

Rethinking the Format as a Theoretical Object in the Age of Media Convergence

Serafina Fusco, Freelance Format Consultant, Italy
Marta Perrotta, Università Roma Tre, Italy

Abstract

This paper aims to analyse the notion of the television format as it emerges in the contemporary literature on television. It also gives several definitions of format, considering it as a legal and economic production technology, as a medium of exchange for the television industry and as a tool for designing narrative experiences in mediated programmes. Focussing on media convergence, this article discusses the role played by the format in the development of new forms of entertainment in the world of cross-media communication.

Introduction

The goal of this article is to establish a framework for a hard-to-define theoretical object such as television format, a tool for the production and global distribution of programmes within the technological framework of a long and complex transition to digital television. While this transition entails redefining programming strategies, at the same time it bears witness to a complex hybridisation process of the traditional genres and models of television entertainment.

To reach this goal, we will analyse on the one side the scientific production of media scholars on television formats, with particular reference to Italy; this will implicate questions such as: what kind of meanings are connected to the notion of format in the current research about it? What is the relationship between formats and TV genres?

On the other side we will focus on the production industry and its international trade fairs, as what Caldwell refers to as "deep texts and industrial rituals" (2004: 185): the world where the creation, sale and purchase of TV formats, and professional communication about them, including briefings, seminars and panels, take place.

Evidences from desk research on Italian television market and field research among TV professionals and in TV production contexts, observed since 2000, will be shown throughout the paper, with a specific focus on music-related formats.

In the current literature, and with particular reference to Italy, television format has been analysed comprehensively not only as a cultural object but also as an instrument for the organisation of content and as an exchange technology of the television industry (Moran, 1998; Sorice, 2005; Moran & Malbon, 2006; Perrotta, 2007). There are also works (Taggi, 2007) that consider the possible morphology of formats, investigating the bearing structures of specific case studies and identifying the main phases and functions whose combinatorial potential makes it possible to achieve communication results that vary in effectiveness. Others (Waisbord, 2004; Hill 2005) explore the implications of a globalized format market on cultural production, national identities and local audiences.

With the exception of these works, nearly all studies about the various aspects of television discuss format only marginally, inaccurately in some cases and almost never in depth. Sometimes the term "format" is used as a synonym for the genre of its content, say a "reality show" or a "game show". It is rare to find clear distinctions between TV format and TV genre: although the latter is a much more comprehensive notion which relates to the formulas that serve the creation, the circulation and the reception of texts and is commonly used among professionals, scholars and in the public opinion, the former is often employed to discuss about genres and specific programmes that have brought the term "format" to the attention of the general public.

It is undeniable, in fact, that some formats have become the epitomes of programming genres. "*Big Brother*, for example, has not sold to as many territories as the game shows *Who Wants To Be A Millionaire?* and *The Weakest Link*, but nevertheless became a globally-discussed reality television phenomenon. *Love Bugs*, on the other hand, has become a synonym for scripted comedy formats" (Fey *et alii*, 2005: 141). Even though the most common type of format are those in the broad reality-game show category, produced in multiple markets with local contestants like *Survivor*, *Idol* and *Big Brother*, particular models in the genre of sitcoms are often sold as formats, enabling broadcasters to adapt them to the perceived tastes of their own audience. A good example is *The Office*, a BBC sitcom which got adapted in the United States, France, Germany; other titles like *Camera caffè* and *Love bugs* have been successful in Italy too.

Therefore, the distinction between format and genre in relation to content might be addressed considering genres (reality show, game show, short-com) as broad narrative formulas that help both industry and audiences to link programs together, and thinking about formats (specific titles as the ones aforementioned) as well-defined cultural commodities, whose concept is set and cannot be altered.

This confusion regarding the term and its various meanings seems to reflect a more evident disorientation that currently affects the television production industry on a national and international level, as stated by Stewart Clarke (editor of *Television Business International*). In a interview during the MIP-TV 2008 he affirmed that "the advent of convergence will change the face of entertainment industry. The pace of change is accelerating and the way people access TV content has changed more in the last ten years than in the preceding forty".¹ It is still unclear what kind of television should be targeted at this historical juncture in order to appeal to audiences. Following the boom of the reality genre (which goes back ten years), the simultaneous universal revival of game show and the more recent success of short-com scripted formats, television industry continues to search for what can potentially galvanise the attention of television audiences of ever-new markets and new content platforms.

The format as an exploded theoretical object

Before looking in depth into the creative impasse of television industry, we are interested in identifying some of the issues that can help describe format within the broader framework of the system of television genres and the convergence of television and digital media, while also discussing its possible "explosion". An initial consideration involves the need to investigate format by dividing it into the elements that form its identity. First, however, we will provide a general definition that we will then break down.

A format can be defined as an original explanatory structure of any type of show, accomplished in a detailed and exhaustive articulation of its sequential and thematic phases, suitable for transposition into one or more products intended for public use, also through adaptation, elaboration, transformation or translation.

Formats are not protected by copyright laws and, in this, we are dealing with a legislative shortcoming that must be addressed, given the market relevance of formats. For the purpose of protection, the work must present the following key elements: first of all, a basic descriptive structure setting out its sequential and thematic phases (concept); secondly, a project to implement the development of the basic descriptive

¹ Interview with Stewart Clarke, Cannes, 4th April 2008.

structure (format bible), including all elements required to execute the programme, such as the running order, the profile of the main characters (host, competitors and/or guests), a description of the set design required for the story, considerations regarding direction techniques if necessary, and any other elements required for the format's television transposition and its optimised production.

Aside from these essential specifications, three main factors are involved in defining television format:

- 1) format as an economic object, the product of negotiation, protection, exchange and commercial agreements among the various subjects who are part of television production, i.e. those who conceive the format, those who sell it, those who produce it and those responsible for its platform;
- 2) format as a production technology, a work instrument for those who "make" television in an industrial sense;
- 3) format as an organisational model for specific content, as the articulation of narrative functions, and as the expressive medium of television genres and narrative archetypes in general;

Evaluated in each of these aspects, the format goes through various stages in its life cycle.

As a legal and economic subject (point 1), it is about to reach the apex of its course: internationally audiovisual production is one of the fastest growing industries in the world, worth over €2 billion annually (Fey *et alii*, 2004: 22), and that envisages upcoming legislative systematisation in order to define its legal status and sanction its protection internationally in the wake of extensive litigation.

Considered as a production technology and a medium of exchange for the television industry (point 2), we can instead note that the format is in a declining phase. Following its explosion and expansion on all markets and in the global industry, including the United States, all those who work with formats find themselves wondering how to prolong its functions and advantages in managing production and lowering business risks, which are growing in areas that do not have sufficient points of references to deal with the varied scenario of currently available television platforms.

From this standpoint, major format licensors such as Endemol and FremantleMedia are the ones that are asking themselves how they can adequately ride the wave of the opportunities offered by the joint presence of numerous new platforms. Before we can even attempt to understand what the television formats of this media convergence will be, what counts for the time being is the fact that their contracting

rules are starting to change, clearly indicating differences in their use on alternative platforms with respect to free-to-air.

Lastly, it seems that we have reached the end of the trajectory of the enormous appeal of television formats as "something everybody's talking about"² a media phenomenon known to television audiences, fan and bloggers³ and spoilers (Jenkins, 2006) as well as the general public, and as instruments for the infinite construction of stories and narrative/emotional architectures in programmes (point 3). In fact, there is a dual trend in which today's television viewers play a leading role. On the one hand, they are more "competent" – in the sense that they are media literate (Livingstone, 2006; Jenkins, 2006) – but, on the other, they generally seem less sensitive and responsive to the stories that television prepares for them. In other words, they know what to expect from a television programme, and it is increasingly difficult to surprise and thrill them.

This phenomenon is connected to the cultural practices of production and reception of TV texts, namely to the continuous evolution of TV genres. In this sense, but also on a more general level, it must be noted that, as functional as format may be to television production, it has been successful as long as its most sensational expressions, which coincide with the overly exploited mother lode of reality shows, have also been successful. Those who conceive television and sell its products are still looking for the next phenomenon from which to profit, the "next big thing" (Taggi, 2008): that particular programme or type of programme that can change television everywhere, shaping the tastes of television viewers, who are increasingly difficult, distracted and disillusioned.

Therefore, these three "lives" of television format, which are interconnected at their roots but diverge in terms of development, testify to a substantial explosion of the format object in the various areas of discussion about television (that of actors/producers, that of experts and that of audiences). This is a phenomenon that we can acknowledge here and that allows us to examine a particular aspect among those we have cited: the role of television formats in a setting of hybridisation and convergence.

Format in the network of the narrative and stylistic pressures of convergence

In the digital era, television is "getting a makeover" to help it react to the pressures of convergence. It is divided across various platforms, but everywhere – in different forms and proportions – it is desperately

² In the last years the word "format" has become very popular and it was inserted in the Italian monolingual dictionary Devoto-Oli too since 1998. In the 2004-2005 edition a format is defined as a word of the television jargon and a pattern of a successful programme, resold to broadcasters of other countries.

³ See TVblog (www.tvblog.it) where insiders and non-professionals debate passionately commenting ratings and news about TV shows.

attempting to respond to the demands for *immediacy* and *hypermediacy* (Bolter & Grusin, 1999) presented to it, devising different ways of engaging the viewer. At the same time, audiences are acquiring a digital lifestyle in an increasingly decisive way, devoting more and more time and attention to secondary activities with respect to viewing, although these activities are powerfully intertwined with it: online communication, text messaging, content downloading, and constant navigation among news and current events.

It is no accident that one of the most notable television successes of recent years, the famous *American Idol*, one of the many international expressions of the English franchise *Idol* (FremantleMedia), was generated in the context of media convergence and the hybridisation of traditional television genres. Along with *Survivor*, it has represented the true killer application of media convergence (Jenkins, 2006). In this case, the fact that it is a format helps us distinguish the specific features that have benefited the most with respect to the final result.

As a format, it presents a narrative chain of micro-fragments, combined in highly replicable but different sequences that can guarantee infinite access options to various types of consumers, along with the continuous reproduction of key passages to ensure that nobody is ever left behind. At the same time, the overall story unwinds over narrative spans that are longer and more complicated than the individual episodes. Indeed, serialisation is what represents the element of greatest appeal and connection with the viewers, who increasingly tend to follow all the episodes of the show, not only because each episode is entertaining but also because they need to be able to grasp the overall meaning of its narrative development (Jenkins, 2006).

There is no question that format helps manage this kind of narration, which combines brilliantly with convergent television, a type of television to be navigated and consumed in all its aspects. At the same time, we feel we cannot make the claim that format, in and of itself and by its very nature, can be the engine of the success of convergence television, because, as maintained before, formats have nothing to do with TV content and genres. Nevertheless, what format has managed to do also in this case – thanks to a condensed and exportable structure of television narration – is grasp, spread and brilliantly multiply some of the trends in the sensitivity of producers to viewers' tastes (an interest in the lives and performances of ordinary people: in short, talent shows), trends that have gradually developed over the years.

The concept of format has allowed us to understand that, wherever both scholars and viewers perceive the presence of a continuous and uninterrupted flow of programmes that are contained in each other, in reality

there are elements of precise and distinctive narrative schemata that pertain to different projects. With regard to those who foretold the breakdown of a programming model that viewers could recognise based on specific genre uniformity, in favour of programming characterised by genre hybridisation, format has also signalled the possibility of yet another network of parallels to offer audiences, composed of narrative uniformity that is not purely thematic or related to the characteristics of the people involved.

American Idol, like many other products of its kind and not necessarily as a television format per se, has successfully amplified its scope through its strategy of incorporating the viewer into its narration. In fact, it is the show that benefits the most from the collective reinterpretation – often simultaneous to actual viewing – of the stories that it contains and produces.

From audience voting via text messaging to online fan communities, the broadest media coverage and face-to-face interactions, the reality show has systematically stimulated talk and gossip has generated effects of all kinds, providing:

- exchange opportunities among viewers involved in various levels of interaction with the television content;
- opportunities for convergence and intertextual references among the various media involved;
- opportunities for contact and hybridisation among genres, styles and narrative archetypes (as witnessed by the direct link between the format architecture of *Survivor* and the success of the multilinear dramaturgy of *Lost*);
- profit-making opportunities for the brands that have most successfully linked their products with the content of the story (such as Coca-Cola in *American Idol*, Procter & Gamble in *The Apprentice*, Adidas in *Survivor* and Ikea in the various houses of *Big Brother*).

The format of *American Idol* has unquestionably managed all of this successfully and replicated it in the programme's various cycles. And yet we cannot state that it was designed, formulated and developed based on the need for "multiplatform" exploitation.

Music as a multiplatform content on Italian television

Idol has not yet been produced in Italy. However, the Italian version of the talent show *X Factor*, realized between March and June 2008, has been one of the most successful entertainment programmes of the last TV season. While writing this article, the broadcaster is planning to produce the second season, to be aired in spring 2009.

Produced by Magnolia and FremantleMedia, hosted by the young singer DJ Francesco, with Morgan, a singer, Mara Maionchi, a music producer, and Simona Ventura, a well-known TV hostess (conductor of the last five seasons of *Celebrity Survivor*), in the role of the judges, *X Factor* has served as a "reality event" (Hill, 2007: 5) in which music is used "to generate and reinforce the experience of *communitas*" (Reijnders *et alii*, 2007:4). Even if it didn't achieve strong ratings success (with an average of 2 million viewers), it proved to be a success in its cross-media strategy, being the hub for several multiplatform activities regarding its musical content (coverage in magazines, radio playlists, personal appearances of singers), not least the launch of a star (Giusy Ferreri, not the winner but the second finalist) through the online sale of her song.

This show has been one of the numerous seasonal programmes revolving around music produced for the Italian television, e.g. *Singing Bee*, *Don't Forget the Lyrics* and *The Singing Office*. As international formats that are a cross between reality, talent and game shows, their versions have been adapted to the local taste: *Singing Bee* has become *Chi fermerà la musica*, a three episodes show hosted by the evergreen singer Pupo on public service Rai Uno; *Don't Forget the Lyrics* has become *Canta e Vinci* on Italia Uno (Mediaset); and SkyVivo, a satellite channel devoted to reality and talent shows, has launched *The Singing Office*, in which the teams composed of the employees from two companies challenge each other in group choreographies and songs, further confirming this national trend.

Music was also one of the most topical theme at MIP TV 2008, not only as a guiding thread of the trends in television taste. Moreover, it was noticed that music might lead the way showing the evolution of consumption practices: "we project on television content what it has successfully happened in the realm of music which has become a nomadic, individualized and de-synchronized practice".⁴

It almost seems that when there is a lack of ideas and content due to an array of factors, the industry attempts to use a common shared language such as music. Furthermore, in recent years there has been a proliferation of choral formats (*Singalong*, *El Coro de la Carcel*, *Battle of the Choir*, etc.), in which the competitors/leading players test their skills in music performances, but are united by the idea of spending time together and by their common passion for music. Lastly, like *American Idol* in the past and *The X Factor* today, they allow traditional television viewers to experience multiplatform offerings in a more active way.

⁴ Didier Lombard (Orange CEO), "Inventing a New Media TV Experience". MIP TV 2008, Cannes, 9th April 2008.

These trends underscore the lack of content currently experienced by the new media, but as we have already noted, it is a transitory moment and, as such, it has been entrusted to an elementary inter-media and intergenerational form of communication.

Format, multiplatform content and IPTV

The future lies in content. Television platforms around the world (from satellite to IPTV and from digital terrestrial to DVB-H) are buying others' content, libraries and archives of quality programmes, in addition to several original productions. The publishers of tomorrow are investing in content and, consequently, its "formatting". And the most successful content will be the type that can be transferred to all formats, shifting from one medium to another and gaining increasingly branched distribution.

Until only recently, the alternative to traditional broadcast television - over the air, by cable or by satellite - was represented exclusively by IPTV (Internet Protocol TV), in its several models:

- *Broadband TV*, provided in Italy by Fastweb, Rosso Alice, Infostrada and Tiscali, which rebroadcast television programmes (entertainment, sports) or films, events and, in some cases, specially assembled channels or created content;
- *Web TV*, operated by traditional TV broadcasters (*CBS's Innertube*), multimedia groups (the Italian *RepubblicaTV*) or smaller subjects devoted to special themes (*RipeTV* or *OctaneTV* specialising in sports and motor racing) and interested in online video-promotion;
- *Content aggregators*, with players such as *Joost* and *Babelgum*, which have been launched in 2007 following the success of *YouTube* and the sharing concept that made Napster and many other sites so successful.

To a certain extent, this third type of formula of Internet-television convergence postulates an extremely active user profile, albeit vis-à-vis substantially "traditional" offerings and an extremely passive type of audience unwilling to go beyond VOD (video on demand) or the use of traditional content at a time most convenient for the consumer.

Joost, for instance, created by the founders of Kazaa and Skype, envisages free content distribution in P2P mode (the sharing concept that made Napster and many other sites so successful), whereas the business is supported by advertising. This permits viewing of linear channels (e.g. traditional TV in which each person creates his or her own programming) as well as VOD, on an open platform in which everyone can distribute

their own content. While users are watching this content they can share and comment on it with other users, opening up its enjoyment to the social networking that has made the most important file-sharing sites, such as You Tube and MySpace, so popular. Babelgum, created by the Italian telecoms entrepreneur Scaglia, is also moving in this direction. Both are reaching agreements to obtain high-quality content such as films, completely overturning the production chain of television (as well as cinema) and reopening the entire issue. According to Scaglioni and Sfardini (2008, p. 31), only content aggregators "can potentially skip the intermediation chains (the system's operators: publishers and broadcast networks) to link viewers directly with content creators". We are witnessing the transition that Shelly Palmer (2006) posited as the shift from "network TV" to "networked TV".

Everything points to the idea that there will be less and less differences between computer screens and traditional television sets, except that, in the face of a virtually limitless selection of content in every world language, users/television viewers could either react by becoming content aggregators themselves, based on their personal choices, or – out of laziness – by ignoring the possibility of accessing all content and going to choose the most interesting, thus returning to traditional viewing, in which programming is conceived, chosen and pushed by the broadcaster.

Anyway, to sketch out the possible evolution of the viewing models, beyond the push/pull dichotomy, is not the purpose of this article. Given the scenario we have described, what must be redefined is a new way of planning content, especially *non-premium* content. The ideas that were once devised, assembled and optimised for television must now be conceived – from the very outset – with a diversified potential for all existing platforms. Cross-media communication, i.e. the simultaneous use of TV, the Internet, video games, radio, cinema, books and magazines, to communicate the same message in different forms, means that a story must be recounted through different media, and that each medium must make a distinct and important contribution within the narrative process.

Each medium should contribute what it can do best, guaranteeing independent access to the story, without one type of viewing necessarily being preliminary to another. Yet consumers who are anxiously awaiting a great variety of additional contents and services for mobile phones or user-friendly access platforms may be disappointed. Operators and content providers will improve their offerings but they seem to be not yet equipped to handle all the potential offered by cross-media communication. We are in the era of experimentation and it is in this field that pure creativity finds its most fertile terrain: in the near future

there will be many more examples of online videos, not only those produced by professional providers such as television broadcasters but also user-generated works.

How can they approach the *mare magnum* of possibilities, convergences and interpretations of ideas? This is not clear yet. We are currently experiencing a transitional phase in which we are still unable to conceive/plan on a multiplatform level and are still tied to the concept of interpreting or extending an idea across other media. Numerous Web TVs propose products that were not designed for Web use but seem to have been borrowed from TV programming. In this perspective, it is important not to lose sight of the market and the speed with which its users move and "absorb" emotions and entertainment. A step forward in this arena has been made by forms of promotion. In fact, new advertising and business models have emerged to involve television viewers/consumers in ways that are halfway between entertainment and sponsorship.

Conclusion

Content hybridisation is the frontier of new communications, with different forms that converge towards a single objective: entertainment. Format is the keystone in this process, the formalisation of all these interlocking mechanisms. Given the characteristics we have just discussed, it is the link in the world of cross-media communication. Nevertheless, we must also ask ourselves what further element of connection between old and new may exist from a creative standpoint. A possible response to this question brings us back to music, the quintessential crosscutting content, which may be the meta-medium that can lead television viewers to Web TV.

Uncoincidentally, [Facebook](#), the most important social networking site, has decided to offer free online music, inking deals with numerous record labels. Facebook plans to offer its users the opportunity to listen to music free of charge via streaming, whereas earnings will be generated by advertising. [MySpace](#), owned by media tycoon Rupert Murdoch, is also in the process of negotiating with some of the most important labels in order to offer its users free online music. Most recently, [Last.Fm](#), an effective cross between a social networking site and a Web radio, is attempting to build online relationships based on musical tastes, organising preferences according to constantly updated rankings that offer a clear picture of the music enjoyed by Internet users.

In times of technological, cultural, economic and aesthetic transition, such as the changeover to the multichannel scenario, music is a sort of "shelter good" that can guarantee continuity of tastes and

orientations while permitting innovation in forms and formats. This process is not medium-specific. It happened in the transition from silent to sound cinema (which was initially musical cinema) and the most important moments of change in the radio and television system (such as the changeover to a mixed public-and private system), but also in the initial phases of media convergence, permitted and implemented first of all thanks to the digitalisation of sound, audio streaming and music file-sharing (Menduni 2007).

Now, television formats should serve the processes of digitalisation of content, growing and widening their range through the developments and trends of the global multimedia landscape. However, what is clear is that formats can't give impulse to fresh and novel ideas for multimedia entertainment if these ideas do not arise out of the minds of specialised format devisors or producers.

References

- Aroldi, P. & Colombo, F. (eds.) (2007). *Successi culturali e pubblici generazionali*. Milan: Link. Idee per la televisione.
- Bolter, J. D. & Grusin, R. (1999). *Remediation. Understanding New Media*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Caldwell, J. T. (2004). 'Industrial geography lessons: Socio-professional rituals and the borderlands of production culture'. In N. Couldry & A. McCarthy (Eds.), *MediaSpace: Place, scale and culture in a media age* (pp. 163-189). London: Routledge.
- Casetti, F. & Di Chio, F. (1997). *Analisi della televisione*. Milan: Bompiani.
- Fey, C., Schmitt, D. & Bisson, G. (2005). *The Global Trade in Television Formats*. London: Screen Digest and FRAPA (Format Recognition and Protection Association).
- Fung, A. Y. H. & Moran, A. (2007). *New Television, Globalization, and East Asian Cultural Imagination*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press
- Harrington, C.L. & Bielby D.D. (2005) 'Global Television Distribution. Implications of TV "Traveling" for Viewers, Fans, and Texts'. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 48 (7): 902-920.
- Hill, A. (2005). *Reality TV: Television Audiences and Factual Entertainment*. London–New York: Routledge.
- Hill, A. (2007). *Restyling factual TV: Audiences and news, documentary and reality genres*. London–New York: Routledge.
- Jenkins, H. (2006). *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide*. New York: New York University Press.
- Keane, M. & Moran, A. (2008), 'Television's New Engines', *Television & New Media*, 9 (2): 155-169.
- Livingstone, S. (2006). *Lo spettatore intraprendente. Analisi del pubblico televisivo* (Daniela Cardini, ed.). Rome: Carocci.
- Menduni, E. (2007). *I media digitali. Tecnologie, linguaggi, usi sociali*. Rome–Bari: Laterza.
- Moran, A. (1998). *Copycat TV. Globalisation, Program Formats and Cultural Identity*. Luton: University of Luton Press.
- Moran, A & Malbon, J. (2006). *Understanding the Global TV Format*. Bristol: Intellect.
- Palmer, S. (2006). *Television Disrupted. The Transition from Network to Networked TV*. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Perrotta, M. (2007). *Il format televisivo. Caratteristiche, circolazione internazionale, usi e abusi*. Urbino: QuattroVenti.
- Scaglioni, M. & Sfardini, A. (2008). *MultiTV. L'esperienza televisiva nell'età della convergenza*. Rome: Carocci.
- Sorice, M. (ed.) (2005). *Programmi in scatola. Il format nella TV globale*. Cantalupa, Turin: Effatà Editrice.

Taggi, P. (2007). *Morfologia dei format televisivi. Come si fabbricano i programmi di successo*. Rome: RAI-Eri.

Taggi, P. (2008). *Il DNA dei programmi televisivi*. Rome: Dino Audino Editore.

Tomlinson, J. (1999). *Globalization and Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Reijnders, S.L., Rooijackers, G.. & Van Zoonen, (2007) I., 'Community Spirit and Competition in Idols: Ritual Meanings of a TV Talent Quest', *European Journal of Communication*, 22(3): 275–292.

Waisbord, S. (2004). 'McTV. Understanding the Global Popularity of Television Formats'. *Television & New Media*. 5 (4), 359-383.