing, but some of the formulas television creators rely upon remain steady because they are tested and proved. While I bring up primetime television as one example of why we cannot completely discount the networks, I do have to admit that making any conclusion based off of primetime television viewership is limited in scope. It is wrong to assume that primetime provides the most "important" or culturally significant programming, especially when the vast majority of content is no longer produced for primetime, but is found on a multitude of platforms including cable and the "streamers" (Amazon, Hulu, Netflix, Yahoo TV, Crackle, etc.). According to the research department of FX Networks², there will have been 409 original scripted television series on broadcast, cable and online services in year 2015 and 400 (or more!) expected for 2016. That is a LOT of television, the majority of which will never see

² Koblin, John

primetime. It is important, however, not to discount traditional broadcast television, particularly networks, as a recent (March 24, 2016) Neilson “Total Audience Report: Q4 2015” shows us that Millennials (18-34), perhaps the generation that the future of television is most uncertain about, are viewing Live TV and TV-Connected devices:



The majority of millennial viewers still watch television live on a television box, not on their computers as rumors might have it. This doesn't mean that they're watching network television necessarily, but it lessens the pressure that the streaming services have placed upon live TV. Another reason not to discount networks is due to their sheer power in Hollywood. It is always important to remember that television, while an important cultural institution, is primarily a business that intends to make as much of a profit as possible. Over the years the networks have become parts of larger conglomerates that, while not vertically integrated like the studios of yore, have unparalleled control over the entertainment industry. In 1995 ABC was acquired by Disney which now owns ABC, ESPN, LucasFilms, Pixar, Freeform (previously ABC family), Marvel Entertainment, and the Muppets, to name a few. NBCUniversal, formed in 2004 with the merger between General Electric's NBC and Vivendi's Universal Entertainment, has been a

division of Comcast since 2011, a multinational mass media company that is the largest broadcasting and Cable Company in the world by revenue³. While the networks may no longer control the audience as they did in the Network Era, through limited programming and strict schedules, they are members of large media conglomerates that provide them with the resources and the community they need to maintain control over a fracturing audience.

Even if “Post-Network Era” is not an entirely fulfilling term it is among the most popular turns of phrase for describing our current location in television history so we (I) must concede to the phrase in order to move on to the meat of our discussion. The term will have continued usage in television scholarship because it does accurately imply that network control is not what it once was and that the recent influx of distribution platforms has made competition steeper in the television industry. Michael Curtin, in his essay “Matrix Media” suggests a different title for this age:

The matrix era is characterized by interactive exchanges, multiple sites of productivity, and diverse modes of interpretations and use. Although huge corporations continue to shape and influence the media environment, they can no longer presume to deliver a national mass audience at an appointed hour, and they can no longer market the attention of that audience to eager advertisers at the upfront presentations each spring. For media industries, the matrix era suggests emerging new structures and practices as well as changing conceptions of advertising, which remains the most important source of media financing (Curtin, 13).

³ “Comcast”

I must admit a preference for this definition of our time, an era that is marked by change and relies upon a certain amount of flexibility, a step back from the previously linear concept of progress. While the classic network era is marked by “centralized production and transmission to an undifferentiated mass audience,” our current age is concerned with diversifying modes of production and distribution, as well as the characteristics of the content we create. This is an era marked by change and the need to adapt or fail.

Finding the proper name for this era of television might be a losing battle, considering it is much harder to recognize the impact of an age while living in it. Future generations will have to decide whether this is truly the “Post-Network Era” or the “Matrix Era” or the “New Golden Age” or some combination of digital media and convergence culture. Whatever name scholars eventually bestow upon this time period, for now it is important for our contemporary audience to recognize that while our industry is in the process of undergoing massive changes, it is not dying. Survival on this planet revolves around an ability to adapt and update, so as long as we have creative and business-minded individuals joined together in the pursuit of content creation and distribution, we will always have television, perhaps not “television” on a box, but television as content distributed on whatever platform is available. Now that we live in a world where every device could be considered a television, perhaps TV is simply video content. In this new era, “television functions not so much as a fixed medium, a particular configuration of technologies and practices, or a corporate oligopoly. Rather, it exists as a *metaphor*: a model of centralized, networked transmission and reception with prevailing formal and cultural expectations and standards” (Kompere). This is the definition of television we will utilize going forwards, television as a broad term that is not one single thing. Instead I hope that we can

allow the term to resonate across technologies, institutions and content, that we can recognize the role that television plays in contemporary life as more than just images broadcast onto a screen, but as a cultural institution that is a facet of daily existence for many individuals.

Chapter I

Television as Digital Media - Streaming as Distribution and Its Effect on the Industry

Welcome to the age of fast-food TV: nuggets of news and entertainment that can be consumed on cellphones, video game consoles and digital music players. Whether the programming is downloaded via iTunes software or over a cellular network, the trend is changing where—and how—TV watchers are tuning in (James).

The revolution away from television bound to broadcast and towards television that is available anywhere and at anytime is primarily driven by an active audience. As technologies became available that provided viewers with choices – Video on Demand (VOD), Direct Video Recording (DVR), streaming services like Hulu, Amazon, and Netflix, etc. – audience members left the couch and capitalized on their freedom to watch television on their own terms. In the early 2000s, at the start of the Internet culture, viewers began to upload and download video in ever-changing formats. The relative availability of the Internet allowed for online societies to form around the pirating of audio and visual content, extending the community surrounding television and the amount of content available. The industry was forced to follow the audience, but was also directly involved in the creation of digital media, or “new media.” In 2005 when ABC (Disney) licensed the digital sale of several of its TV series through Apple’s iTunes store, the direct-to-viewer sale of online digital television was established. A year later in 2006, Amazon began selling similar television download opportunities, “successfully establish[ing] viable consumer markets for paid, downloadable television content” (Kompere). In 2006, ABC (Disney) led all five major broadcast (and some cable) networks towards online distribution by offering

streaming episodes of their current series on their own websites. While an “experiment” at the time, this form of distribution has become a major component of normative television viewing, allowing audience members to access content far beyond the limitations of traditional scheduled broadcasting. These sights also attempt to restore the pre-DVR relationship between content-viewer-advertiser, where audience members must watch the ads in order to progress through the content. While there is still a certain discomfort over whether or not this drives viewers away from prime time viewing, the networks are happy with the promotional opportunities these sites represent and no audience member is complaining about free television, even if they have to sit through a couple of advertisements to access it. These network branded websites helped to establish the Internet as a legitimate source of television, but the most significant shift in the world of streaming came in 2008 when Hulu, a joint venture between News Corp. and NBC Universal (and now Disney) provided broad streaming offerings that marginalized the network branding while promoting their other offerings that included web series, clips, trailers, feature films, and, most recently, original content. This innovation spurred on the release of a plethora of television provider sites loaded with a “database” of past and current content, allowing viewers to engage with television in a novel way, “embracing the database, rather than the schedule” (Kompere 81). The introduction of the database changed the way viewers interacted with material, browsing for content rather than tuning in for something specific. With the addition of Netflix as a streaming service in 2007, and Amazon Instant Video in 2011, content providers have expanded opportunities to distribute their content, whether in first run or following the initial release.

The production of film and television, while culturally significant, is primarily a business—hence the nickname “the industry”—and all decisions, whether it is where to distribute the content, who to hire, or what gets made, are informed by how much money is on the line. To understand the effect that streaming has on the industry, it is important to understand how companies monetize television in the first place, particularly the relationships that exist between audience members and distributors, as the audience is currently leading the charge to change norms. At the start of this new era of television – be it Post-Network or otherwise – with the introduction of cable bundling, most television in the US would fit into one of three categories: advertiser-supported, subscriber-supported, or a combination of both. Advertising has always been vital to the monetization of television, but beginning in the early 2000s, even broadcast networks began to cut ties with advertisers, as the sums they were receiving from cable systems (MPVD – Multichannel Video Programming Distributors) for retransmission fees were significant. Cable companies, like HBO and Showtime, earned revenue through subscriptions, but a significant portion of the subscription fee subscribers paid (usually around \$15-20) went to MVPDs who market the service and handling the billing. Basic cable channels (non-subscription) generally utilized the hybrid model, earning revenue from fees paid by MPVD and advertising. These three economic models are still in place, but a fourth, direct-pay or transactional model, marks this era of television. Here, the viewer pays for a specific piece of content, modeled after features of the subscriber-supported model. In her book, *The Television Will Be Revolutionized*, Lotz discusses the significance of the direct-pay economic model:

When I wrote the first edition of the book [...] direct pay didn't initially create a new route for the creation of content, but a new way to earn revenue on content originally produced for a network or channel. The subsequent developments in original content creation by niche distributors such as Netflix and DirecTV and funding experiments such as Kickstarter, however, now suggest that this conception of direct pay as merely a secondary revenue stream imposes residual assumptions on television economics that place undue primacy on linear distribution (Lotz, *Revolutionized* 174).

Direct pay has evolved into a model that provides for a new type of distribution and new outlets for content creation, as online distribution companies (primarily) are able to tap into the needs and desires of their subscribers, using insider knowledge of what audience members are spending money on. While monetizing video distributed online may seem completely different than the established television norms, many of the economic models we are familiar with are still in place. For example, Hulu utilizes the advertiser-supported economic model that broadcast networks have long relied upon, while Hulu-Plus resembles the hybrid advertiser/subscriber model used by basic cable. Digital distribution has provided new choices for audience members in terms of how they pay for the content they watch. Some viewers choose not to pay at all, pirating whatever content they please, as the Internet has created a general free-for-all when it comes to uploading/downloading. For those who decide to stick to legal forms of content viewing, viewers can choose either a full subscription to a SVOD site, use their cable bundle subscriptions to log in to network and cable websites, pay for a the show directly on Amazon or iTunes, etc. The online sphere creates multiple forms of distribution, not all of which are dependent upon advertising. While advertising as a form of monetization has

been around the longest, that does not necessarily make it superior to other forms. Most of the shows we watch on demand, online and through cable boxes, are advertisement free, so subscription-supported content appears to be just as viable as advertiser-supported content. Advertising online has had to adapt to more savvy viewers, as even back in the Network-Era it was never clear how much of the 30-second advertisement viewers participated in as the commercial break was a prime time for a trip to the bathroom or a snack break. Online advertisements that accompany shows on Hulu or network television sites often rely upon information provided by Google or other online data collection companies that are creating taste profiles for their consumers. There is a hope within the advertising industry that if they can understand what each person is more likely to be interested in, engagement with ads will rise and lead to sales. Alternatively, some advertisements have become interactive, providing games or quizzes to engage directly with audiences, ensuring that individuals aren't using this time for a bathroom break. This type of advertising is only available on the Internet, where the viewer is identified by a taste profile.

Netflix – Distributor or Creator

With money made online through subscriptions, advertisements, or a combination of the two, the digital realm, particularly Subscription Video-On-Demand sites, provide opportunities for both the distribution and creation of content. Ignoring for a moment Subscription Video-On-Demand (SVOD) platforms like Netflix, Hulu, and Amazon's recent success in content creation, let's first take a look at the opportunities they provide for the distribution of traditional broadcast television programs (network and cable shows). In an

interview provided for *Distribution Revolution: Conversations about the Digital Future of Film and Television* (Curtin, Holt and Sanson), Gary Newman the Co-Chairman/CEO of the Fox Television Group discusses the ways in which streaming has revolutionized the industry, noting that the atmosphere for content distribution is much more complex than it used to be because the focus is no longer on what is right solely for the network, but rather considers the needs of specific shows and whether each show could lead to additional paths for financial success: distribution decisions are often made on a show by show basis. He uses *Sons of Anarchy* (2008-2014) as an example:

It will never syndicate, for many reasons: the content is a little rough; it's very serialized; it's only thirteen shows a year. So, after four seasons, we only have fifty-two episodes. But we have such a fantastic deal [... we made separate deals for significant amounts of money and they were nonexclusive deals... so it was purely additive what we were doing...] with Netflix for the show—it is very much comparable to what you would hope to get from syndicating an episodic procedural drama. We also have *Sons* on Amazon and have a great deal there too. These new distribution opportunities enable us to do shows that, as a studio we are very passionate about [...] subscription video-on-demand (SVOD) platforms have become important partners to us and we want their businesses to flourish [...] Recently, the SVOD business has grown much more in terms of overall revenue. The revenue coming in from SVOD dwarfs any other form of digital revenue. It dwarfs what we get from streaming, which is ad-supported, and it dwarfs what we get from EST (electronic sell through), which is a per-customer transaction (31-35).

Newman touches on several means of online distribution, so, to clarify: Video on Demand (VOD) can be broken down into three categories:

1. Transaction VOD includes IVOD (Internet Video on Demand – like rentals on iTunes or Amazon Video) and EST (Electronic sell-through, like iTunes or Amazon purchase that allow you to download the content).
2. AVOD (Ad-Supported Video on Demand), which includes platforms like Hulu, Youtube, and most network websites that allow you to stream content.
3. SVOD (Subscription Video on Demand), which includes sites like Netflix, Amazon Prime, and HuluPlus.

Of course, at the rate technology is progressing most of this will probably be out of date, or contain even more subcategories, in a year or two, but that is what we're working with currently. While *Sons of Anarchy* is available for EST and AVOD, SVOD is the most lucrative source of online distribution for the show. Newman discusses SVOD sites, like Netflix, as sources that primarily assist with distribution of a show following the initial release of the season, an "out of season library" that allows viewers to find the show well beyond its initial exhibition. Syndication (the licensing of the right to broadcast television programs by multiple television stations without having to go through a broadcast network; reruns) has been around since the Network Era and while it is still a commonly used practice, VOD sites allow the studio or network to make even more money off of the repeated run of their content. A site like Netflix charges a monthly fee for membership, so the audience member is charged the same whether he or she is watching the most popular show or an incredibly niche show, but the studio can make a serious amount of money by licensing the content to Netflix who is then able

to keep their subscriber base happy with up-to-date content and advertise their involvement with network and cable television, boosting subscriptions. It is still a gamble for content providers to make a deal with Netflix, as Netflix does not provide any transparency into how many views a video does or does not receive, but because of the reputation it has built for itself, and the growing subscriber base (which is public knowledge), companies like Fox are able to have a sense of how much money they should receive on a per-subscriber basis rather than a per-viewer basis, which is almost a better deal for the networks than for Netflix considering there is no guarantee that every subscriber will tune in to *Sons of Anarchy*.

In 2013, Netflix, the leading provider of SVOD, surprised all of its network and cable counterparts by receiving Emmy nominations for original, direct-to-streaming content, *House of Cards* and *Arrested Development*. In the years since, Netflix has increased output of original content, and announced in November that this year the company plans to spend \$5 billion (US) on original content alone, releasing a staggering 600 hours of original content including scripted series, feature films, stand-up specials, and documentaries⁴. This past awards season, Netflix earned more Golden Globe nominations than any network or cable company, even beating HBO by one nomination⁵ (though the Amazon Prime streaming original *Mozart In the Jungle* managed to take home the top prize for “Best Comedy”). Anyone familiar with the site will have noticed a new format rolled out within the past few months, where instead of highlighting new releases, the first scroll through panel is comprised of exclusively Netflix originals. The company, which began as a DVD mail rental service, started streaming content in 2007, beginning primarily as a SVOD site for distributing network and cable content, and by all

⁴ McAlone, Nathan

⁵ McFarland, K.M

appearances Netflix is now attempting to establish itself as a competitive content creator. The first widely advertised original series *House of Cards*, premiered in 2013 and was produced by David Fincher, starring Kevin Spacey. When asked why Netflix began creating original content in an interview for *Distribution Revolution, Conversations About the Digital Future of Film and Television* (Curtin, Holt and Sanson), Ted Sarandos, the Chief Content Officer for Netflix says:

Ultimately we want to produce original content, because it's time we have more control over the shows that matter the most to our customers. We've really come to appreciate the value serialized shows provide. So many people watch them and love them. Our data supports the trend, and that's why you see such an explicit investment in television on Netflix. We've been able to grow the audience for serialized content by recognizing their behavior and securing more and more highly serialized, well produced, one-hour dramas. Yet you discover pretty quickly that networks don't make very many of these shows anymore because they're expensive and they're perceived as difficult to monetize. HBO, Showtime, and Starz are making them, but they're also the people who least want to sell to us in the season-after model because we are direct competitors. So at a certain point I said, "Are we going to remain dependent on everybody else making good shows, or are we going to try to develop some of them ourselves? (141-142).

In 2013 a very strangely gendered headline arose that proclaimed "Content is King, but Distribution Is Queen and She Wears the Pants⁶," which concerned advertising, but could just as easily be used to discuss television. There is an ongoing debate in the industry about whether it is more powerful to create the content or to distribute it. In the Network Era, the big three

⁶ Pollit, Chad

networks who created the majority of content shown on television had an unprecedented amount of power over how people watched television, but in this era of multiple screens and un-focused viewers, *where* a piece of content is distributed is just as important as *what* that content is, especially when it comes to getting eyes on a piece of work. By both creating original content, and providing a distribution platform for out-of-season network and cable content, Netflix has put itself in a prime position, acting as both a distribution site and a studio in charge of its own distribution. According to a letter to Netflix shareholders in 2015, original content has become a selling point for the company as “nearly ninety percent of Netflix members have engaged with Netflix original content,” which has helped fuel subscriber growth⁷. Making money for Netflix is primarily subscription-based, and the lack of ads has become vital to the Netflix experience as viewers are able to engage with content distraction free and Netflix is able to control any industry-wide knowledge of their success. Netflix doesn’t need to rely upon traditional ratings because it doesn’t make any revenue from advertisement alongside content. Development of their own shows, and the disconnect from traditional advertising, makes Netflix one of the most self-sufficient entertainment companies in the market. While they are beholden to their consumers and their creators, the significant research they’ve done into audience habits (by tapping into consumer algorithms and noting what each individual viewer chooses to watch) helps them make solid investments in content they have some certainty will succeed. The brilliant part of it too, is that because they don’t release ratings to the public, we have no way of knowing whether their original content is as successful as it appears, but must trust the hype that surrounds content on social media or the awards acclaim each series

⁷ Greenberg, Julia

receives. The mystery surrounding Netflix ratings has caused select content research companies to assemble large groups of Netflix subscribers in the US in order to determine the most popular programs on the streaming service. As this is second hand research, not coming directly from Netflix or even traditional ratings companies like Neilson, it is hard to know what to trust, but according to San-Diego based Luth Research, *House of Cards* is as popular as it seems, “with nearly half of subs (n=2500 via computers, tablets, or smartphones) having watched at least three episodes in a single day in the first 30 days after release” (Wallenstein).

Competition In the Online Sphere

Netflix’s foray into original content, while still providing SVOD distribution options for networks and cable companies, has placed the internet company in a powerful position that other streaming competitors, networks, and cable companies have becoming increasingly weary of. In order to fight the threat of Netflix and other streamers, “broadcast networks are adding more original hours, increasing their production costs, favoring in-house production, and introducing big stars, according to UBS analysis of the upcoming prime time season” (Tietjen). Networks are attempting to lure viewers back to traditional television by following innovations Netflix introduced with *House of Cards*, which was more cinematic in scope than most shows on television. As technology and viewer habits have pushed television into the online sphere, competition in the Internet television space has heated up, forcing television creators and distributors to update their own technology or rely upon a site like Netflix or Amazon to distribute for them. Rumors have begun to surface about cable companies creating their own stand-alone packages to compete online: Showtime and HBO already offer online

only programs like HBO Now, which is a streaming only package of HBO content that doesn't require a television package, all for \$14.99/month. A program like this means that consumers do not need to purchase a cable package like Direct TV to enjoy HBO, or even own a television, but can stream all of their content for a standalone price. Networks are also joining this game, like CBS's new (2014) streaming-only package CBS All Access, which offers streams of broadcasts from the fourteen stations that the network owns, as well as VOD for episodes from current, previous, and classic seasons of CBS owned shows. CBS recently announced that in 2017 the highly anticipated re-vamped *Star Trek* series will air on CBS Television Network for first-run of the premiere episode and then all subsequent first-run episodes will be available exclusively on CBS All Access⁸. CBS is attempting to appeal to both cord-cutting and traditional television owning individuals with the premiere, but by releasing all subsequent episodes on CBS All Access they are essentially pushing their audience towards purchasing an online subscription. As more companies decide to launch independent streaming packages it will be interesting to see if customers will remain loyal to any one brand in the midst of all the competition, or will opt for "packages" of content that include shows from more than one network or cable company, like Netflix. It will be interesting to see if this gamble pays off, or if viewers choose to pirate episodes instead of paying for the \$5.99/month subscription fee. The major players in the TV streaming industry, Netflix, Amazon Prime, and Hulu have a step-up on traditional TV networks attempting to launch their own stand-alone service for now, mostly due to popularity and their current subscriber bases. While networks and cable companies have been biding their time to make an entrance into the streaming realm, online TV has amassed a

⁸ "New Star Trek Television Series..."

loyal following of subscribers, and it will be interesting to see in the following years if network stand-alone streaming services are as popular as companies with large, established libraries and popular original content that have already begun to compete directly with traditional television companies who don't even operate in the same internet realm. As with many businesses, the race towards streaming dominance might come down to supply and demand: what is each company making that causes audiences to want to subscribe? Is the price worth the content? In this era of affordable and easily accessible television, only time will tell if networks will be able to compete with the streamers in this new realm, or if they will need to combine their libraries in order to create a service that is worth the subscription for viewers.

Reforming Ratings

Television ratings are extremely valuable to the industry as they provide insights into audience trends, indicating which shows are doing well with the public, which are doing poorly, and how engaged that public is; in short, ratings help producers and distributors decide which shows are picked up and which are given the axe. They also are vital to advertising revenue, providing the data that allows an ad company to consider their investments for each program and their relationships with content providers/distributors. As television has moved online, Neilson has become increasingly out of date, unable to track the size of audience

Neilson was founded in 1923 and has been the leading source of television ratings for over ninety years. While today the reports are much more accurate than they used to be, when ratings depended solely on diary reporting by individuals or "people meters," there are still quite a few weaknesses in a system that relies upon a small sample group and a narrow window

for recording numbers. For one, the use of sample sets creates an abstraction of the data, because even if you watched a show like *The Big Bang Theory* every day of every week for months, it wouldn't matter unless you happened to watch *The Big Bang Theory* on the day Neilson asked for your report. In 2005 Neilson began reporting on time-shifted content that was recorded on DVRs, but the "audience" is still limited to the family television room and doesn't account for the numbers that are tuning in on any online video on demand service. Until this year, Neilson was an analog program in an increasingly digital world. This year (2016) Neilson has introduced its "Total Audience Measurement Tool," which is supposed to track any view, regardless of platform or ad format. According to the Neilson website, here is how they measure television audiences:

Electronic and proprietary metering technology is at the heart of Nielsen audience measurement. In addition to capturing what channels viewers are watching on each television set in the home, our meters can identify who is watching and when, including "time-shifted" viewing—the watching of recorded programming up to seven days after an original broadcast.

Chosen at random through proven methodology, Nielsen's U.S. TV families represent a cross-section of representative homes throughout the country. We measure viewing using our national and local people meters, which capture information about what's being viewed and when, and in the major U.S. markets, specifically who and how many people are watching. We also have TV set meters in many local markets, and we collect more than two million paper diaries from audiences across the country each year during "sweeps"—specific periods during the months of February, May, July and

November. To measure video content viewed on mobile devices, we have expanded our panels to incorporate census-style data from third parties in order to capture the breadth and depth of consumer usage (“Solutions”).

Before this year, the industry relied upon ratings that provide insight into first-viewing numbers, live-plus-3, and live-plus-7 numbers, so the information that networks and advertising companies have been working off of has completely ignored the online sphere and views occurring weeks, months, even years later. While insight into views “years later” does not provide relevant information for whether a show is picked up or dropped, the streaming world has become an increasingly popular sight for delayed-viewing. Many networks and cable companies have had to become more independent when it comes to determining ratings, pulling information from multiple sources including traditional Neilson numbers to cable VOD-playback stats to a wide range of methods that track streaming activity. The goal is to compile a more complete picture of how audiences are watching television across multiple platforms in order to encourage wider parameters for advertising sales, which are largely concentrated on the C3 window (a combination of audience ratings for average commercial minutes for live broadcasts plus three days of playback on DVRs after the original broadcast): “In an effort to combat the sky-is-falling perception that surrounds them, broadcast networks are increasingly going public with internally crafted numbers. These new metrics look at program performance over time frames of seven to as many as 35 days. The 30- to 35-day window is a key focus because it covers the typical time frame in which a new episode of a primetime series is available on ad-supported streaming platforms and on cable VOD” (Littleton). Overnight ratings, even delayed viewing ratings, no longer provide a full image of how audiences are

interacting with television, which is detrimental to how networks are marketing their content. There is also some fear associated with allowing broadcast networks to report on their own ratings, as there is no standard methodology or oversight into ensuring the numbers that network execs are publically reporting are correct. There needs to be some sort of push to create some consensus around methodology so that ratings are standard across the industry. Perhaps when television moves online – if it moves online – tracking audience numbers will be easier as each network and cable company can track their numbers directly, pulling data directly from audience members like Facebook does to its users. When networks have more direct access to audience information, they can use the information to inform the content they're creating and give advertisers a better sense of what consumers are tuning in for. Ratings will still be important in an online television age because—ignoring the affect ratings have on advertising numbers—because ratings give the consumer a clear sense of what others are choosing to watch, keeping our national audience on the same page and keeping us from entering “the bubble”.

Nielson's new “Total Audience Measurement Tool” is taking far too long to roll out, and it is still a little too early to see whether this new “promise to count all video viewing equally” will actually lead to any insights into total audience numbers (Lafayette). While trying to find information to provide some insight into this new tool, I was shocked to find very little published about it this year, considering it was supposed to be implemented in 2016. The most relevant article, “7 Things You Need to Know About Nielson's New Tool,” published in 2015, discusses various takeaways from an early look at the program. Lafayette discusses Neilson's integration of a larger sample size (a jump to 100,000 people in 40,000 homes from 25,000

homes currently), extending to digital media while still focusing on television, the measurement of mobile views from a software embedded in networks, studios, and MVPDs video players, and a partnership with Facebook that identifies mobile trends. He also addresses the issue that Netflix has created for Neilson, as they remove the watermark Neilson uses to identify programming, highlighting the fact that streaming services, which choose to withhold their viewing numbers, have an upper hand over traditional rating services. As Netflix doesn't sell ads, they have argued in the past that they shouldn't have to disclose ratings, but if Neilson's new plan (of analyzing the audio of shows that are being streamed) works, and "Netflix's original shows are revealed to be watched less than those on TV, it might be harder to attract a David Fincher or a Kevin Spacey to the streaming service," taking away some of their competitive steam (Luckerson) The loudest message from the article appears to be that the currency of ratings is changing, despite Neilson's attempts to keep up with the times. Viewership and content have divided from one another as content can be seen in a number of forms across hundreds of platforms and Neilson has no way of identifying all outlets for audience engagement. Considering "\$70 billion in advertising dollars are traded in the United States each year based on Neilson's ratings, and hundreds of television programs live or die based on that viewership data [and the behavior of] outlets like Netflix, Amazon, and Hulu [is] not being captured in industry ratings based on Neilson data" there is a general outcry for reforming the current rating system that Neilson is simply not meeting (Steel).

While Neilson's competitors like ComScore, TiVo Research, Rentrak, Reality Mine, and Symphony Advanced Media are using Neilson's current fall from dominance as an opportunity to challenge the powerful position that Neilson has held for 66+ years (for example, Rentrak

and ComScore recently merged and hope to use ComScore's expertise in digital media and Rentrak's data from set-top boxes to measure what people watch on television and off), some "question whether ratings will even be relevant in a not-too-distant digital future, when ads are bought and sold based on specific data about viewers, such as location, occupation, salary, and purchases, rather than broad audience metrics" (Steel). We're beginning to see this trend in digital advertising surrounding Facebook and Google, as massive tech companies compile taste profiles surrounding their clients to sell to advertisers. Netflix uses similar algorithms for its own success, but as they don't rely upon ad-support, there is no reason to share that information with other companies. Now that it is possible to track the websites people visit, what products they buy and which shows they're streaming, advertisers need more detailed information than tradition television ratings can provide. The way we calculate ratings has become almost meaningless, but at the same time they still matter because they have a direct impact on the content that continues to be made (or dropped) and "because ratings are a rejoinder to egotism, a tether to reality. Ratings keep us – barely – from mistaking our interests and our taste for everyone else's, at a time when it has never been easier to conflate the two" (Paskin). Ratings keep the industry on more or less the same page, and as we've seen with Netflix's success in its refusal to share any ratings data, every show that Netflix produces has been turned into a hit, whether the data supports that or not. If every network and cable company could claim the same amount of success, audiences would have no way of knowing how popular certain shows were and advertisers wouldn't have the numbers they need to choose which content to support. We no longer sit on the couch together to watch television, no longer discuss the same shows around the water cooler every lunchtime, but we do have a

more or less shared knowledge of which shows our culture is invested in thanks to ratings that are public knowledge on the Internet. Ratings keep the industry honest (more or less) and make it possible for shows like *Scandal*, which wouldn't appear to appeal to the "demo" audience (18 to 49 year olds, usually Caucasian), to have a fighting chance at staying on the air: "Consider, for example, contemporary TV culture, in which the shows that are most dissected, discussed, recapped, obsessed and fought over are only occasionally highly rated. *The Sopranos* was a hit for HBO, but *The Wire* was not. *Game of Thrones* commands a large audience, but *Mad Men* never did. *Scandal* and *Empire* are smashes, but *Smash* was a hate-watch fetish object of the very few. *The Office* was a hit, but *30 Rock*, *Community*, and *Parks and Rec* all struggled in the ratings. *Friday Night Lights* scuttled from home to home. If passion and buzz correlated with ratings, *Girls* would be the most popular show of all time" (Paskin). Ratings still matter because they attempt to get at some larger "truth" in broadcast television, make us aware that Americans still watch *Big Bang Theory* and tune in to see Trump's latest speech. It is easy to become caught up in our own personal bubbles as fragmented audience members, but television is a cultural phenomenon intended for the many, and while our current ratings system doesn't reflect all of the modes of distribution and habits of viewers, there is still a need for it, if only to keep television from becoming too niche dependent and ruled by the opinions of a few loud audience members and of the creators/distributors.

Chapter II

Steaming Effects On Content – Adapting the Creative Process for Online Distribution

The Networks now command less of viewers' time and attention than before HBO and *The Sopranos* changed the way we watch. You'd think that would inspire them to deliver better product, to draw us back in, to make it worth our while—as AMC, FX, and other basic cablers have—to deal with commercials; but you would be wrong. At this point in network TV, generally speaking, anxiety has driven the networks towards the other end of the spectrum, to rein in ambition and aim for the safe and the familiar. They don't want to challenge viewers – as Netflix's *Narcos* does, for example, or as Amazon's *Man in the High Castle* will – with imaginative stories and characters. They want to lure you in with the known, with timeworn formats such as the comic-book drama (*Supergirl*), the franchise spinoffs (*Chicago Med*), and presold titles (*Minority Report*, *Limitless*, *The Muppets*, and *Heroes Reborn*). They want you to reconsider that dish you already tried and liked well enough (Gilbert).

Networks have, more or less, stuck to familiar content because it is successful. As we discussed earlier, *The Big Bang Theory* is the number one show on television right now because it sticks to a format that is comfortable and entertaining for the audience while being financially smart for the network. While it doesn't do too well at the Emmy's in recent years (often coming second to *The Office*, *Modern Family*, or *30 Rock*) it has outlived the competition by being a broad, traditional sitcom that is filmed in a studio with multiple cameras and a laugh track. It employs familiar tropes, like the “will they won't they” relationship, or the “odd couple” roommate dynamic, and doesn't demand too much from its audience – it's an easy watch, fun and non-

committal, sticking to characters and storylines that you can always join mid-arc and understand. While the show does well in syndication and sells many DVDs, it doesn't appear in the Netflix or Amazon catalogue, available only on CBS All Access. Despite its success, this past season (2014-2015), *The Big Bang Theory* was down more than 20% from its finale a year ago, finishing down more than 1 full ratings point from the 2013-2014 finale⁹. There are many factors as to why this could be—for one thing the show has been on television for nine seasons (since 2007!)—But I do think that streaming has played a role in its decline, especially considering the title isn't available readily on the Internet unless you have an CBS All Access account or decide that pirating is a viable way of watching content. Networks are now having to compete with streaming services that have much more freedom when it comes to what they can air and how they air it. *The Big Bang Theory* is a standout, a show that traditional broadcast networks claim as proof that series television is still just as popular for viewers as serial television, and, quite honestly, because our current ratings system doesn't give us any insight into the streaming world, we have no certain numbers that support or deny that. Right now, “buzz” is one way we can estimate the popularity or value of a show, seeing which content is getting the most attention in the media, as there are certain television shows that somehow end up on everyone's “to watch” list, and very few of those are series network television shows. Content creators have to adapt for streaming, whether to compete with or to compliment streaming sites. This new era of television has introduced styles of watching and storytelling that creators must be aware of while working on their shows, attempting to create “must-click TV” while providing content worth discussing and funding.

⁹ Kissel, Rick

Binge-Watching and Reactionary Release Logistics

In 2013, Netflix released the entire first season of *House of Cards* all at once in an unprecedented “dump” of content. While some remain confused about why the streaming giant would opt for an uncontrolled release of content rather than attempting to lure more subscribers with a traditional weekly release, Netflix, unbound by advertisers, or ratings, released the series, and subsequent series, in a way that reflects how their audience watches content, as Ted Sarandos explains in *Distribution Revolution*:

My kids watch absolutely nothing on the linear grid. They watch everything on our DVR or on-demand. And there is no ratings credit for that behavior because they don't watch it live and they don't watch it three days or even seven days after the original broadcast. Yet my daughter is the most engaged *Gossip Girl* fan on the planet. She should count for four viewers! But she doesn't count at all because she doesn't watch it in a way the current measurement system values. She likes to stack—to marathon on a Saturday afternoon—and that's the way the entire CW audience watches content.

Our own data supports this trend. For people watching television, especially younger viewers, they're no longer connected to a linear grid. They very much consume television on-demand: when they want it, where they want it, and how they want it (Curtin, Holt, Sanson).

Netflix is able to mine information from viewers. Earlier in his interview, Sarandos says, “With streaming, we have insight into every second of the viewing experience. I know what you have tried and what you have turned off. I know at what point you turned it off” (136), so the way he speaks about his kids viewing habits is not only as an informed parent, but also as an informed

professional who can speak about data that defines his children's generation. Those younger viewers fall squarely into the "demo" audience; the viewers that broadcast networks and streamers alike want to turn into loyal followers. By presenting content in a way that is alluring to younger viewers, allowing them to consume "when they want it, where they want it, and how they want it," Netflix puts the television experience into the audience's hands, allowing them to watch on their own terms. This is a far cry from the Network Era, where audiences had to tune in at certain hours of the day according to the network's schedule, but it reflects a much more aware and demanding audience who benefits from the technology available. Netflix is in a unique position: not only are they informed through the data they mine from audience habits, but they are not required to release ratings (as discussed above) and don't need to work alongside advertisers to roll out content. As their subscribers are not paying on a weekly basis, a binge dump does everything to help and nothing to hinder: they appear to be in tune with audience desire for independent scheduling while providing content to a subscriber base that is stuck with them for (at least) the remainder of the month, and probably longer considering their receiving fresh content for no fee hikes or compromise of viewing habits.

Releasing episodes in a "dump" is in reaction to "binge-watching," a mode of viewing that is supposed to have originated in the 1980s when TV stations began featuring hours of reruns of certain shows in marathon sessions. While the millennial generation would like to believe they are responsible for the creation of a new form of television watching, people have enjoyed watching television in blocks since television marathons became popular or VCRs/DVDs were released one season at a time (personally, I got through a season of *Bewitched* on DVD every week during my middle school years). Of course, now that all that is required for

continued viewing is either to ignore the button and let the program auto-play the next episode (like with Netflix or Amazon), while occasionally confirming that you are “still watching,” binge-watching has become even easier to participate in. According to a survey in 2014, binge-watching is becoming the norm rather than the exception, with 84 percent of trailing millennials (14-24 year olds) and 37 percent of those over 68 years old engaging in binge-watching television¹⁰. In 2015, TiVo released a survey¹¹ that stated 9 out of 10 people are engaging in binge-watching, which they define as watching more than three episodes of a particular TV show in one day: “according to TiVo, 92% of respondents to the company’s latest Binge Viewing Survey said they have engaged in the act of television gluttony at some point. Not surprisingly, binge-watching is also less frowned upon, with only 30% of respondents reporting a negative view of binge-watching (there would appear to be some self-loathers in that bunch) compared to two years ago, when more than half of respondents felt the term “binging” had negative connotations” (Huddleston). While streaming may not have invented binge-watching, it has absolutely added kerosene to the flame, changing the cultural perception of binge-watching as something that is lazy to a form of watching television that is understood and accepted. Streaming sites, Netflix and Amazon in particular, are using their unique position in the streaming world to play to audience demand for easy to watch content on their own schedules, basically empowering the viewer more than television has ever allowed.

Changes to release and viewing habits have to have some effect on the content that is being created; this is an industry, after all, where content is king only so far as distribution allows it to wear the pants, meaning that distribution has an effect on the content being

¹⁰ “Topic: Binge Watching in the US”

¹¹ Huddleston, Tom

created. Binge-watching changes the way the audience takes in the storyline. Unlike traditional broadcast, episodes are not watched one at a time, the audience doesn't need to wait a week (more or less) to continue the story, but rather they are stacked together in one continuous story. Long before television, novels were written as "serials," published in weekly installments in magazines or newspapers, for example, *The Count of Monte Cristo* was published in 139 installments. With the rise of broadcast (both radio and television) in the first half of the 20th century, printed periodical fiction began to decline and many of these serials were turned into novels where readers could enjoy the entire story. While I doubt anyone is reading *The Count of Monte Cristo* in one sitting, compiling all of the chapters into one bound novel provides the reader with the opportunity to do so, which is reflected in the way Netflix or Amazon provides multiple series of content for viewers to engage with. While this is not how the story was intended to be seen, audience members can choose to watch (or read) however much they like. Some writers, like Jenji Kohan (*Weeds* (2005), *Orange Is the New Black* (2013)), are critical of dump releases and binge watching. She revealed to *The Hollywood Reporter* that [she] "miss[es] having people on the same page [...] being able to go online and have the conversation the day after. But it's kind of a waste of time to lament that because that's not the way our show comes" (Jarvey). *Orange Is The New Black* has been a hit for Netflix, earning four Emmy wins and 16 nominations since its release in 2013. Kevin Beggs, the chairman of Lionsgate Television Group, who produces the series alongside Netflix, told *The Hollywood Reporter* in an interview in 2014, "The storytelling on *Orange Is the New Black* is very different. She [Kohan] is taking a lot of digressions... but you can do that [on Netflix] because you know that people are going to go back and rewatch. It gives you a lot of freedom to tell stories in a

more novelistic way. You don't have the advertising restrictions, where you are pushing to have a really dramatic ending to every scene before the commercial break to make sure the audience comes back" (Roxborough). While releasing all episodes at once might not be a trend that creators are comfortable with, there is a certain amount of creativity in the storytelling that must take place in order to adapt to audience demands. Kohan, despite her discomfort, has become a master of creating with the understanding that audiences will binge-watch her content. *Orange Is the New Black* is unique in how it tells stories, focusing on a different character's background with each episode and using this context to advance the season's plot. By focusing the series initially on a white, seemingly-straight female character ("Piper"), she has treated this protagonist as a Trojan Horse, of sorts, bringing the narrative into a much more diverse world and trapping a mainstream, primarily white audience into watching more people of color than familiar faces. The splintered storytelling manages to weave together over-time, and each episode walks the line between continuing the storyline of the last while forwarding a new, independent thought. This is a show that is designed for "novelistic" storytelling. There is a way in which content written for streaming reflects the transition from serial literature to novel: the story comes together, but the chapters are still independent thoughts that contribute to the whole. For an audience member, how they choose to engage with the storytelling changes the way they experience the narrative, but the choice is theirs, and creators have to adapt to serve this style of distribution.

Of course, binge-watching and "dump" release is not correct for every piece of television that is created. There is some disagreement in the industry as to whether or not this will become the norm, according to *The Hollywood Reporter* article "Backlash Brewing Against

Binge TV as 'Orange Is the New Black' Creator Speaks Out": "Figuring out which shows are binge-worthy is tricky for a network or online service," says Stephen Winzenburg, author of *Putting on the Hits: How Networks Program Your Favorite TV Shows*. "Some titles that are heavily promoted and build broad interest, such as *House of Cards*, can draw large numbers of bingers ... while other series like *Community* do well with the more traditional week-by-week online airing" (Jarvey). Some wonder whether this style of release is an experiment or whether it will become the norm for all streaming services (Hulu currently does not release this way, while Netflix and Amazon Prime do). For now, the decision appears to come down to both style of content (series v. serial) as well as distribution location. On May 28, 2015 NBC was the first network to release all 13-episodes of the first season of *Aquarius* online while also airing the drama each week on linear broadcast TV. Perhaps this combination release style will work well for the future of television, but for now broadcast television is taking a back seat to streamers, allowing them to experiment with different types of distribution and attempting methods that become tested and approved. However content will be released in the coming years, creators will have to adapt to their show's release, understanding that how a viewer interacts with content changes the nature and reception of it. While I personally have no idea what make something "binge-worthy," if someone manages to figure that out they will most likely be incredibly successful. Making content "binge-able" probably has to do with a change to the narrative, like in *Orange Is the New Black* where the narrative is not constrained to the usual format of serial television (self contained episodes with climactic endings). It will be interesting to see in the coming years if binge-watching changes how television content is formatted, or if it stays as an alternate way of watching television without lasting impacts on content.

Wild West of Television: Streaming Pushing Boundaries?

In 1972 the comedian George Carlin introduced a monologue entitled “Seven Words You Can Never Say on Television,” which included words considered highly inappropriate and unsuitable for broadcast on public airwaves in the United States. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) was formed years earlier in 1934 to regulate communications by radio, television, wire satellite, and cable in all states and it is still, to this day, a violation of federal law to “air obscene programming at any time or indecent programming or profane language from 6am to 10pm [...] the FCC may revoke a station license, impose a monetary forfeiture or issue a warning if a station airs obscene, indecent, or profane material” (“Obscene, Indecent, and Profane Broadcasts”), which includes all of the “seven words” Carlin invoked. Broadcast networks (ABC, CBS, NBC, etc.) are governed by the FCC, which requires they are careful about presenting bad language, sexual and adult situations, and questionable political and societal motives. Basic Cable networks (like ESPN, MTV, Bravo, TBS, etc.) have sponsors and belong to conglomerates that follow established rules, so they tend to follow some of the basic FCC content rules (like cussing and nudity). HBO, Showtime, and the other “premium” channels (aka no commercials) are not governed by the FCC, which explains why *Game of Thrones* and *Masters of Sex* seem incapable of going an entire episode without an exposed body. Because consumers have to pay for these networks, they are aware that the content could be sensitive to viewers and most shows provide necessary warnings before airing episodes. Digital and streaming content is also not governed by the FCC. Here there are literally no rules and programming is developed with specific audiences in mind; they know what their audience

wants thanks to data mining and they produce that content directly, with all the explicit elements included. Online, there is a sense that “the more outrageous, unique, and niche-oriented, the better” (Miyamoto), as online programming is not dependent upon advertising approval but more interested in appealing to their subscriber base. Perhaps that is alluring about streaming to content creators: the opportunity to push boundaries with their content and appeal to smaller, more specific audiences.

Take *Orange Is the New Black*, for example. Like HBO or Showtime, Netflix is not bound to laws governing nudity or cussing, and is able to “depict its characters’ relationships progressing between the sheets” (Matthews). The show has become provocative in its portrayal of sexual relationships between the female inmates of Litchfield. There is nothing romantic or mysterious about these trysts, but rather messy and complicated and incredibly believable. In the past, onscreen female nudity has been discussed as objectifying and erotic, designed to bring pleasure to male viewers—in fact, a large portion of feminist film theory (see Laura Mulvey) relies upon the idea of the male as spectator and the woman as erotic object—but in *Orange Is the New Black*, Kohan appeals to a specific, mostly female audience, proving that not all sex scenes have to be sexy and that the female body can be unattractive onscreen and still add to the narrative. While Netflix has not released any audience demographics, based off of the series’ success in the awards circuit and wide “buzz” on social media and industry sites, *Orange is the New Black* manages to reach a wider audience than the primarily female slant would have you expect; in an interview Cindy Holland, Original Content VP for Netflix, confided that the audience has “only barely tipped female” proving that “there can be quite passionate and large audiences for content that on the surface isn’t mainstream at all” (Rose).

For one, the predominantly female cast is diverse in make-up, focusing on a multi-cultural, socioeconomically diverse cast full of LGBT characters. Netflix has provided a platform for stories that don't reflect the majority, and audience members are engaging with them, even though most of Netflix's subscribers are white, educated, well-off individuals within the 25-44 demographic¹². Without advertisers to appease, the executives for Netflix's original content are able to allow showrunners/creators the freedom to tap into storylines and characters that are outside of the "mainstream," which, since the Network Era, has been defined by what sells and whether or not the FCC will allow it.

For creators, streaming provides a new opportunity to tell stories that aren't currently considered network appropriate. While the standards for what is allowed on broadcast have slipped over the years, particularly in reaction to audience numbers declining¹³, many networks still have to uphold rules that they consider "archaic," and that impacts the stories that appear on broadcast—particularly basic cable and network—television. Some stories, like Amazon Prime's *Transparent*, the critically acclaimed story of a father's transition to womanhood, are provided more freedom on streaming sites where they aren't bound by ratings, advertisers, or the need to attract a large audience. For other shows like Netflix's *Arrested Development* streaming has provided a second chance, an opportunity to continue a popular story that was overrun by a new trend of comedy. And for others, like Hulu's *11.22.63*, a Steven King adaptation executive produced by J.J. Abrams that falls into "genre" television that is usually confined to SyFy (though Hulu might be shooting itself in the foot by not releasing all of its

¹² Busis, Hillary

¹³ Lieberman, David

content in a dump, like other streaming sites¹⁴). Niche programming has found a home online, which has allowed for diversity in storytelling. While there may be far too much television available right now, the numerous platforms for distribution allow for content that wouldn't have a chance in a world where overnight ratings reign supreme. For creators, this actually affects where their program "fits" – certain modes of storytelling might not work for a specific show. *Orange Is the New Black* benefits from a "dump" release that allows its ensemble cast to shine, whereas *Grey's Anatomy* needs the drama that comes at the end of every episode, pulling audience members along for the next week. In *Distribution Revolution*, writer-producer Felicia D. Henderson (*Gossip Girl*, *Everybody Hates Chris*) speaks to this choice: "now, as you prepare your pitch, particularly if you are not pitching a relationship-driven idea, you know your ideas have to lend themselves to a website presence, possible video game presence, and how your series can be advertised and marketed on iTunes" (Curtin, Holt, Sanson). For creators there is more freedom of platform, but also more to consider, as creating a show requires having an understanding of the digital world it will fit into. Up to this point, it also appears that series (same characters, different story, like *NCIS*) television is not as popular for streaming platforms as serial (a single story broken into episodes, like *Mad Men*) television. While series television is very binge-able (watching *Bones* while trudging through math homework was a favorite high school past-time of mine), Netflix and other streamers have not invested as much money in content like *The Big Bang Theory*; content that is intended to appeal to a broad audience and keep production costs low. Perhaps more serialized television is complimented by the ability to watch episodes whenever, however, or maybe it is too early to tell, as streaming

¹⁴ Surette, Tim

networks have been putting their best foot-forward, creating content that is more cinematic in scope in order to compete with networks and cable companies that have an established presence in the television world. It will be interesting to see in the next couple of years whether programming will become more segmented by brand and platform, or whether companies will try to do what NBC did with *Aquarius* and experiment with storytelling through different distribution strategies.

Transmedia Storytelling and Viewer Participation: A Problem of Control?

NBC's experimentation with a binge-release wasn't as successful as they wanted it to be. While *Aquarius* has been picked up for a second season, "NBC is unlikely to extend its binge-watching experiment for the second season [...] though [they will] not rule out trying the approach for other series" (Richwine). Perhaps this decision has to do with numbers: "about 94 percent of viewers watched *Aquarius* on traditional linear television, and 6 percent online. The median age of online viewers was 35, about 15 years younger than the audience on the network" (Richwine). Despite pulling back from a binge-release, *Aquarius* will no doubt remain involved in the online world: click on the NBC website and you will find "highlight" clips from every episode, behind the scenes, trailers, photos, official blog posts, etc. and that is just the content released by the network, never mind the fan sites! Creating content for streaming purposes is now essential to marketing a show, network, cable, streaming or otherwise. Loyal viewers want to be able to access as much content as possible, and it is often the job of the creators to provide (or at least supervise) such content, to ensure that the tone of the story is upheld all the way through marketing. Transmedia storytelling, which is "the technique of

telling a single story or story experience across multiple platforms and formats using current digital technologies” (“Transmedia Storytelling”), has utilized streaming capabilities to transform the television experience. *Gossip Girl* is a prime example of this: because the series is defined by technology (Gossip Girl is a seemingly omniscient blogger; the characters use the digital world to maintain power and status), the creative team made an effort to expand the show’s reach with transmedia extensions, like a Facebook social media climbing game and encouraging fan involvement through remix videos. In “*Gossip Girl*, Transmedia Technologies,” a chapter written for *How to Watch Television* (Thompson & Mittel), Louisa Stein remarks that for *Gossip Girl*, transmedia storytelling goes further than online viewer participation and writes the awareness of viewer participation into the series:

But while it’s easy to recognize *Gossip Girl*’s more overtly interactive transmedia extensions like the Social Climbing game as key places for immersive viewer participation, what’s perhaps more remarkable is how *Gossip Girl* embeds invitations to digital interaction into the television text itself. Indeed, *Gossip Girl*’s transmedia dimensions extend participatory invitations already at work in the televisual text of the series [...] For *Gossip Girl*, the series’ emphasis on the status of televisual text as representation continually invites viewer participation. At key moments, the series’ visual language calls attention to its status as televised fiction and artifice by interrupting or freezing the image, creating an aesthetic of the interrupted process of the celluloid film (Stein).

Gossip Girl is incredibly aware of its audience: young, connected, and engaged. The drama is written and produced to encourage viewer participation because that is what their viewers

want, how they enjoy television. In this age of twitter and Facebook, recognizing the demands of audience members is more important than ever, because how they interact with a television text is often a key factor in how well it does: “Neilson’s own research shows how social TV amplifies the conversation and impacts ratings. Technology has created the tools that allow the user to interact and gamify content as never before (location-based, virtual goods, augmented reality, QR codes, etc.). Fan’s familiarity with and desire to experience TV content across devices other than TV has exploded” (Hsia). For *Gossip Girl* the transmedia elements of the series were intentional, written in to reflect the narrative and engage their audience.

For some shows, like *Mad Men*, creators find themselves in a situation where they haven’t accounted for transmedia, user-generated storytelling and run the risk of losing control. In his book *The Art of Immersion*, Frank Rose discusses tweets written by fans pretending to be the characters from *Mad Men*, like this post by “Betty Draper,” the frustrated suburban housewife married to Don Draper: “On back porch, opening jars of fireflies, releasing them into nite air. Beautiful things should be allowed to go free” (Rose). While poetic and very much in character, “neither the producers of the show nor the network that carries it had anything to do with putting the characters on twitter. *Mad Men* on TV might be all about command and control, but on Twitter it became a sense-and-respond case study: What happens when viewers start seizing bits of the story and telling it themselves?” (Rose). The twitter accounts bearing copyrighted character names were shut down within the month, but by bringing television into the digital world, creators and networks have invited audiences into the stories they are working to tell. When entertainment can be consumed how and when a viewer pleases, controlling the narrative is not a large step forward.

In a command-and-control world, we know who's telling the story; it's the author. But digital media have created an authorship-crisis. Once the audience is free to step into the fiction and start directing events, the entire edifice of twentieth-century mass media begins to crumble [...] An author can still speak to an audience of millions, but the communication no longer goes just one way. Newspapers and magazines don't just report events anymore; they become forums for discussing them. Movies and TV shows cease to be couch fodder and become catalysts for the imagination. Ad people (they're not just men anymore) begin to realize they need to stop preaching to consumers and start listening them. That's what "sense and respond" means – a dialogue (Rose).

Our current era of television is firmly planted in "sense and respond" rather than "command and control." Television is now a dialogue, and the majority of discussion is taking place online, surrounding shows that are streaming and pushing boundaries. The challenge for show creators is in allowing their content to breathe, to have a life and a voice outside of themselves, while also maintaining legal and creative control. With so many voices invested in content, this might be impossible going forward, but for now many showrunners and executives keep a sharp eye on social media to be up to date in the conversations fans are having, though they have to be careful not to allow opinions of others to sway their creative intent too much. This is one of the benefits of releasing in a binge-dump: when Jenji Kohan sees what people are saying about *Orange Is the New Black*, the entire season is released and there is no wavering on the story she's chosen to present. Audience voices may be loud, but the creative control demands a firm narrative that is independent of crowd control. As more content is distributed online and companies experiment with new forms of distribution, it will be interesting to see how

television changes to fit an audience that demands a certain amount of agency. Whether or not we can create truly interactive, transmedia storytelling will rely upon the ingenuity of future creators and the technology that is available to them.

Chapter III

Empowered but Divided – Television Audiences Reaction to Streaming



There is this shared, idyllic image most middle-class Americans have of a family all gathered around a television set, sharing the experience together. Most likely it's because we have all seen images like this in early advertising. Rockwellian in character, the family is assembled together in the living room while the children are sprawled on the floor, as the mother and father sit on the couch, all staring expectantly, rapturously at the television box in front of them. This image is straight out of the Network Era, but is no longer the image that comes to mind when you think of television, at least, not for me. Instead I receive a series of flashes: on the couch with my family, using my phone on the train, sitting in bed with my laptop, propping my tablet up in the kitchen. Television is no longer confined to the living room, but instead is available wherever technology is present to support streaming. Television's image began to change with the invention of portable DVD players in 1998, when individuals were able to take their favorite shows on the road with them, but now that so much of the population carries around personal screens in their pockets, television is not limited to a single

screen, but rather lives in the digital space, creating a virtual living room, of sorts, where conversation takes place in online spaces and the shared, public experience of watching television becomes personal and private. Audiences adapt alongside technology, as we've seen in the transition from the Network Era to our current time, where viewers have more agency and choice than ever before. The ability to stream content has altered our perception of television, perhaps more than any other technological advancement, as it has increased viewer agency, created a trend toward the privatization of a public experience and caused a gap between generations media habits.

Too Much Content, But It's All For You – Viewer Agency

Despite claims that there is simply 'too much TV,' Ted Sarandos (Netflix Chief Content Officer) feels differently from the majority of the industry: "'Is there too much TV?' Sarandos asked, *Entertainment Weekly* reported, 'I'll pause for a second... we don't believe there's too much TV. And if there is too much TV, someone else is going to have to slow down, because we have big plans for 2016 and beyond'" (Kline). Sarandos's perspective makes sense if your company is primarily a SVOD provider and secondarily creating original content: in order to continue their current business model, Netflix needs a large library of content to fuel subscribers desire for popular and current programming, while supporting their original content. While Netflix has done well for itself as a content creator, its primary role is to provide streaming content on demand, and the larger their library, the better for the company. The numbers might disagree with Sarandos slightly, as *The Hollywood Reporter* released a full list¹⁵

¹⁵ Goldberg, Lesley

of 1,400-plus primetime series that aired last year (412 original scripted series)... that's a LOT of television, and it looks like they're not counting content that was released direct to streaming or during off hours. Network executives are wary of such high numbers, and John Landgraf (FX Networks CEO) predicts that scripted series output will decline in 2017 in reaction¹⁶. The sheer number of content available makes a single viewer more powerful than ever before as networks, cable companies, and streamers are forced to wrestle for audience attention. Long gone are the days of network-controlled television, because now it is up to the viewer whether or not a show is successful. For example, in 2002 the science fiction cult classic *Farscape* was cancelled un-expectantly by SyFy Channel (who had previously signed on for another season). In reaction, angry fans launched the expected "Save *Farscape*" campaign, as was made popular by '90s grassroots efforts to save television shows. The difference between those failed attempts and this example of fan driven success was the availability of the Internet. Using chat rooms and home-video, the "scapers" managed to raise enough money to provide The Henson Company and SyFy the funds to film a 3 hour mini-series to finish off the series. While popular, *Farscape* was a show that appealed to a niche audience, so it is startling that such a campaign worked, but with the Internet to unite their voices, a small niche-audience was able to give a series the ending it deserved. This trend of re-inventing old classics based off of fan-followings has become even more popular in the last couple of years, with shows like *Full House* and *Gilmore Girls* getting revamped by Netflix. Creators and executives are now aware of niche audiences and are purposefully tapping into audience nostalgia surrounding classic shows. Those small audiences have a voice on the Internet, and while in 1995 "NBC canceled *The Single*

¹⁶ Goldberg, Lesley

Guy, airing in the plum spot between *Friends* and *Seinfeld*, after two seasons [with an audience of 20 million] this year, NBC's *Blindspot* has been one of the broadcast networks' few hits, with about 8 million viewers" (Paskin). Audience numbers are dropping because they're spanning out over multiple platforms, dividing their attentions, but a single audience member is more valuable than ever before if 8 million views this year comparable to 20 million in the mid-90's.

On top of network, cable, and streaming content there is also user-generated content. While YouTube is attempting to join the ranks of SVOD with "Youtube Red," it has been a primary home for peer or user generated content since its inception in 2005. Now "Youtube is the world's most popular online video site, with users watching 4 billion hours worth of video each month, and uploading 72 hours worth of video every minute" (Dickey). If you think there's a lot of television content, that doesn't even begin to cover what's on youtube. While I do believe that user-generated content is a different beast from the television we've been discussing so far, it is important to mention because sites like YouTube and Vimeo garner a fair amount of attention from viewers: "according to Crowdtap, partnered with Ipsos Media surveying 839 millennial men and women online, millennials reported spending roughly 18 hours of their day engaged with media [...] whether it's called peer-created content, consumer content, or user generated content, the research found that millennials spend 30% of their media consumption time with content that is created by their peers" (Loechner). This is a space that consumers have made their own, interacting directly with the narratives they take in either through commentary, imitation, parody, or indirectly. Youtube and Vimeo provide audiences with the opportunity to become creators, and in doing so have created a space where young professionals can try their hand or audience members can wrestle with their opinions. This is

the next step in audience interaction: the consumers becoming the creators. In addition, many professionals post on user-generated sites to engage with their audiences. For example, the Emmy award winning “Lizzie Bennet Diaries” (a vlog style adaptation of Jane Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice*), is produced by “Pemberly Digital,” an online video production company that works alongside creators like PBS. The series is released entirely on YouTube where it offers a multi-platform viewing experience alongside similar programming done by students and amateur producers. While these series usually don’t pose competition for professional content, they are distributed on the same platform and given unique opportunities to interact with, and learn from, more commercially successful content that distributes and interacts within the same realm. Youtube and Vimeo could also be considered areas of “social media,” alongside Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, etc. where audience members are able to interact directly with their favorite creators. As we discussed in an earlier chapter, it is important for creators to know where the line is between interacting with, and being inspired by, their fans and losing control of their content. Audiences will naturally push for more interaction, more control, because technology has developed to put increasingly more power in their hands and this is a trend that we have gotten used to: a single tweet send directly to a showrunner could be all it takes to see your favorite couple come together. There is power in the consumer voice, and user-generated, social-media outlets provide us with definitive examples of this.

Proverbial Water Cooler – Privatization of the Public Experience

It’s interesting how many cultural images surround television. Earlier we had the family in the living room, and now we turn our attention to the co-workers surrounding the water

cooler, discussing the previous evening's big television event. This is an image that many journalists have already written an obituary for, including Sarah Rainey of The Telegraph:

There used to be a time when, once a week, colleagues would gather around the water cooler to discuss the previous night's episode of a certain television show. When you would be left, mouth gaping, as a bombshell was dropped at the end of an episode of your favourite series; knowing you had to wait a full seven days to find out what happens next. When nobody but TV critics could publish spoilers; when all anyone could talk about for months on end was how on earth that season's drama was going to conclude. Those days are long gone" (Rainey).

But I would argue that the water cooler talk is not quite dead, rather adapted. Because of the introduction of binge-watching and streaming content, very few people watch television at the same pace. While there are still those who prefer to watch their favorite shows week by week, taking in the drama and waiting for the resolution of the next episode, as we've discussed, a fair number of audience members watch whatever they want whenever they want. For some shows, this can be detrimental (can you imagine what *Game of Thrones* would be like if someone was constantly spoiling the next episode?), while for others audience members have adapted. New social conventions have popped up surrounding television, like checking to make sure which episode your friend is on before blurting out a spoiler, or joining a discussion online with viewers who are on pace with you. Of course, it is impossible to keep our online, bustling world free from spoilers, but there does seem to be a growth in the consideration of others when it comes to discussing television. That water-cooler conversation is not dead; it just might look something more like this:

Steve: Oh did you see the new episode of *Scandal Last Night*?

Jessica: No, I was too busy bingeing *House of Cards*.

Steve: I thought that didn't come out for another week.

Jessica: All episodes were released last night.

Steve: Dang it, I still have to finish season 3.

Jessica: Not the best. Push through it but don't expect much.

Individuals must be more careful of one another's viewing habits, changing the conversation if a topic doesn't stick or sharing a vague opinion until they've caught up to one another. If they're looking for deep, impassioned discussion about the episode's cultural importance, or something like that, perhaps the break room water cooler was never the place for such conversation and that particular viewer should take their discussion online. The water cooler conversation has lulled in the office, but it is alive and thriving on the Internet. While viewers watch at their own pace, they can tweet or chat with friends and strangers alike, and those discussions are often vibrant.

Earlier I likened binge-watching television to reading a novel, James Poniewozik, writer for *The New York Times*, takes that concept to a higher level, claiming that streaming television has created a whole new, interactive television genre:

HBO series like *Deadwood*—which jettisoned the ad breaks and content restrictions of network TV—have been compared to Dickens' serial novels. Watching a streaming series is even more like reading a book—you receive it as a seamless whole, you set your own schedule—but it's like video gaming. Binge-watching is immersive. It's user directed. It creates a dynamic that I call "The Suck": that narcotic, tidal feeling of getting

drawn into a show and letting it wash over you for hours. “Play next episode” is the default and it’s so easy. It can even be competitive, even. Your friends are posting their progress, hour by hour, on social media. (“OMG #JessicaJones episode 10!! Woke up at 3am to watch!”) Each episode becomes a level to unlock (Poniewozik).

Poniewozik combines the experience of reading a book and playing a video game to describe streaming television. It’s user-interactive and controlled but the narrative is set forth for you and it is up to you how you engage with it. Binge-watching is perhaps closer to reading a serial novel (like a *Harry Potter* book) than a single novel, as the “suck” occurs in the viewers inability to refrain from pressing the “continue” button, needing to continue with the story immediately. There is a social element to watching streaming content too. While you may be physically distant from another person, our personal devices keep us so interconnected that there is no real distance from discussion or competition. Since moving away to college, my brother and I have set up streaming dates where we watch the same content while sitting on Skype together. One of my father’s and my favorite activities is binge-watching a show into the delirious hours of the morning together. Often while I watch television, I have Facebook or Tumblr open on the screen beside it, interacting with my friends. The public sphere has extended in many ways. Thanks to technology, the only way to fully disconnect from the public experience is to turn off all electronics and remove oneself from company. While streaming may seem like a private activity, it is often just as social as having a gathering at your house to watch the latest episode of *Survivor*, because if you’re looking for a community, at any hour of the day, they are waiting for you online.

The Power of Millennials – Generational Divides in Viewing Experience

There is so much data available concerning how people are watching television. Neilson informs us that audiences are still watching broadcast television on a TV, while articles are published in *Variety* and *Deadline Hollywood* in increasing numbers that point to a decline in television viewership: “the average person watched about 141 hours of live television per month in the third quarter of 2014, compared to 147 hours in the third quarter of 2013” (“Fewer People Than Ever Are Watching Television,” Luckerson). While there is no consensus on how quickly national viewership habits are changing, there is no doubt that change is in the air, and the general trend is taking eyes off of traditional television sets and re-routing them towards portable screens, like laptops or tablets. As we discussed earlier, the key demographic for television is 18 to 49 year olds, and a very large portion of that demographic falls within the millennial generation, which is defined as anyone born from the early 1980s to around 2000s. While that is a rather large gap, this age group is defined by the technology that has grown alongside them. While some remember using floppy discs, all were of an age to adapt quickly to personal computers. This is an age group that embraces technology, generally proficient in multitasking online, watching television for both news and entertainment, and engaging with the Internet as their primary source of information. Millennials are coming of age in a time of television change, and are often pointed to as the source of the change. While data shows that young folks are watching television, “they’re watching their shows after seven days, on platforms that don’t generally count towards advertising [...] nearly a quarter of millennials’ viewing occurred via the Internet, and 30 percent happened outside those seven days, including regular video-on-demand watched via cable boxes”(Schwindt). This trend wouldn’t be

too alarming, if it wasn't that "that 30 percent of nontraditional viewing is the fastest-growing part of the media landscape [...] so it's essential for networks to figure out a way to count those untraditional views" (Schwindt). The fear surrounding the millennial generation is growing. While it is alarming to networks that a fair portion of (1/4) of their viewing is occurring outside of the traditional broadcast realm, this is exciting for companies like Netflix, Amazon, and Hulu who are making money off of subscriptions and delayed-viewing. Millennials have grown up watching television where they want it and when they want it, so networks need to figure out how to adapt to their consumer's needs, or that 30 percent will grow beyond their control.

Neilson, in an attempt to clarify the scare surrounding millennials, has begun measuring millennials in three different stages of life, claiming that their media habits are distinct and different (which might be right on the mark considering an 18-year-old is generally at a very different place in life than a 34-year-old)¹⁷. They break the three stages of life into: 1) Dependent Adults (living in someone else's home), 2) On Their Own (living in their own home without children), and 3) Starting a family (living in their own home with children). The graphic on page 62 (please reference) is the result of their research (2016). According to Neilson, dependent millennials are watching less live TV than the average, which is really no surprise considering all the fear associated with millennials turning their attention to alternate modes of distribution. Millennials who live on their own actually watch less traditional television than any other group, and they have the highest interaction with multimedia devices and to SVOD services, meaning they spend the most amount of time with TV connected devices. And, very little surprise here, the Starting a Family group watches the most live TV and make the greatest

¹⁷ "Facts of Life...."

use of the TV screen. This graph is important, however, because it recognizes that within a single generation there are varying uses of television. Part of the fear is founded in truth: the younger millennials are abandoning traditional television, especially once they move out of the house. Perhaps this is because of costs, or maybe it has to do with time and ease of access, as that is the generation attempting to settle in to the working world and is therefore, on average, pretty busy outside of the house¹⁸.

We've all seen the numbers, and the articles, and understand where the panic for traditional forms of television providers stems from: the millennial generation watches television very differently than older generations and if the trend continues that way, broadcast will have to adapt. As we established earlier, though, Neilson is not always the most reliable form of information regarding audiences. I decided to do some of my own research through social media, posting a link on Facebook to a simple poll (Google forms) about television habits and asking my peers and professors to describe their interaction with television. Participants were asked to identify themselves as "over 30" and "under 30," and out of a survey size of 215 individuals 32.9% of participants were over 30 and the rest, 67.1%, under 30 (17-29). My desire to interact directly with my peers stemmed from the realization that while I am of the millennial generation, my television habits might not be the norm. I was surprised to find, however, that there are trends that are similar to what I imagined they would be. For example, for the under 30 group, 58.7% of participants said that they prefer to watch television "streaming on a computer by myself," which supports what Neilson has noted about early and mid millennial streaming habits. With the rise of network stand-alone packages becoming

¹⁸ "Facts of Life..."

widely available, I asked whether people would buy a subscription to a single network (like ABC) and the answer, for the under 30 group, was 71.3% “no,” which was actually similar to the over 30’s response with 87.1% against (remember, smaller test group). This is actually unsurprising to me as consumers currently feel they can get a better deal by investing in an SVOD service like Netflix, which hosts many networks/cable companies, than declaring loyalty to any one network. I think that we will see a trend towards bundling online packages in order to spark consumer interest in stand-alone streaming deals. One of the most interesting responses was to the question “Do you use illegitimate links (aka pirated content) to keep up with your favorite shows?” to which the majority of the under 30 group (66.4%) answered “yes,” while the vast majority of the over 30 group (87.1%) answered “no.” This is fascinating to me because it highlights a significant generational difference. Individuals who have been raised with the internet, who came of age knowing how to find links to whatever content they need, don’t seem to have a moral reaction against illegal links. When I asked a friend about this one, she declared that television companies make enough money off of her anyway, the occasional pirated episode of *Brooklyn 99* is not going to make a difference for them but improves her day significantly. While this doesn’t do much to help the stereotype of millennials as selfish, it does point to a distinct difference in how television is viewed between a generation who grew up partially being told when they were allowed to watch what and a generation who has embraced the anything anytime model. For the older folks who participated in the survey, their choices indicated that they too have adapted to new forms of viewing. While their answers were not as extreme as the younger group of millennials, some indicated that they do enjoy binge-watching (15.9%). Viewers who grew up at the tail end of the Network Era are adapting to new forms of

viewing as television providers adapt to keep up with changes in technology and younger, more outspoken audiences. This is an age of instant gratification when it comes to media enjoyment, and streaming television has encouraged a divide between generations: one can wait for next Tuesday's episode, and the other wants it now.

Conclusion

Changing But Far From Deceased

The television business has changed from provider-driven to consumer-driven. For broadcasters and operators – who used to decide whether content lived or died – the Internet has proven to be a most disruptive development, looming menacingly over their profit stream. The Internet is changing the TV business forever [...] TV has an incredibly power to bring people together, but getting people to invest in its character and their stories. That is not likely to change, whether episodes are carefully metered or binge-watched. People desperately want to know what happens to Walter White [*Breaking Bad*]. But they want to know at a time that is best for them, not best for the network, and they want the world to know what they thought about it (Montpetit).

Through our discussion of television we have heard the terms “adapt” and “change” too many times to count. While we have not been able to settle on a term to define this era we are currently in—hard to define the present—there is an understanding in the industry that our current time is marked by a need to reconstruct the old and adjust to the new. Streaming has created new outlets for distribution and creation. It has challenged the societal norms that govern our understanding of television and provided room for more niche programming, focused at specific audiences. New modes of interacting with media have developed from our increasingly digital world, and while it appears that audiences are more fragmented than ever, television still provides common ground for discussion or disagreement, and the digital world has empowered audiences with more agency than they’ve ever experienced. While this era is

marked by change and uncertainty, it is an exciting time for television, as no one quite knows what to expect next. Who would have thought that binge-watching, previously considered lazy and indulgent, would be tailored to, even encouraged? Isn't it exciting to see the boundaries that are being pushed by online spaces where laws and regulations can't follow, where stories that used to be minority issues become mainstream entertainment? Is it thrilling or terrifying to think that consumers have some say in the narratives they enjoy?

Over the next couple of years it will be interesting to see what the narrowing of distribution will do to diversity and content. Right now, it seems that streaming services have provided a space for diverse stories, like with Netflix's *Orange Is The New Black*. When the company is not beholden to creating "broad" content, meant to appeal to a wide range of audience members, they have the freedom to invest in stories that push boundaries, focusing on characters that are not expected to appeal to white, middle-class America. Hopefully we'll see an increase of more diverse forms of storytelling. Networks have been making strides towards more diverse content, like with ABC's *How to Get Away With Murder*, *Blackish*, *Dr. Ken*, and *Fresh Off The Boat*. While Networks might not have the power they once did, and are facing more competition than ever, they still possess an incredible amount of power considering they belong to large conglomerates that own many broadcast outlets. In the coming years they will have to adapt to embrace streaming technologies, but once they are able to compete with streaming services and cable companies in the online sphere, and have a better grasp on their ratings, they can vary the content they're investing in. It will also be interesting to see how broadcast practices and standards continue to change over the years,








especially if the dominant form of distribution in the future is digital, not broadcast. That change will have a direct impact upon the content networks are capable of producing.

While no one can say for certain what the future of television holds, individuals, informed or otherwise, have guessed. In the survey I performed for this thesis, a strong majority of participants under the age of 30 assumed that in 10 years we will not watch television in the same way, that while the screen will still exist in some (larger) form, most content will be streamed or projected. The idea of television as content seems to persist, but how we watch has been irrevocably changed by streaming technologies and if the tech continues to push forward, the assumption is that viewer habits will follow. For those individuals over 30 the vocal majority believes that the television set, screen and all, will still be around in 10 years and we will watch in more or less the same manner: a divide in generational opinions that we can't be truly surprised by. From those individuals whose lives revolve around television, we have varying opinions. Ted Sarandos claims "networks and cable channels will evolve into something like web channels, just like radio networks evolved into TV networks, and TV networks evolved into cable channels [...] Currently the problem is that network brands don't mean anything. If they want to survive, broadcasters need to figure out how to make their brands more meaningful. Cable is better at this. Comedy Central, for example, will be very powerful in this new world" (Curtin, Holt, Sanson). Spoken like a man who runs a streaming service. Although to be fair, he does speak with knowledge of how television has evolved so far. I would not be surprised if we ended up with "web channels" in the future, but that will require a total revamp of the industry's current business model. Director-Producer and President of the DGA Paris Barclay (*The Bastard Executioner*, *Sons of Anarchy*) thinks that "The network

television audience will shrink by half [...] in the next five years. It will be dramatic. Everyone will panic. The networks will try some desperate measures, but I think audiences will continue to decline, and finally the advertisers will wake up and say, “Why are we spending so much money? There are only two people watching this show.” Advertisers will eventually move over to the other guys [distributors like Amazon and Netflix], and this will probably provide a little more room for creativity” (Curtin, Holt, Sanson). Perhaps a more dramatic picture of the future, but not implausible. Netflix and Amazon have already begun creating content at a level that is arguably more cinematic and interesting than the networks, so only time will tell if advertisers choose to stick with what the familiar, like television audiences, or take a chance on innovation. Personally, I’m divided. Television is changing too rapidly to have any assurance of what the future will look like. I do believe, however, that—following the trend—television will mature alongside its technology. We are already seeing dramatic changes in the way people are watching television and the content that is being created in reaction, so it’s only a matter of time before the industry evolves to match its product. Perhaps this will take the form of Internet television, as Sarandos believes. I think that this is highly probable actually: television will become digital instead of broadcast, with each company distributing their own content. I don’t think that screens will disappear, but will actually get bigger, as audiences seem to prefer large screen viewing over small screen. The ability to connect your computer, or streaming device like Roku or Apple TV, will become even easier, perhaps taking the form of in-home projectors or easier cable-free connection. Television will continue to adapt to technology, that is really the only thing we can be sure of as it follows the trend of history thus far. As someone who plans to spend the next fifty or so years involved in the creation of television, I have to

believe that it is neither dead nor dying, but instead ready for the next big change that will revolutionize our current system, whether it comes from the streaming world or no.

GOING THROUGH CHANGES: FACTS ABOUT MILLENNIAL LIFE STAGES

	STAGE 1	STAGE 2	STAGE 3		
					
	DEPENDENT ADULTS <i>Living in someone else's home</i>	ON THEIR OWN <i>Living in their own home without children</i>	STARTING A FAMILY <i>Living in their own home with children</i>	ALL PERSONS 18-34 YEARS OLD	
	PENETRATION				
	Subscription-based Video On Demand	64%	78%	58%	66%
	Multimedia Device	28%	39%	25%	30%
	Laptop/PC	74%	81%	64%	73%
	Tablet	67%	54%	65%	63%
	DAILY TIME SPENT (H:MM)				
	Live TV	2:32	2:06	3:16	2:45
	TV-Connected Device	1:11	1:32	1:23	1:23
	TOTAL	3:44	3:38	4:40	4:08
	RADIO				
	Weekly Reach % (Cumulative)	90%	89%	92%	
	SHARE OF LISTENING:				
	Pop Contemporary Hit Radio	12%	14%	12%	13%
	Spanish Language Radio (Total)	10%	5%	16%	11%
	HOURS OF DIGITAL DEVICE USAGE (NOV 2015)				
	PC	24.5	31.6	28.1	27.3
	Smartphone	44.7	46.9	41.9	45.5
	Tablet	7.6	16.0	13.5	12.5
	TOTAL	76.8	94.5	83.5	85.2

Source: Q4 2015 Total Audience Report

Copyright © 2016 The Nielsen Company

References

Bennett, James, and Niki Strange. *Television as Digital Media*. Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2011.

Print.

Busis, Hillary. "'Orange Is the New Black': Are You Watching?" *Entertainment Weekly (EW)*.

Entertainment Weekly, 15 July 2013. Web. 23 Apr. 2016.

Butler, Jeremy. "An Introduction to Television Structures and Systems: Ebb and Flow in the

Postnetwork Era." *Television: Critical Methods and Applications*. 4th ed. New York:

Routledge, 2012. N. pag. Print.

"Comcast." *IfM - Comcast/NBCUniversal, LLC*. Institute of Media and Communications Policy, 11

Apr. 2016. Web. 28 Apr. 2016.

Curtin, Michael, Jennifer Holt, and Kevin Sanson. *Distribution Revolution: Conversations about*

the Digital Future of Film and Television. Oakland: U of California, 2014. Print.

Curtin, Michael. "Matrix Media." *Television Studies after TV: Understanding Television in the*

Post-broadcast Era. Ed. Graeme Turner and Jinna Tay. New York: Routledge, 2009. 9-19.

Print.

Debrett, Mary. "Post Network, Post Broadcast: Television's Third Age." *New Media & Society*

13.1 (2011): 169-75. *JumboSearch*. Web. 10 Mar. 2016.

Dickey, Megan Rose. "The 22 Key Turning Points In The History Of YouTube." *Business Insider*.

Business Insider, Inc, 15 Feb. 2013. Web. 26 Apr. 2016.

Epstein, Zach. "Netflix Exec Explains 2 Reasons Why the Company Won't Release Shows on a

Weekly Schedule." *BGR*. BGR Media, 05 Feb. 2016. Web. 28 Apr. 2016.

"Facts Of Life: As They Move Through Life Stages, Millennials' Media Habits Are Different and Distinct." *Insights: The Neilson Company*. The Neilson Company, n.d. Web. 23 Apr. 2016.

Gilbert, Matthew. "Network TV Is Familiar, Competing Outlets Take All the Risks - The Boston Globe." *BostonGlobe.com*. The Boston Globe, 19 Sept. 2015. Web. 21 Apr. 2016.

Gillan, Jennifer. *Television and New Media: Must Click TV*. New York: Routledge, 2011. Print.

Goldberg, Lesley. "Proof of 'Too Much TV'? The Full List of 1,400-Plus Primetime Series That Aired Last Year." *The Hollywood Reporter*. The Hollywood Reporter, 27 Jan. 2016. Web. 27 Apr. 2016.

Greenberg, Julia. "Netflix Says Its Original Shows Bring In More Subscribers." *Wired.com*. Conde Nast Digital, 15 June 2015. Web. 25 Apr. 2016.

Herman, Karen. "TV History." *Capturing TV History Through Video Interviews*. Emmy Foundation, n.d. Web. 25 Apr. 2016.

Hsia, Lisa. "How Transmedia Storytelling Is Changing TV." *Mashable*. Mashable, 17 Nov. 2011. Web. 26 Apr. 2016.

Huddleston, Jr. Tom. "Survey: Pretty Much Everybody Is Binge-watching TV." *Fortune*. Fortune, 29 June 2015. Web. 25 Apr. 2016.

"Insights ." *The Total Audience Report: Q4 2015*. The Neilson Company, n.d. Web. 25 Apr. 2016.

James, Meg. "TV in Your Pocket Is the Next Small Thing." *Los Angeles Times*. Los Angeles Times, 01 Nov. 2005. Web. 25 Apr. 2016.

Jarvey, Natalie. "Backlash Brewing Against Binge TV as 'Orange Is the New Black' Creator Speaks Out." *The Hollywood Reporter*. The Hollywood Reporter, 27 May 2015. Web. 23 Apr. 2016.

- Kissel, Rick. "Ratings: 'Big Bang Theory' Up With Finale, But Down Vs. Last Year." *Variety*.
Variety, 08 May 2015. Web. 23 Apr. 2016.
- Kline, Daniel. "Is There Too Much TV? Netflix Doesn't Think So -- The Motley Fool." *The Motley Fool*. The Motley Fool, 17 Mar. 2016. Web. 27 Apr. 2016.
- Koblin, John. "How Many Scripted TV Shows in 2015? A Precise Number, and a Record." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 16 Dec. 2015. Web. 25 Apr. 2016.
- Kompare, Derek. "Reruns 2.0: Revising Repetition for Multiplatform Television Distribution." *Journal of Popular Film & Television* (2010): 79-83. JumboSearch. Web. 4 Nov. 2015.
- Lafayette, Jon. "7 Things You Need To Know About Neilson's New Tool." *The Business of Television Broadcasting and Cable*. New Bay Media, 30 Nov. 2015. Web. 25 Apr. 2016.
- Lieberman, David. "Broadcasters Tell FCC That Audience Decline Makes Indecency Rules Archaic." *Deadline*. Deadline Hollywood, 20 June 2013. Web. 22 Apr. 2016.
- Littleton, Cynthia. "TV's New Math: Networks Crunch Their Own Ratings to Track Multiplatform Viewing." *Variety*. Variety, 11 Feb. 2015. Web. 25 Apr. 2016.
- Loechner, Jack. "User Generated Content Preferred Over TV By Millennials." *MediaPost*.
MediaPost, 17 Mar. 2014. Web. 22 Apr. 2016.
- Lotz, Amanda D. *Beyond Prime Time: Television Programming in the Post-network Era*. New York: Routledge, 2009. Print.
- Lotz, Amanda D. *Television Will Be Revolutionized*. 2nd ed. N.p.: New York UP, 2014. Print.
- Luckerson, Victor. "Nielsen Ratings Could Become a Major Headache for Netflix." *Time*. Time, 19 Nov. 2014. Web. 28 Apr. 2016.

Matthews, Cate. "Here's Why 'Orange Is The New Black' Sex Scenes Are So Believable (NSFW)."

The Huffington Post. TheHuffingtonPost.com, 19 Sept. 2014. Web. 25 Apr. 2016.

McAlone, Nathan. "It Would Take 25 Days to Binge-watch All of the New Netflix Original

Content Coming out This Year." *Business Insider*. Business Insider, Inc, 06 Jan. 2016.

Web. 25 Apr. 2016.

McFarland, K.M. "Golden Globe Nominations Show Netflix Is Taking Over." *Wired.com*. Conde

Nast Digital, 10 Dec. 2015. Web. 28 Apr. 2016.

Miyamoto, Ken. "Broadcast, Cable, or Streaming Networks: What's Best for Your Idea? -

ScreenCraft." *ScreenCraft*. ScreenCraft, 18 Apr. 2016. Web. 25 Apr. 2016.

Montpetit, Marie Jose. "The Internet Is Changing the Definition of Television." *The Guardian*.

Guardian News and Media, 10 June 2014. Web. 25 Apr. 2016.

Murphy, Sheila C. *How Television Invented New Media*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 2011.

Print.

"New Star Trek Television Series Coming In 2017 To CBS All Access - CBS.com." *CBS*. CBS

Interactive, 2 Nov. 2015. Web. 25 Apr. 2016.

"Obscene, Indecent and Profane Broadcasts." *Federal Communications Commission*. Consumer

and Government Affairs, 11 Dec. 2015. Web. 23 Apr. 2016.

Paskin, Willa. "In the Streaming Age, Nothing's a Hit Anymore ." *Slate Magazine*. The Slate

Group, 12 Nov. 2015. Web. 25 Apr. 2016.

Pollit, Chad. "Content Is King, But Distribution Is Queen And She Wears The Pants." *Relevance*.

Relevance, 24 Oct. 2013. Web. 25 Apr. 2016.

Poniewozik, James. "Streaming TV Isn't Just a New Way to Watch. It's a New Genre." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 19 Dec. 2015. Web. 25 Apr. 2016.

Rainey, Sarah. "The Days Of Talking TV At The Water Cooler Are Over." *Business Insider*. Business Insider, Inc, 22 Jan. 2015. Web. 24 Apr. 2016.

Richwine, Lisa. "NBC Unlikely to Repeat Binge-watch Test for 'Aquarius'" *Reuters*. Thomson Reuters, 13 Aug. 2015. Web. 23 Apr. 2016.

Rose, Frank. *The Art of Immersion: How the Digital Generation Is Remaking Hollywood, Madison Avenue, and the Way We Tell Stories*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2011. Print.

Rose, Lacey. "Netflix's Original Content VP on Development Plans, Pilots, Late-Night and Rival HBO (Q&A)." *The Hollywood Reporter*. The Hollywood Reporter, 18 June 2014. Web. 25 Apr. 2016.

Roxborough, Scott. "MIPCOM: Why the World Loves 'Orange Is the New Black'" *The Hollywood Reporter*. The Hollywood Reporter, 15 Oct. 2014. Web. 24 Apr. 2016.

Schwindt, Oriana. "Millennials And TV: New Data Shows Young People Still Watching TV, But Not Always On TV." *International Business Times*. International Business Times, 20 Nov. 2015. Web. 23 Apr. 2016.

Smith, Chris. "The Netflix Effect: How Binge Watching Is Changing Television." *TechRadar*. Future PLC, 16 Jan. 2014. Web. 28 Apr. 2016.

"Solutions - Television." *Television Measurement*. The Neilson Company, n.d. Web. 28 Apr. 2016.

Steel, Emily, and Bill Marsh. "Millennials and Cutting the Cord." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 02 Oct. 2015. Web. 27 Apr. 2016.

Steel, Emily. "Nielsen Plays Catch-Up as Streaming Era Wreaks Havoc on TV Raters." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 02 Feb. 2016. Web. 25 Apr. 2016.

Stein, Louisa. "Gossip Girl, Transmedia Technologies." Ed. Jason Mittel. *How to Watch Television*. Ed. Ethan Thompson. New York: New York UP, 2013. 338-54. Print.

Stephens, Mitchell. "History of Television." *History of Television*. Grolier Encyclopedia, n.d. Web. 25 Apr. 2016.

Surette, Tim. "Why Hulu's Weekly Distribution Model Is Killing Its Original Programming." *TV.com*. CBS Interactive, 26 Apr. 2016. Web. 27 Apr. 2016.

Tietjen, Denali. "Content Wars: How Television Networks Are Fighting the Netflix Threat." *Forbes*. Forbes Magazine, 9 June 2015. Web. 25 Apr. 2016.

"Top 10's - Television." *Neilson TOPTEN*. The Neilson Company, n.d. Web. 25 Apr. 2016.

"Topic: Binge Watching in the U.S." *The Statist Portal*. Statista, n.d. Web. 24 Apr. 2016.

"Transmedia Storytelling." *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Foundation, 25 Mar. 2016. Web. 27 Apr. 2016.

Wallenstein, Andrew. "Netflix Ratings Revealed: New Data Sheds Light on Original Series' Audience Levels." *Variety*. Variety, 28 Apr. 2015. Web. 25 Apr. 2016.

Over 30 or Under 30?	How old are you?	What do you prefer?	Do you have a cable sat?	Do you prefer serial or s	Would you like a friend?	Do you use Instagram?	How do you feel about it?	Would you share it?	Do you have a television?	Please list three current	In Ten Years...	do you think you'll still watch cable boxes																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																										
410/2016 12:19:28 Under 30	410/2016 12:20:05 Under 30	410/2016 12:20:21 Under 30	410/2016 12:20:35 Under 30	410/2016 12:21:21 Under 30	410/2016 12:22:18 Under 30	410/2016 12:22:48 Under 30	410/2016 12:23:36 Under 30	410/2016 12:23:51 Under 30	410/2016 12:25:28 Under 30	410/2016 12:25:34 Under 30	410/2016 12:25:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:26:01 Under 30	410/2016 12:27:00 Under 30	410/2016 12:27:07 Under 30	410/2016 12:27:46 Over 30	410/2016 12:28:03 Under 30	410/2016 12:28:24 Under 30	410/2016 12:28:31 Under 30	410/2016 12:28:37 Under 30	410/2016 12:28:43 Under 30	410/2016 12:28:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:28:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:29:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:29:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:29:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:29:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:29:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:29:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:29:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:29:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:29:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:29:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:30:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:30:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:30:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:30:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:30:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:30:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:30:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:30:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:30:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:30:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:31:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:31:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:31:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:31:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:31:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:31:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:31:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:31:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:31:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:31:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:32:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:32:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:32:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:32:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:32:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:32:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:32:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:32:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:32:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:32:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:33:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:33:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:33:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:33:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:33:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:33:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:33:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:33:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:33:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:33:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:34:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:34:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:34:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:34:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:34:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:34:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:34:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:34:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:34:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:34:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:35:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:35:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:35:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:35:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:35:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:35:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:35:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:35:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:35:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:35:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:36:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:36:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:36:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:36:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:36:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:36:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:36:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:36:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:36:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:36:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:37:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:37:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:37:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:37:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:37:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:37:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:37:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:37:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:37:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:37:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:38:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:38:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:38:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:38:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:38:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:38:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:38:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:38:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:38:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:38:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:39:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:39:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:39:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:39:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:39:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:39:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:39:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:39:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:39:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:39:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:40:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:40:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:40:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:40:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:40:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:40:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:40:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:40:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:40:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:40:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:41:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:41:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:41:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:41:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:41:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:41:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:41:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:41:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:41:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:41:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:42:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:42:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:42:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:42:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:42:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:42:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:42:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:42:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:42:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:42:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:43:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:43:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:43:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:43:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:43:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:43:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:43:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:43:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:43:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:43:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:44:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:44:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:44:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:44:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:44:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:44:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:44:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:44:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:44:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:44:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:45:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:45:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:45:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:45:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:45:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:45:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:45:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:45:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:45:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:45:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:46:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:46:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:46:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:46:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:46:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:46:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:46:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:46:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:46:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:46:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:47:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:47:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:47:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:47:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:47:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:47:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:47:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:47:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:47:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:47:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:48:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:48:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:48:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:48:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:48:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:48:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:48:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:48:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:48:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:48:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:49:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:49:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:49:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:49:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:49:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:49:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:49:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:49:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:49:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:49:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:50:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:50:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:50:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:50:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:50:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:50:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:50:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:50:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:50:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:50:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:51:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:51:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:51:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:51:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:51:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:51:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:51:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:51:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:51:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:51:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:52:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:52:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:52:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:52:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:52:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:52:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:52:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:52:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:52:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:52:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:53:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:53:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:53:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:53:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:53:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:53:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:53:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:53:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:53:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:53:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:54:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:54:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:54:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:54:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:54:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:54:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:54:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:54:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:54:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:54:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:55:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:55:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:55:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:55:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:55:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:55:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:55:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:55:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:55:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:55:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:56:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:56:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:56:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:56:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:56:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:56:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:56:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:56:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:56:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:56:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:57:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:57:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:57:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:57:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:57:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:57:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:57:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:57:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:57:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:57:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:58:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:58:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:58:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:58:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:58:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:58:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:58:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:58:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:58:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:58:56 Under 30	410/2016 12:59:02 Under 30	410/2016 12:59:08 Under 30	410/2016 12:59:14 Under 30	410/2016 12:59:20 Under 30	410/2016 12:59:26 Under 30	410/2016 12:59:32 Under 30	410/2016 12:59:38 Under 30	410/2016 12:59:44 Under 30	410/2016 12:59:50 Under 30	410/2016 12:59:56 Under 30	410/2016 13:00:02 Under 30	410/2016 13:00:08 Under 30	410/2016 13:00:14 Under 30	410/2016 13:00:20 Under 30	410/2016 13:00:26 Under 30	410/2016 13:00:32 Under 30	410/2016 13:00:38 Under 30	410/2016 13:00:44 Under 30	410/2016 13:00:50 Under 30	410/2016 13:00:56 Under 30	410/2016 13:01:02 Under 30	410/2016 13:01:08 Under 30	410/2016 13:01:14 Under 30	410/2016 13:01:20 Under 30	410/2016 13:01:26 Under 30	410/2016 13:01:32 Under 30	410/2016 13:01:38 Under 30	410/2016 13:01:44 Under 30	410/2016 13:01:50 Under 30	410/2016 13:01:56 Under 30	410/2016 13:02:02 Under 30	410/2016 13:02:08 Under 30	410/2016 13:02:14 Under 30	410/2016 13:02:20 Under 30	410/2016 13:02:26 Under 30	410/2016 13:02:32 Under 30	410/2016 13:02:38 Under 30	410/2016 13:02:44 Under 30	410/2016 13:02:50 Under 30	410/2016 13:02:56 Under 30	410/2016 13:03:02 Under 30	410/2016 13:03:08 Under 30	410/2016 13:03:14 Under 30	410/2016 13:03:20 Under 30	410/2016 13:03:26 Under 30	410/2016 13:03:32 Under 30	410/2016 13:03:38 Under 30	410/2016 13:03:44 Under 30	410/2016 13:03:50 Under 30	410/2016 13:03:56 Under 30	410/2016 13:04:02 Under 30	410/2016 13:04:08 Under 30	410/2016 13:04:14 Under 30	410/2016 13:04:20 Under 30	410/2016 13:04:26 Under 30	410/2016 13:04:32 Under 30	410/2016 13:04:38 Under 30	410/2016 13:04:44 Under 30	410/2016 13:04:50 Under 30	410/2016 13:04:56 Under 30	410/2016 13:05:02 Under 30	410/2016 13:05:08 Under 30	410/2016 13:05:14 Under 30	410/2016 13:05:20 Under 30	410/2016 13:05:26 Under 30	410/2016 13:05:32 Under 30	410/2016 13:05:38 Under 30	410/2016 13:05:44 Under 30	410/2016 13:05:50 Under 30	410/2016 13:05:56 Under 30	410/2016 13:06:02 Under 30	410/2016 13:06:08 Under 30	410/2016 13:06:14 Under 30	410/2016 13:06:20 Under 30	410/2016 13:06:26 Under 30	410/2016 13:06:32 Under 30	410/2016 13:06:38 Under 30	410/2016 13:06:44 Under 30	410/2016 13:06:50 Under 30	410/2016 13:06:56 Under 30	410/2016 13:07:02 Under 30	410/2016 13:07:08 Under 30	410/2016 13:07:14 Under 30	410/2016 13:07:20 Under 30	410/2016 13:07:26 Under 30	410/2016 13:07:32 Under 30	410/2016 13:07:38 Under 30	410/2016 13:07:44 Under 30	410/2016 13:07:50 Under 30	410/2016 13:07:56 Under 30	410/2016 13:08:02 Under 30	410/2016 13:08:08 Under 30	410/2016 13:08:14 Under 30	410/2016 13:08:20 Under 30	410/2016 13:08:26 Under 30	410/2016 13:08:32 Under 30	410/2016 13:08:38 Under 30	410/2016 13:08:44 Under 30	410/2016 13:08:50 Under 30	410/2016 13:08:56 Under 30	410/2016 13:09:02 Under 30	410/2016 13:09:08 Under 30	410/2016 13:09:14 Under 30	410/2016 13:09:20 Under 30	410/2016 13:09:26 Under 30	410/2016 13:09:32 Under 30	410/2016 13:09:38 Under 30	410/2016 13:09:44 Under 30	410/2016 13:09:50 Under 30	410/2016 13:09:56 Under 30	410/2016 13:10:02 Under 30	410/2016 13:10:08 Under 30	410/2016 13:10:14 Under 30	410/2016 13:10:20 Under 30	410/2016 13:10:26 Under 30	410/2016 13:10:32 Under 30	410/2016 13:10:38 Under 30	410/2016 13:10:44 Under 30	410/2016 13:10:50 Under 30	410/2016 13:10:56 Under 30	410/2016 13:11:02 Under 30	410/2016 13:11:08 Under 30	410/2016 13:11:14 Under 30	410/2016 13:11:20 Under 30	410/2016 13:11:26 Under 30	410/2016 13:11:32 Under 30	410/2016 13:11:38 Under 30	410/2016 13:11:44 Under 30	410/2016 13:11:50 Under 30	410/2016 13:11:56 Under 30	410/2016 13:12:02 Under 30	410/2016 13:12:08 Under 30	410/2016 13:12:14 Under 30	410/2016 13:12:20 Under 30	410/2016 13:12:26 Under 30	410/2016 13:12:32 Under 30	410/2016 13:12:38 Under 30	410/2016 13:12:44 Under 30	410/2016 13:12:50 Under 30	410/2016 13:12:56 Under 30	410/2016 13:13:02 Under 30	410/2016 13:13:08 Under 30	410/2016 13:13:14 Under 30	410/2016 13:13:20 Under 30	410/2016 13:13:26 Under 30	410/2016 13:13:32 Under 30	410/2016 13:13:38 Under 30	410/2016 13:13:44 Under 30</

[illegible]

[illegible]