Legitimating Telefantasy: Exploring the Value of Telefantasy through Television History

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Abstract

This thesis explores the changing perceptions of telefantasy's legitimacy over two periods of television, TV I (also known as the network era, encompassing the medium's creation to the 1980s) and TV II (also known as the multi-channel transition, lasting from the end of TV I to the early 2000s) in the United States. The thesis argues that telefantasy's cultural value changes throughout time. It demonstrates that time and place play a significant role in the legitimacy of a product, its value influenced relatively to certain textual and paratextual factors. The thesis contends that the perception and construction of telefantasy's legitimacy depends on factors both from outside of a telefantasy programme, especially industrial factors, and from features found within a television show itself, like its genre. Such factors are also temporally specific as, like cultural value, the television industry and its discernment of its spectators' tastes determine the value of their products, and these evaluations change over time. Chapter 1 discusses academic concepts of legitimacy and relates them to the media and to television. It builds its construction of value on the theoretical bases established by Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) notions of distinction and cultural hierarchies, Shyon Baumann's (2007) functional design for film, and Michael Z. Newman and Elana Levine's (2012) exploration of televisual legitimacy. These and other theoretical concepts are then used to establish a list of legitimating criteria for telefantasy. Chapter 2 presents a background of the television industry during TV I, with a similarly themed Chapter 5 detailing TV II. Following these historical frameworks, chapters 3, 4, 6, and 7 offer an in-depth investigation of the case studies within each period of television, *The Twilight*

Zone (CBS, 1959-1964) and *Star Trek* (NBC, 1966-1969) in TV I, and *The X-Files* (Fox, 1993-2002) and *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (The WB, 1997-2001, UPN, 2001-2003) in TV II. These chapters analyse journalistic discourses about the programmes from the perspective of the legitimating criteria presented in Chapter 1, relating the changes in perception and construction of legitimacy to the relevant historical period. The thesis overall details the ways in which the legitimating criteria changed over time and reveals the impact that the genres within telefantasy, like science fiction, horror, and fantasy, have in shaping perceptions of value, a unique and unexplored way of understanding the cultural value of the medium.

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Introduction

In 2015, *Game of Thrones* won a Primetime Emmy Award in the category of 'Outstanding Drama Series', beating competition such as *Better Call Saul* (Netflix, 2015-), *Downton Abbey* (ITV, 2010-2015), *Homeland* (Showtime, 2011-), *House of Cards* (Netflix, 2013-2018), *Mad Men* (AMC, 2007-2015), *and Orange is the New Black* (Netflix, 2013-). While all these programmes differ in aspects like character, plot, and direction, only *Game of Thrones*' story exists in a fantasy realm. The show's world, which includes magic, ice zombies (known as 'White Walkers'), and dragons, means it falls under the umbrella of 'telefantasy'. Though I define telefantasy in greater detail later in this chapter, briefly, it is a broad classifying label used to group a wide range of non-verisimilitudes genres such as fantasy, science fiction, and horror television programmes. But why is *Game of Thrones'* Emmy victory significant?

Those behind the Emmy Awards place themselves as one of the most distinguished awarding institutes in the US television industry.[1] The highest accolade it gives out is the 'Outstanding Drama Series' award.[2] *Game of Throne's* 2015 victory in this category marked the first time a telefantasy won the 'Outstanding Drama Series' prize since 2005's *Lost* (ABC, 2004-2010), a ten-year gap. *Lost* itself was the inaugural telefantasy winner of an Emmy for

[1] Like other awards attempting to gain prestige, those behind the awards position themselves as the most desirable award in television, mirroring other awards in media such as film's Oscars. English, James F, *The Economy of Prestige: Prizes, Awards, and the Circulation of Cultural Value* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), p. 71-2; Wray, Ramona, 'The Network King: Re-Creating Henry VIII for a Global Television Audience', in *Filming and Performing Renaissance History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 16–32 (20).

[2] Its position in the award ceremony as the final award places it as the most valuable in the show, similar to how the Academy Awards for film place their 'Best Picture' award last.

'Outstanding Drama Series' in the Emmy Awards' history. While telefantasies received nominations sporadically throughout the awards' existence,[3] it took 57 years to gain its first victory.

However, 2015 marked a shift in the Emmy Award's opinion of telefantasy, as the following year *Game of Thrones* won again. In 2017, another telefantasy called *The Handmaid's Tale* (Hulu, 2017-),[4] based on a dystopian novel by Margret Atwood, continued the winning trend. In 2018 and 2019, *Game of Thrones* regained the pinnacle. While it is possible the series of telefantasy winners during these years can be ascribed to the success of just these two programmes, the other nominated shows beside the victors provide evidence to the contrary. In 2018, the nominees competing with winner *Game of Thrones* were; *The Americans* (FX, 2013-2018), *The Crown* (Netflix, 2016-), *The Handmaid's Tale*, *Stranger Things* (Netflix, 2016-), *This is Us* (NBC, 2016-), and *Westworld* (HBO, 2016-). 4 of the 7 nominated shows were telefantasies.[5] The Emmy Awards finally valued telefantasy's place alongside other types of programming. This provides evidence of how their perception of telefantasy

[3] *The X-Files* (Fox, 1993-2016, 2016-2018) from 1995-1998, *Star Trek: the Next Generation* (Syndication, 1987-1994) *1994, Twin Peaks* (ABC, 1990-1991, Showtime, 2017) *1990, Quantum Leap* (NBC, 1989-1993) *1990-1992, Beauty and the Beast* (CBS, 1987-1990) *1989 and 1987, Moonlighting* (ABC, 1985-1989) *1986-1987, Kojak* (CBS, 1973-1978) *1975, and Star Trek* (NBC, 1966-1969) 1967 -1968 *and The Twilight Zone* (CBS, 1959-1964) in 1961.

[4] Although the identification of *The Handmaid's Tale* as telefantasy is debatable, as arguably nothing happens in the narrative that could not happen in the real world, it fits into my definition of telefantasy. This is because the scientific reasoning leading to the narrative world's key event, the huge drop of fertility rates as a result of sexually transmitted diseases and pollution, is not reflective of knowledge found in the known world. Further details of what makes a telefantasy is explained later in this chapter.

[5] *Stranger Things* is the story of three young boys attempting to save their friend who has been sucked into an interdimensional portal due to government experiments taking place just outside of their town (they also meet a small girl with telekinetic powers, a further result of government testing). *Westworld*, an adaption of a 1973 film, where androids rise up to overthrow humans in a western themed adult amusement park.

changed through time, with the Emmy Awards (or rather, the awarding body behind it) placing more value upon this programme type in present years compared to the past. However, does the Emmy Awards' new-found admiration for telefantasy reflect the feelings of other social groups, like those in the television industry who air and produce programming?[6]

Despite the lack of Emmy Award recognition until recently, telefantasy has been airing since the medium's creation.[7] Figure 1 displays how decade after decade, until an eventual dip in the 2000s, the television industry increased the number of telefantasy programmes on the air in the US.[8] The most radical increase in the production of telefantasy series came between the 1980s and 1990s.

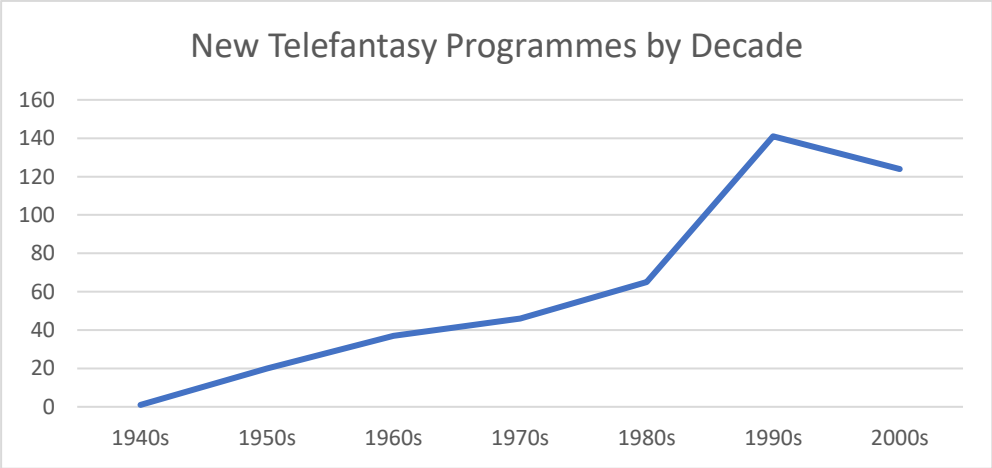


Figure 1: The number of new telefantasy programmes aired in the United States by decade (for complete list, see Appendix A).

[6] The role awards play, as well as journalistic reports on these awards and their influences on their audiences is discussed below.
[7] Noted further in Chapter 2 of this thesis.
[8] While a possible reason for the increase might be the overall rise in television production generally, as the changing television industry meant more space was available for programming, telefantasy's increasing number within it suggests its value alongside other programming types. An increase in television production overall does not inherently equate to an increase in telefantasy, as other programming types could have been used to fill its space.

While I will explain the major changes within the television industry that led to such a drastic shift in production numbers in Chapter 4, Figure 1 provides a representation of the value of telefantasy programming for television networks. As the number of telefantasies increased, shows like *Star Trek: The Next Generation* (off-network syndication, 1987-1994) , *Twin Peaks* (ABC, 1990-1991), and *The X-Files* (Fox, 1993-2002) yielded the industry evidence that telefantasy programmes could not only be profitable, but also critically acclaimed and culturally valuable (although not yet with the Emmy Award voters at that time).[9] The rewarding of telefantasy programming by the Emmy awards, increased critical acclaim, and general production growth within the medium, provide examples of the shift in the evaluation of telefantasy's legitimacy in the USA.

While this thesis presents its interpretation of cultural value and legitimacy in the following chapter, it may briefly be described here as the understanding and construction of an item's worth within a society or a group in society. This thesis evaluates the perception of telefantasy's value during two periods in US television's history, noting its alterations over time. The study answers several questions regarding telefantasy and its legitimacy. First, I ask what the discourses of cultural value of telefantasy in two periods within US television's past, TV I and TV II (I provide details of these two eras of television history later in the chapter) are. Second, I scrutinise what these discussions mean in terms of the idea of telefantasy's cultural value. Third, I investigate what changes occur between TV I and TV II regarding the perception and construction of telefantasy's cultural value. My study grants not only an understanding of

[9] These programmes are discussed in greater detail throughout the thesis.

telefantasy and its legitimacy through time, but also a look at the way deliberations concerning cultural value evolve and change through the decades. My argument is that the view of telefantasy's cultural value does change throughout time, and this is shown throughout the thesis using a number of case studies.[10] I argue that the case studies demonstrate that time and place play a significant role in the legitimacy of telefantasy programming, its value influenced and constructed relatively to certain textual and paratextual factors. Such factors are temporally specific as, like cultural value, the television industry and the discernment of its spectators' tastes determine the value of their products, with these evaluations changing over time.

My examination of the perception and construction of telefantasy's cultural value provides unique insights not found in other studies. The study matters because there does not exist another offering a longitudinal examination of the contextually contingent concept regarding the cultural value of telefantasy. Such an examination is required because it offers distinct perspective into not just the evolution of value for telefantasy but also a more general example of how value for a cultural product changes over time. Studies such as Michael Z Newman and Elana Levine's seminal work, which analyse the television medium's cultural value in the convergence era, leave out detailed factors relating to programming legitimation, such as genre.[11] My work affords a more

[10] The justification for the use of case studies rather than a complete analysis of every telefantasy is provided below.

[11] Newman, Michael Z, and Elana Levine, *Legitimating Television* (New York: Routledge, 2012); Other texts, such as Charlotte E. Howell's, do examine the shift in the cultural value of a television genre (science fiction). However, the studies limited scope examines how the industry itself shifted the production of certain television genres to match the expected values of an audience rather than analysing how these programmes were received. Others in the field of understanding the value of television, such as Robert Lewis Shayon and Horace Newcomb, usually do so in relation to it as an art form, trying to fit it into this category of creative media rather than understanding

nuanced and granular account of the legitimacy of a programme than Newman and Levine's book, investigating distinct times and a specific kind of programming in the whole of television's past, rather than looking at the medium as a whole and focusing on a single era. Furthermore, my study has relevance due to the change in perception for telefantasy recently. As seen in Figure 1 and the modern success of telefantasy in awards like the Emmys, evidence points to a development in the opinion of telefantasy through the years. My study aims to examine the views of cultural value of telefantasy and how it changes over time. However, in order to do so, it is paramount to define the subject of study, telefantasy.

Defining Telefantasy

The word 'telefantasy' began appearing in fan magazines like *Starburst* starting in the 1970s.[12] Catherine Johnson discusses the issues of adapting the term telefantasy to academia since it does not fall into the television industry's or general viewership's' rhetoric.[13] This creates a potential issue for my thesis, since the non-verisimilitudes genre labels used to describe the case study programmes are here grouped by myself. As will be seen later throughout this

it as its own medium as this study does. Howell, Charlotte E., 'Legitimating Genre: The Discursive Turn to Quality in Early 1990s Science Fiction Television', *Critical Studies in Television*, 12 (2017), Newcomb, Horace, *TV the Most Popular Art* (New York: Anchor Books, 1974); 35–50; Shayon, Robert Lewis, and Et All, *The Eighth Art: Twenty-Three Views Of Television Today* (New York: Rinehart and Wins, 1962).

[12] Johnson, Catherine, *Telefantasy* (London: bfi Publishing, 2005), p. 3. With its first issue in 1977, *Starburst* as a magazine offers reviews and other articles based on science fiction film, television, literature as well as other media. 'Starburst', *The Encyclopaedia of Science Fiction*, 2018 <http://www.sf-encyclopedia.com/entry/starburst> [accessed 23 April 2019].

[13] Ibid, p. 3-4.

thesis, the designation of a particular cultural product within a genre constructs a particular view of its cultural value. However, since the case studies within the thesis are situated in their contemporary context, my grouping of them as telefantasy comes from labels already constructed from their respective time. Hence, while my grouping of these texts within the academic, non-native category of telefantasy creates its own connection to cultural value through my discourse, at least it is removed from the historical remit of the study. My use of the term telefantasy works similarly to Johnson's, who builds her definition of the word from Steve Neale's identification of fantasy film.[14] Neale finds that viewers possess certain expectations regarding genre when watching a movie of a particular type. He grounds these presumptions upon two types of verisimilitude. The first is generic verisimilitude, which is what is likely to happen in a text's genre, such as a car chase in an action film or a magical ring granting invisibility in a fantasy. The knowledge of how a generic event fits into a certain genre comes from the continued use and discourse of these tropes within these texts. Generic verisimilitude becomes accepted over time and can change when a medium introduces and popularises new components. The other verisimilitude is socio-cultural. Socio-cultural verisimilitude does not exactly equate to the truth of the real world, but with society's general understanding of what is true at the time.

The crux of identifying a telefantasy comes from the discrepancy between socio-cultural and generic verisimilitude. Neale rightly asserts that while all genres may have a little tension between the two types of verisimilitude, 'non-verisimilitudinous genres' (like the non-verisimilitudes genres that make

[14] Neale, Stephen, *Genre and Hollywood* (New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 31.

up telefantasies such as horror, fantasy, and science fiction[15]) exhibit particular intricacies conflicting generic verisimilitude and socio-cultural verisimilitude. The reason for Neale pointing out non-verisimilitudinous genres' complexity regarding socio-cultural and generic verisimilitude stems from these kinds of texts not having worlds with the same rules or laws of the real world. However, while telefantasy presents a conflict between generic verisimilitude and socio-cultural verisimilitude, the former does not necessarily dominate the latter, and both are needed to create a narrative. Although one might determine that generic verisimilitude serves a greater objective within telefantasy, socio-cultural verisimilitude provides the groundwork for generic verisimilitude's function. Take for example the following fantasy plot; a time traveller from the future arrives in modern day Earth. Here, socio-cultural verisimilitude (the believable Earth the time traveller appears in) dictates the believability of the generic event (the time travel). Though initially presented as modern-day Earth, the consideration of what takes place as a telefantasy comes from the collision of socio-cultural (the realistic earth) and generic (time travel) verisimilitude in the story world. The result of such an understanding means telefantasy includes variations from time travelling stories to worlds filled with magic and dragons. A show is telefantasy as long as there exists an awareness that elements of the television programme go beyond the boundaries of what the audience understands as the real world.

Hence, telefantasy comprises of three main genres: fantasy, horror, and science fiction. This is because each non-verisimilitudes genre provides a collision of socio-cultural and generic verisimilitude, with events in the story

[15] The definition of these labels are discussed below.

world presenting something considered unreal in some aspects of reality. Graeme Turner and Jason Mittell study the difficulty in classifying genres. They find an issue with clearly identifying specific genres in television because of the hybrid nature of the medium's texts, with programming not fitting under a single label, but a multitude.[16] Glen Creeber notes the necessity for the continual reassessment of genre both contextually[17] and textually,[18] as the very notions of genre, much like legitimacy, are social constructs. Despite these difficulties of identification, this thesis requires some kind of definition for the genres that make up telefantasy, since this text collects, classifies (see Appendix A), and studies a select few in detail, while also factoring each generic label's influence on cultural value where necessary (discussed further below). Moreover, as this thesis goes on to show, there exists an accepted notion of these genres used by society to label and evaluate programming. This is done by what Mittell argues is a construction of genre through discourse.[19] The below specifics the definitions of science fiction, fantasy, and horror, genres I use in this thesis, mirroring the understood cultural construction of these respective labels.

Jan-Johnson Smith provides a clear explanation of science fiction, as she finds that:

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[16] Turner, Graeme, 'The Uses and Limitations of Genre', in *The Television Genre Book*, ed. by Glen Creeber (London: bfi Publishing, 2015), p. 8; Mittell, Jason, *Genre and Television: From Cop Shows to Cartoons in American Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 3.

[17] For example, technology that makes something science fiction in the 1960s is not necessarily science fiction in 2019. Think of the communicators in *Star Trek* and their eerie resemblance to flip mobile phones that exist now.

[18] Creeber, Glen, 'Genre Theory', in *The Television Genre Book*, ed. by Glen Creeber (London: bfi Publishing, 2015), p. 2; noting that genre may be based on elements found within the text ranging from setting to story to ideology found in the text.

[19] Mittell, 2004, p. 102.

> every text has a fundamental need regardless of its medium, it must quickly and efficiently establish convincing and sustainable reality. Science fiction's alternative realities are created both in and through visual or verbal language; its imaginary worlds are initially formed in a manner identical to those of other genres. The difference is that in [science fiction] these worlds must distinguish themselves from the realities of our everyday world by creating new or different rules by which their realities function.[20]

In many ways, Smith's definition extends to every genres in telefantasy, as they all provide the confliction between socio-cultural and generic verisimilitude that Smith addresses in the above quotation. However, one may separate the identification of science fiction and the other genres of telefantasy, like fantasy, through the likelihood of generic verisimilitude equating socio-cultural verisimilitude. In other words, as Edward James and Farah Mendlesohn writes; 'fantasy is a construction of the impossible whereas science fiction may be about the unlikely, but is grounded in the scientifically possible'.[21] The four modes that make and distinguish fantasy literature is summarised by James and Mendlesohn as;[22]

> the portal-quest, the protagonist enters a new world; in the immersive, the protagonist is part of the fantastic world; in the intrusion, the fantastic

[20] Johnson-Smith, Jan, *American Science Fiction TV: Star Trek, Stargate, and Beyond* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), p. 19.
[21] James, Edward, and Farah Mendlesohn, 'Introduction', in *The Cambridge Companion to Fantasy Literature*, ed. by Edwards James and Farah Mendlesohn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 1.
[22] Farah Mendelesohn originally describes these features in *Rhetorics and Fantasy*; Mendlesohn, Farah, *Rhetorics of Fantasy* (Wesleyan: Wesleyan University Press, 2008)

> world breaks into the primary world (which might or might not be our own), and in the liminal, magic might or might not be happening.[23]

Horror as a genre takes the combined notions of fantasy and science fiction described above and adds a sense of fear. [24] Paul Wells and Kate Domaille notes that:

> [h]orror texts are grounded in the preproduction and creation of the emotion of fear […]. The fear of *when* something life-threatening may occur, and *what* may produce it – essentially the deep-rooted fear of the unknown – is closely linked to other primal anxiety.'[25]

While these 3 genres are defined here, their definitions are still open to construction, interpretation, and argument. Furthermore, just because a programme exhibits 1 of the 3 genres (or more) it may also include other genres not included in telefantasy (for example, one can describe *The X-Files* as all three of fantasy, science fiction, and horror, with elements of action and investigation genres as well, demonstrating Turner and Mittell's issues with labeling). As such, the use of telefantasy to group these genres provides clarity.[26] They all become telefantasy through their connection of generic verisimilitude clashing with its socio-cultural verisimilitude. Along with generic meanings the

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[23] James and Mendlesohn, p. 2.

[24] Horror represents the weakest of the three in terms of its inclusion as telefantasy. This is because the horror genre, while often offering conflicts of socio-cultural and generic verisimilitude, it does not necessitate it. For example, some stories in the anthology *Thriller* (NBC, 1960-1962) like 'The Premature Burial' where an older man is accidentally buried alive but survives does not create too much of a conflict between the two burials (although it is certainly arguable that in this case it is slightly unrealistic for an older gentleman to survive as long as the character did buried alive in real life). However, horror stories without this conflict are rare (at least in the research I had done in the collection of Appendix A) and hence I include the genre as a whole as part of telefantasy.

[25] Wells, Paul, *The Horror Genre: From Beelzebub to Blair Witch* (London: Wallflower, 2004), p. 11.

[26] Johnson (2005), p. 5.

labels of the genres that telefantasy collects also carry connotations related to their cultural value or legitimacy.[27] With telefantasy defined, I may now detail how the thesis explores the legitimacy of this collection of genres.

Methodology

Since this thesis offers a longitudinal analysis of telefantasy's increasing legitimacy, it is necessary to discuss the academic periodisation of US television history. Mark Rogers, Michael C. Epstein and Jimmie Reeves were among the first to consider this historiographical problem of periodisation for television;[28] they distinguished between different periods according to the medium's means of distribution and funding. TV I refers to the period of television controlled by ABC, CBS, and NBC.[29] Through a combination of legislative and financial power granted by their operation in the radio industry, these networks dominated the airwaves from the medium's inception until the mid-1970s.[30] Their model of production was second-order, with programmes created for selling advertisement space between shows and commercial breaks. The networks then sold air spots to advertisers based on, ideally, reaching the largest number of viewers (in essence, it meant programming with the highest audience figures, whoever they may be, were the most successful financially). The 1970s saw the viewpoint of mass marketing evolve, as advertisers started to see certain

[27] Discussed further in the next chapter.
[28] Rogers, Mark, Michael C. Epstein, and Jimmie Reeves, 'The Sopranos as HBO Brand Equity: The Art of Commerce in the Age of Digital Reproduction', in *This Thing of Ours: Investigating The Sopranos*, ed. by David Lavery (London: Wallflower, 2002), pp. 42-59 (43).
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid

members of the audience as more valuable than others, as they found certain audience members, say 18-29 urbanites, more likely to buy products than other groups. Demographics became even further sought after when relaxed legislation allowed cable and satellite television a greater foothold within the market throughout the 1980s, fragmenting the medium's spectators.[31]

The destruction of the three-network oligopoly caused by relaxed legislation and the growth of cable and satellite television resulted in the introduction of TV II. In TV II, new networks like Fox and the Warner Bros.'s network (The WB) stood beside ABC, CBS, and NBC (along with cable and satellite channels), and these new networks too went after specific audience demographics rather than the largest general viewership.[32] Targeting specific members in place of attempting to draw as many people as possible crucially led to a change in the programmes produced. The shows created with a certain segment of viewership in mind would attempt to draw them to watch by including desirable features within the television text they would find desirable.[33] New channels formed to target specific audience segments as networks attempted to place products in the best timeslot for its coveted viewership.[34] Finally, TV III represents an era where the internet becomes a major factor in the economic model of the medium, including the introduction of audiences paying directly for some television through online subscriptions. This new avenue of content distribution benefited audiences, as they no longer had to sit through programming that they may not have liked or pesky

[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid, p. 44.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid, p. 45.

advertisements while waiting for their show, and producers, who could now create programming without many of the restrictions of network television.[35]

TV I and TV II, being already used by other academics in the field of television studies, provides a suitable periodisation for this thesis. Roger, Epstein, and Reeve's television history supplies an elegant and identifiable development of the medium. With the timeframe of study established, it is now possible to discuss how telefantasy belongs within it. Rather than discussing every and all telefantasy created in TV I and TV II (the justification for the choice of these two eras in this thesis and the omittance of TV III is described below), I chose certain programmes as representations for the whole of telefantasy. *The Twilight Zone* (CBS, 1959-1964) *and Star Trek* (NBC, 1966-1969) represent TV I, while *The X-Files* and *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (The WB, 1997-2001, UPN, 2001-2003) represent TV II. I selected them over all other examples found in Appendix A because they have a distinct place in the history of television and its study, with the texts garnering much academic attention and proving to be continuingly popular.[36] Though academics have thoroughly analysed these shows, my perspective on them is both original and unique, offering an understanding of cultural value not studied before. Rather than attempting a comprehensive study of telefantasy, which would be lengthy due to the many number of telefantasies aired between TVI and TV II,[37] these case studies allow for in-depth examination and comparison as representations of the period of their production.

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[35] These restrictions include censorship and age ratings, advertisement time and space. Ibid, p. 46.
[36] As seen in the following paragraphs.
[37] As seen in Appendix A, and referenced in Figure 1

Each episode of *The Twilight Zone* bends the understanding of generic and socio-cultural verisimilitude, with many stories about strange unexplainable things, including but not exclusive to the likes of time travel, world apocalypse, ghosts, and mind manipulation,[38] happening to otherwise ordinary people. The programme has become a key feature of popular culture. [39] Its status made evident through countless remakes, both in film, television, and books,[40] while also persisting as a source of academic study.[41] These aspects factor into the reason why this programme has been chosen as a case study, a trait shared by all the other case studies. No academic research has explored the perceived cultural value of this programme, despite its continued relevance throughout the years. However, rather than analyse the evolution of each programme's legitimacy throughout time, this study examines when this show, and the other case studies, first aired. This is done in order to provide a unique critique of a programme compared with other academic discourses which takes into account its legacy.[42]

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[38] The episodes 'Walking Distance', 'Time Enough at Last', 'The Grave', 'The Mind and the Matter' each provide an example of the listed episode types respectively.

[39] Often referenced in spoofs in programmes like *Futurama* (Fox, 1999-2003, Comedy Central, 2008-2013), or even seen as a major theme park attracting such as the 'Hollywood House of Horror' at Disney Land. The ride includes an opening narration by the show's creator, Rod Serling, on old black and white CTR televisions as people wait to board the ride.

[40] Serling published a number of texts on his show beginning in 1960. A film version was produced by Steven Spielberg and John Landis in 1983 (Warner Bros.) Remakes of the programme were made in 1985-1989 (CBS), 2002-2003 (UPN), and most recently 2019- (CBS All Access).

[41] Kraszewski, Jon, 'Do Not Go Gentle into That Twilight: Rod Serling's Challenge to 1960s' Television Production', *New Review of Film and Television Studies*, 6 (2008), 343–64; Stutler, Susan Lee, 'From the Twilight Zone to Avatar: Science Fiction Engages the Intellect, Touches the EMotions, and Fuels the Imagination of Gifted Learners', *Gifted Child Today*, 2011; Lee, Cindy, 'Transformations in the "Twilight Zone" and Beyond', *Science Direct: Marine Chemistry*, 92 (2004), 87–90; Norris, Van, 'Retro Landscapes: Reorganising the Frontier for Rod Serling's "The Twilight Zone"', in *Chaneling the Future: Essays on Science Fiction Fantasy and Television*, ed. by Lincoln Geraghty (Lanham: Scarecrow Publishing, 2009), pp. 3–23; Worland, Rick, 'Sign-Posts up Ahead: "The Twilight Zone," "The Outer Limits," and TV Political Fantasy 1959-1965', *Science Fiction Studies*, 23 (1996), 103–22.

[42] The previous footnote details these examples.

To forgo a continued investigation of an individual programme allows a better understanding of telefantasy as a whole in a specific period, since perspectives such as nostalgia do not cloud judgement.[43] Instead, judgments on a new programme airing allows for a less bias and nostalgia-based assessment of its value. This method allows a unique snapshot of the cultural value of telefantasy for a specific period. The series has since become accepted by some as a part of the 'golden age' of television,[44] a prestigious label given to certain programming for the early period of TV I thought to be the best of the medium.[45] This is despite the show not meeting all the required criteria to be considered as part of the 'golden age', since it was a half-hour filmed anthology, rather than a live-teleplay. *The Twilight Zone's* most clear link to the live-teleplays representing the peak of 'golden age' television are the anthology format and its creator, writer, and on-air presenter, Rod Serling, who had previously written some of the most praised live-teleplays.[46]

The second case study programme is *Star Trek.* Airing between 1966-1969 on NBC and created by Gene Roddenberry, the show represented the starting point for a multi-media franchise including films, novels, comic books, toys, clothing and television spin-offs, to name but a few.[47] *Star Trek* had

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[43] Cohan, Steven, *Incongruous Entertainment: Camp, Cultural Value, and the MGM Musical* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), p. 208.
[44] Flanagan, Bill, 'Rod Serling, "The Twilight Zone" and TV's 1st Golden Age', *CBS News*, 22 June 2014 https://www.cbsnews.com/news/rod-serling-the-twilight-zone-and-tvs-1st-golden-age/. Further information regarding the 'golden age' of television is provided in Chapter 2.
[45] 'Golden age' television is further discussed in Chapter 3.
[46] Ibid. Live-teleplays considered a part of the 'golden age' of television were usually dramas based in real life. This is detailed further in Chapter 3.
[47] Television spinoffs include *Star Trek: The Animated Series* (NBC, 1973-1974), *Star Trek: The Next Generation, Star Trek: Deep Space Nine* (Syndication, 1993-1999), *Star Trek Voyager* (UPN, 1995-2001), *Star Trek: Enterprise* (UPN, 2001-2005), and most recently *Star Trek: Discovery* (CBS, 2017-). Film adaptations include *Star Trek: The Motion Picture* (Paramount Pictures, 1979), *Star Trek II: The Wrath of Khan*

Captain Kirk and his crew traversing '[s]pace: the final frontier. [In] the voyages of the starship *Enterprise*. Its five-year mission: to explore strange new worlds. To seek out new life and new civilizations. To boldly go where no man has gone before'.[48] *Star Trek* has often become synonymous, at least academically,[49] with its deeply passionate fanbase. However, the programme has not been studied in terms of its cultural value. This provides my study a unique perspective on a programme with much academic work already on it, as well as the same reasoning discussed for *The Twilight Zone* above. It is also a franchise that continues to have relevancy, with the current production of its newest spinoff, *Star Trek: Discovery.*

In regard to the case studies for TV II, fledgling network Fox aired *The X-Files* in an attempt to appeal to a younger and more urban audience demographic. The programme succeeded, and *The X-Files* was for a time one of

(Paramount Pictures, 1982), *Star Trek III: The search for Spock* (Paramount Pictures, 1984), *Star Trek IV: The Voyage Home* (Paramount Pictures, 1986), *Star Trek V: The Final Frontier* (Paramount Pictures, 1989), *Star Trek VI: The Undiscovered Country* (Paramount Pictures, 1991), *Star Trek Generations* (Paramount Pictures, 1994), *Star Trek: First* Contact (Paramount Pictures, 1996), *Star Trek: Insurrection* (Paramount Pictures, 1998), *Star Trek: Nemesis* (Paramount Pictures, 2002), *Star Trek* (Paramount Pictures, 2009), *Star Trek Into Darkness* (Paramount Pictures, 2013), *Star Trek Beyond* (Paramount Pictures, 2016). Multiple comics have published *Star Trek* comic books and novels since the 1960s including IDW Publishing, Marvel Comics, DC Comics, Simon & Schuster, Random House and Bantam House to name a few.

[48] Adapted from the opening narration of the programme.

[49] Jindra, Michael, 'Star Trek Fandom as a Religious Phenomenon', *Sociology of Religion*, 55 (1994), 27–51.
Tulloch, John, and Henry Jenkins, *Science Fiction Audiences: Watching 'Doctor Who' and 'Star Trek'* (London: Routledge, 1995).
The show has inspired other academic attention including and not limited to Johnson-Smith. Jindra. Pearson, Roberta, and Maire Messenger Davies, *Star Trek and American Television* (California: University of California Press, 2014). Saltzer, Herald Louis, 'Social Themes and Human Values Contained in the Science Fiction Television Program Series Star Trek' (Boston University, 1972). Bernardi, Daniel Leonard, *Star Trek and History: Race-Ing Toward a White Future* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1998).

the biggest rating and cultural hits on television.[50] The show's premise had FBI agents Fox Mulder and Dana Scully investigating cases related to the paranormal. *The X-Files* has recently seen a 2016 continuation of the series, displaying its continued significance within the television industry and its recognition with spectators. However, even before this revival of the series after 14 years, *The X-Files* has exhibited continuing importance in other media,[51] as well as in academia. Scholars have studied the programme since the programme aired, earning slots in discussions of key television programmes as well as larger studies into religion and morality.[52] Yet, none have sought to analyse the perception and construction of its value and how this reflects on telefantasy generally.

Buffy the Vampire Slayer had the titular Buffy Summers and her group of high school friends defending the seemingly ordinary town of Sunnydale. Little do the citizens of Sunnydale know that their town is home to vampires and many other fantastical creatures. It is up to Buffy Summers and her high school friends to defeat their enemies, sometimes fall in love with them, and traverse

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[50] Powers, William F., 'Signs of Intelligent Life: Cult Favourite Gains a Following Among the Masses', *The Washington Post*, 1995 https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/style/1995/09/17/x-files-signs-of-intelligent-life/d47b4b54-8393-4ded-b636-74a9629a0880/?utm_term=.5c2a132a5b74.

[51] *The X-Files* has had 2 films, 1998's *The X-Files* and 2008's *the X-Files: I want to Believe*. Along with these, *The X-Files* franchise has spawned a myriad of novels, comic books, and even video games.

[52] Lavery, David, '"The X-Files"', in *Fifty Key Television Programmes*, ed. by Glen Creeber (London: Hodder Arnold, 2004), pp. 242–46; Knight, Peter, *Conspiracy Culture: From the Kennedy Assassination to the X-Files* (London: Routledge, 2000); Delasara, Jan, *PopLit, PopCult and The X-Files: A Critical Exploration* (North Carolina: Mcfarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2000).
Short, Sue, *Cult Telefantasy Series: A Critical Analysis of The Prisoner, Twin Peaks, The X-Files, Buffy the Vampire Slayer, Lost, Heroes, Doctor Who and Star Trek* (London: Mcfarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2011); Wilkinson, David, *Alone in the Universe?: The X Files, Aliens and God* (Crowborough: Monarch Publications, 1997); Simon, Anne, *The Real Science Behind the 'X-Files': Microbes, Meteorites, and Mutants* (New York: Touchstone, 2001).

the minefield of adolescence. *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* also has relevance years after its initial cancelation. In the time of writing this thesis, a reboot of the show is currently in production.[53] Since the original programme's conclusion, other media such as comic books have furthered its stories, and it continues to be a topic of academic discussion.[54] However, once again, despite the number of academic studies on the programme, there has been none to analyse the construction and perception of its cultural value.

Now that I have established the who, when, and why, it is possible to look at how I will conduct my investigation of the changing view of telefantasy's cultural value. Texts such as newspapers and magazines, especially those providing reviews for cultural products, offer insight regarding value and its construction. Even now, review sites like Rotten Tomatoes have thousands of visitors daily, as people seek the opinion of other members of society on a certain cultural product. However, since websites and similar media review sites are relatively new, this thesis purposes reviews found in top journalistic sources throughout the US in order to understand the cultural value in the moment these shows were broadcasted. Paul Rixon uses the term 'gatekeepers' to define television reviewers, as well as others within what he describes as the legitimating voice, providing the audience with a trustworthy insight on the

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[53] Mandell, Andrea, '"Buffy the Vampire Slayer" Is Getting a Reboot', *USA Today*, 2018 <https://www.usatoday.com/story/life/tv/2018/07/20/buffy-vampire-slayer-getting-reboot/811005002/> [accessed 25 April 2019].

[54] Academic work on the series include but are not limited to Owen, Susan A., 'Vampires, Postmodernity, and Postfeminism: Buffy the Vampire Slayer', *Journal of Popular Film and Television*, 27 (1999), 24–31. Short. Kellner, Douglas, 'Buffy, The Vampire Slayer as Spectacular Allegory: A Diagnostic Critique.', *UCLA GSCIS*, 2004, 10 https://pages.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/essays/buffy.pdf. A spin off show titled *Angel* (The WB, 1999-2004) was spawned from *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*. Comic Books based on the programme have been published by Dark Horse and Boom! Studios respectively. Buffyverse novels have been published by a number of publishing companies.

value of a cultural product. Reviews are like a two-way mirror; they both reflect the ideas of their writer and are influenced by the thoughts of their readership.[55] A journalist writing a review for a publication, for instance, provides an opinion based upon the expectations of the publication's readership. This may be directly intentional on the writer's part. For example, a columnist could find many faults in an article about a show even though they quite like it because their readership would not agree with their opinion or it may cause readers to lose faith in the validity of their opinion.[56] It could also be potentially less intentional, with the publication hiring someone whose opinions are likely to coincide and reflect that of their readership. As such, discourses of these publications replicate the cultural hierarchies from which they come from, since they often target a specific readership, even if some targets are broader than others. For example, *The New York Times,* targets a march broader audience than *Variety.* They each have their own stakeholders in terms of audience and what they value. Yet, both cater to a more legitimate television audience within society, even if one does so through a journalistic discourse (*The New York Times*) and one through an industrial voice (*Variety*). This thesis examines such publications, although different, because they reflect the discourse and construction of value for a specific show or type of television for an audience who are closely associated and passionate about the medium. But how do these texts relate in this respect while others do not?

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[55] Rixon, Paul, *TV Critics and Popular Culture: A History of British Television Criticism* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2011), p. 210.
[56] Harro-Loit, Halliki, 'Journalists' Views About Accountability to Different Societal Groups', *Journal of Media Ethics: Exploring Questions of Media Morality*, 30 (2015), pp. 31–43 (31).

Like the very texts they scrutinise, publications such as newspapers and trade industry magazines have different cultural values. For some people or groups of people, *Us Weekly,* a US magazine that details the personal and professional lives of celebrities (along with articles such as those based on fashion, diet, and similar topics), does not have the same cultural value as *The New York Times,* a newspaper stationed in New York City detailing current events and cultural happenings. Although varied in format and content, the two publications exist within the same market, often a few places away from each other on the newsagent's shelves.[57] Like the discourses for telefantasy's legitimacy discussed in the next chapter, I base the evaluation of legitimacy on various legitimating factors, such as the number of Pulitzer Prizes each publication has.[58] All texts designated and analysed throughout this thesis are those acting as reputable journalistic sources.[59] This raises the question of this thesis' understanding of cultural value in terms of what it mitigates as worthy of study. Some may find the opinions of other publications, *US Weekly* for example, as more valuable than *The New York Times.* Such a study could also be

[57] Despite their differences in legitimacy, the two magazines share a link. US Weekly was created in 1977 by *The New York Times Company*, tying the two publications together in terms of production. However, this was short lived as The New York Times Company sold *Us Weekly* in 1980.

[58] The Pulitzer Prize is one of the most prestigious awards in newspaper and magazine writing and journalism. *The New York Times* has 125 Pulitzer Prizes while Us Weekly has 0. Allen, Michael Patrick, and Anne E. Lincoln, 'Critical Discourse and the Cultural Consecration of American Films', *Social Forces*, 93 (2004), 871–94.

[59] There do exist controversies with some of the texts used within the thesis. As an example, *The New York Times's* Jason Blair who repeatedly plagiarised other journalists and made up facts. The writer stated that he interviewed four injured marines, where instead he only interview 1 and made up various quotes from the interview. Such was the scandal, *The New York Times* wrote an article on him titled 'Times Reporter Who Resigned Leaves Long Trail of Deception'. 'Times Reporter Who Resigned Leaves Long Trail of Deception', *The New York Times*, 11 May 2003 <https://www.nytimes.com/2003/05/11/national/times-reporter-who-resigned-leaves-long-trail-of-deception.html> [accessed 26 April 2019]. However, despite these scandals, *The New York Times* and the other publications used throughout the text remain the most reputable.

completed using the same case studies and framework presented in this thesis but would not achieve the same outcome. The reason for the choice of publications reserved for what has historically been considered highbrow, or at least highbrow in television (with the choice of trade publications), is because of the history of such audiences' disregard for telefantasies or different media with elements beyond the known verisimilitude. As will be shown throughout this thesis, science fiction, horror, and fantasy, have connotations about their cultural value from other media leading to their understanding as delegitimate within these television elitist circles. Hence, the study of the opinions of these circles as reflected by these publications offers an insight into the fluidity and flexibility of the understanding of cultural value. Moreover, certain social spheres' perception of value influence the rest of US society more than others (explored further in Chapter 1). So, the study of those that follow the television industry thoroughly (both as entertainment and as an industry) provides a perspective on larger societal understanding of value as a whole.[60] In an attempt to draw these audiences, the print media discussed in this thesis may or may not create an intellectually based discourse (again, detailed further in Chapter 1) depending on whether they find a show worthy of such a discussion. The result of their publication provides their readers with an understanding as to what deserves intellectual discourse and what does not.

The above also relates to the reasoning behind the choice of these sources. Limiting the primary sources to major publications in the United States allows

[60] Discourses of journalistic standards and practices leads to an argument on intellectualised new reporting, or criticism, versus discourses on frivolous events with tabloid language. Vos, Tim P, Stephanie Craft, and Seth Ashley, 'New Media, Old Criticism: Bloggers' Press Criticism and the Journalistic Field', *Journalism,* 13 (2012), pp. 850–68 [858].

the study to focus on one group's understanding of cultural value. Removing sources in languages other than English, niche publications (such as science fiction magazines), and web chats, grants the study focus on a specific section of the population, what has been found to be the elitist readers of these more legitimate journalistic sources.[61] Though such limitations cause a bias, for example leaving out non-English speaking members of the United States or the opinion of those who read no media, my selected primary sources allows for the least concessions.[62] The more niche texts presented in the study, such as more industry focussed publications such as *Variety* and *Broadcasting and Cable*, while not having the same wide scope as newspapers such as *The New York Times*, provide the thesis clear examples of television journalism not always available in larger newspapers. They also produce a reflective stance on how the industry itself viewed the cultural value of its product.[63]

I have collected the primary data from newspapers and magazines such as *The New York Times, The Los Angeles Times, The Washington Post, The New Yorker, Variety, Broadcasting, TV Guide,* and *Backstage.* I accessed these texts through sites such as Nexis afforded by the University of Nottingham, and other available archives from the British Library and the British Film Institute. I also accessed certain television interviews through publicly available websites like *YouTube.* I conducted my search for most sources by entering the title of the

[61] Gregory Matsios details the generally higher classes these media sources attempt to appeal to; Matsios, Gregory, 'Making Magic: Making Class Invisible', in *Race, Class, and Gender in the United States: An Integrated Study*, ed. by Paula S. Rothenberg (New York: Worth Publishers, 2004), pp. 510–19.
[62] Since the internet in the home was in its infancy in the majority of TV II in is not difficult to assume that print media in general had a greater audience.
[63] Since those in the television industry themselves ascribe to a more elitist view of the medium, being closely linked to it industrially. They work to intellectualise the medium (further discussed in Chapter 1).

programmes into the respective database. Where a search feature was not available, I manually scanned through microfilm, looking for mention of the respective programmes. I would then read and document all 'hits', noting those making some sort of judgement regarding value (whether overtly or implicitly). I then categorised these into legitimating criteria (discussed further in the following chapter), analysing them in terms of the author's view of a show's cultural value.

This study is not without limitations. To perhaps conduct a better study methodologically on the perceptions of cultural value in a period, one would need a combination of various telefantasy elements. The first would be a time machine, to go back to the periods of TV I and TV II. The other would be some form of mass mind reading power, or at least some machine allowing insight into people's value of telefantasy. While both elements could somehow be forgone by studying the view of value within the contemporary and by employing a survey on as many people in a society as possible, these methods still mean problems for the understanding of legitimacy. Firstly, a lack of objectivity on the surveyor's part could lead to biased conclusions. Secondly, there may lie an issue in attempting to choose an area to survey, as different groups of society might create divergent results, with no real way to create a control group or to widely reach all members of a specific group. As such, creating any kind of study of cultural value study outside of using media sources has a myriad of issues. Indeed, as Paul Rixon states, journalists are the gatekeepers.[64] Their opinions of the cultural value of various products, ranging from telefantasies to restaurants, have been a mainstay in the press for decades.

[64] Rixon, p. 210.

The reason for their continued value stems from people wanting to be told what to like and what has legitimacy.[65] These are but a few reasons why evaluating TV III currently would be ill-advised, or at least incomplete (due to the era of TV III arguably currently continuing), and would require further time to study as well as a change in methodological approach. Looking at the evolution of legitimacy of past eras rather than current ones allows clarity regarding the identification of cultural value, since what a particular sphere thinks about a text is now set in that time. Hindsight allows one to identify these discussions of cultural value objectively, thanks to a contemporary understanding of these texts existing in the present (something not possible if studying the contemporary). Moreover, an issue begins in TV III regarding identification of the social group discussed in this piece and the primary sources used. With the creation of the internet, it is arguable that the elitist group studied in this thesis of those in the television industry and aficionados of television moved on from the primary sources that remained relatively unchanged in TV I and TV II to the myriad of websites created in TV III. The ability to look at all of these sources, as well as their impact on this group is currently too inaccurate to quantify (as their target audience may be unclear). With these methodological factors established, it is now possible to provide information regarding the thesis' structure.

[65] Boyce, Tammy, 'Journalism and Expertise', *Journalism Studies*, 7 (2006), pp. 889–906 [890].

Thesis Structure

This thesis explores the construction and perceived value of telefantasy in two periods of US television history. It consists of 7 chapters. The first chapter defines the ways in which the terms legitimacy and cultural value function in the thesis. It begins with a discussion of Pierre Bourdieu's influential explication of the concepts. Next, the chapter discusses the flaws in Bourdieu's model and why this thesis cannot adopt it as a model exclusively, eventually offering alternative understandings of cultural value. It moves on to discuss the specific discourses of legitimacy for television and other media. It also shows how the execution of certain textual factors in a programme influences the perceptions of its cultural value. The chapter's conclusion lays out the various legitimating factors used in discussions concerning a case studies' cultural value.

The second chapter provides a brief history of the industry during TV I. It discusses a canon of programming from an early period of TV I that has come to be known as the 'golden age' of television, the pinnacle of the medium's legitimacy during TV I. The section not only explains the 'golden age' industrially, as in what factors led to the creation of these programmes, but also discloses how cultural commentators perceived the medium's cultural value in this period. It examines the type of programmes aired at the time, and how journalists and critics valued these shows. The chapter continues with a discussion of the rest of TV I, with a focus on how networks work, and the idea of a television 'vast wasteland' created by networks airing safe and simple shows to appeal to the largest amount of people in the USA; then, it examines how the three major television networks formed an oligopoly, competing with

each other for the largest share of an audience in any given time slot. The competition between the networks and the marketing practices they used to attract spectators ultimately influenced perceptions of the medium. An understanding of the time and television's place within it yields a context for the case studies aired during TV I.

The third chapter of the thesis analyses the first case study, *The Twilight Zone.* As mentioned previously, famed television script-writer Rod Serling created the show. Due to the reputation he garnered during his time writing dramatic live teleplays, there were high expectations for Serling's outing into recorded television. How did Serling's history influence the construction of value for his new programme? What did it mean for a writer to move from writing realistic teleplays to telefantasy? Who was watching *The Twilight Zone* if the television industry was only going after the highest audience number using programming exhibiting the least objectionable qualities? The chapter answers these questions and breaks down the analysis of the view of the programme's cultural value into subsections investigating one particular legitimating criteria each. The same structure continues throughout every case study chapter in the thesis.

Chapter 4 discusses the perception and construction of *Star Trek's* cultural value. *Star Trek* has, in academia at least, has become synonymous with its passionate fanbase. However, were these fanbases visible during the show's initial airing and what influence did they have on the concept of the programme's cultural value? This chapter analyses the various discourses relating to the above question, as well as the other legitimating criteria, to provide an understanding of the ways in which *Star Trek's* legitimacy was

viewed and constructed. It examines its value in an era of television the then FCC Chairman Newton N. Minow identified as a 'vast wasteland', referencing the lack of perceived quality programming on the medium at the time.

The fifth chapter details television history during TV II, offering a context for the two case study programmes *The X-Files* and *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*. It traces the transition from the three-network oligopoly to a multi-network television landscape. In a space with more competition and fragmented viewership, the industry had to change their strategy. Gone were the days of simply chasing the highest number of viewers, replaced by an attempt to draw viewers with particular features. 'Quality' television arose as a result; created to entice highbrow audience members, representing TV II's most legitimate television.

The X-Files provides the first example of a case study during TV II. As mentioned previously in the chapter, although the show reached high peaks of popularity, was its broad audience's support a legitimator for the perception of its cultural value or a hindrance? Did *The X-Files'* evolution into a mainstream hit legitimate or delegitimate it? The chapter gives insight into popularity's influence on legitimation, with the case study programme having some of the highest ratings on television at the time. The chapter further analyses how legitimacy has evolved since the previous two case studies, and how the idea of cultural value during TV II intertwines with the understanding of 'quality' television.

Buffy the Vampire Slayer is the final case study for this thesis. The show, while analysed the same way as the rest of the telefantasies in terms of legitimating factors, also had a unique distinguishing feature. Focus on its genre

was twofold, with the discussions constructing the legitimacy of the show more influenced by it being a ‘teen drama’ than part of telefantasy. The significance of its teen genre presents itself in the discourses about the programming, showing the influence genre plays in the construction of a programme’s value. This secondary genre also fits with the industrial position of its fledgling network, the WB, as it hoped to use the programme to draw this younger audience to the new channel.

My thesis produces an examination of the discussions and construction of telefantasy’s cultural value. Its goal is to identify what the concept of telefantasy’s legitimacy was during two specific eras in television. The thesis then presents the changes that occurs from one period to the other, how discourses regarding the idea of telefantasy’s cultural value changed throughout time. In order to present the arguments in the form of the case studies and understand the historical context of television, the next chapter provides this thesis’s understanding of legitimacy.

Chapter 1: Understanding Legitimacy

This chapter aims to provide an understanding of the discourses of legitimacy and define how it is used in this text. While academia regularly associates the field of value studies with the work of Pierre Bourdieu,[66] especially regarding the realms of class hierarchies and taste values, his is not the lone view. Many texts consider the processes of legitimacy, with each work presented in this section providing either a counterargument to Bourdieu's model, an insight into their own view of social and taste hierarchies, or the process of how a cultural object becomes legitimate. Scholars' inability to create a defined notion of legitimacy allows a fluid concept of cultural hierarchies and legitimacy. The examination of the various theories of legitimacy underpins the list of legitimating criteria the thesis uses in its case study chapters.

The chapter first analyses Bourdieu's work, considering his place within discourses of cultural value. Next come criticisms of Bourdieu's work, demonstrating the problematic nature of exclusively using Bourdieu's exploration of value. Then, there is a discussion of different hierarchies and taste determinants, outside of those introduced by Bourdieu. Following that comes a look at the relationship between legitimacy and texts from popular culture (including television), showing their process of legitimation. Finally, the chapter lists the legitimating criteria for the perception of telefantasy's cultural value. The goal of these discussions is to arrive at an understanding regarding what

[66] In almost all instances, the texts throughout this section use Bourdieu's ideas as the basis of their discourses. For example: Gartman, David, 'Culture as Class Symbolization or Mass Reification? A Critique of Bourdieu's Distinction', *American Journal of Sociology1,* 97 (1991), 421–47. Jenkins, Richard, *Pierre Bourdieu* (London: Routledge, 1992). Garnham, Nicholas, 'Extended Review: Bourdieu's Distinction', *Sociological Review*, 24 (1986), 423–33.

legitimacy means for this thesis as well as who it is legitimated for and by. As stated earlier, one cannot evaluate these concepts without starting with the work of Pierre Bourdieu.

Bourdieu's aim is to understand taste as something constructed socially, and his model explains how this social construction takes place.[67] He argues that cultural taste for a product correlates with one's position in social hierarchy. Bourdieu states there are three taste levels within society, (and correlating cultural products) distinguishable through educational level and social class: 'legitimate taste' 'middle-brow taste', and 'popular taste'. According to Bourdieu, legitimate taste is the most classifying, or, that is to say, it is the group who have access to exclusive cultural products not available to other groups and those who possess the knowledge to appreciate them. Bourdieu's principles are determined by audience, rather than any factors the cultural product may exhibit.[68]

But how is an item decided as worthy for those with legitimate taste to construct its value? For Bourdieu, people do not create the highest and most legitimate of arts for pure aestheticism, but rather must 'subordinate[...] to science, morality and justice. It must aim to arouse the moral sense, to inspire feelings of dignity and delicacy, to idealize reality, to substitute for the thing the ideal of the thing, by painting the true and not the real.'[69] While this explanation may describe legitimate art for Bourdieu, it would be rather difficult to prove his sentiments in an objective manner, as his definition leaves much to subjectivity

[67] Bourdieu, Pierre, *Distinction: A Social Critique on the Judgment of Taste*, ed. by Richard Translator Nice, 8th edn (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996).
[68] Ibid, p. 16.
[69] Ibid, p. 49.

and opinion. To solidify his lofty classifications, Bourdieu offers education, both from educational institutions and informal education from parents and guardians, to help clarify what high legitimate art is for those of the upper classes and to distinguish works included in this canon. He argues it is the educational process of the upper classes that differentiates between legitimate taste of 'high' culture and the lower taste hierarchies. Bourdieu maintains it is only with education that one can judge a cultural product as legitimate, forging an esoteric link of legitimacy between those who have a higher cultural capital provide through elite scholarship and the works they admire.[70] What this link generates is a self-reinforcing system, as education teaches that one may consider only certain objects legitimate, resulting in an impossibility for changes of cultural value.

How do cultural products develop and become legitimate for Bourdieu? According to Bourdieu, those who have access and appreciate legitimate culture are individuals who possess both the required cultural capital (which may be gained by education from an institution or inherited from family who have high levels of cultural capital) and the economic capital (being able to afford the objects or experiences of legitimate taste, going to the opera for example). Due to the combination of economic resources and education required to gain access to legitimate culture, in Bourdieu's definition of legitimacy, products with the highest cultural value can only be accessed by those of the upper classes.[71] With the ability to experience legitimate cultural products closed off for the other classes, Bourdieu sees movements such as 'counter-culture' emerging in order to create seemingly new taste hierarchies for art not based on the preestablished

[70] Ibid, p. 29.
[71] Ibid, p. 5.

ones dominated by individuals with high levels of cultural and economic capital.[72] Bourdieu also explains that the legitimate appearance of some less legitimate arts, film for example, owes its position to academics extending their legitimate dispositions, gained by frequent access to the literary and philosophical works recognised by academic institutions as being legitimate, onto these less legitimate arts.[73] With the growth of academic work on television, perhaps this medium too may finally exist in this space of Bourdieu's conception of legitimacy, since at the time of his writing, the academic discourse on the medium would have been rather small.

Bourdieu describes how cultural value relies on finding certain other cultural products less legitimate in comparison. In order for something to be legitimate, it should contrast against something that lacks legitimacy, as often social taste involves distaste.[74] Taste makers usually aim distaste towards lower forms of art, such as those enjoyed by the masses. Bourdieu describes 'popular art' as being simpler, baser, and giving immediate gratification, as opposed to the 'high' and 'middle' variety. Bourdieu describes 'Middlebrow art' as the 'minor works of the major arts […] and the major works of the minor arts', and, primarily, 'intellectuals' and the middle classes appreciate these works.[75] And it is with the intellectuals and middle classes that Bourdieu finds the key to different cultural products, such as jazz music or the cinema, being able to increase their legitimacy levels through those who possess the ability to do so. As stated previously, the middle classes and some intellectuals, who lack the

[72] Ibid, p. 96.
[73] Ibid, p. 26.
[74] Ibid, p. 56.
[75] Ibid, p. 16.

economic currency to partake in traditional legitimate culture, can focus their high levels of cultural capital on other cultural products that they do have access to, raising its legitimacy (and hence the reason why such products are not legitimated to the levels of truly legitimate products only accessible by the highbrows).[76] For Bourdieu, legitimation happens through the position of the consumer within a social hierarchy, rather than specific qualities depicted in a cultural product, despite his definition of art quoted previously.[77] So, does Bourdieu's understanding of cultural value leave a place for television and telefantasy? Yes and no. While Bourdieu's conception of legitimacy's reliance on a specific section of people is not in error (at least for this thesis), it does not tell the full story of how legitimacy works. Bourdieu points out how legitimate cultural products have something highbrow audiences desire, without stating this is the reason these objects are legitimate. Other factors, such as predetermined elements thought to be legitimate existing within a cultural product or even discourses around a work, play a key role in determining cultural value.

Despite the influential nature of Bourdieu's work, scholars have criticised his model, opening spaces for other types of cultural products, like telefantasy, to enter discussions of cultural value. Some critique the dated and static nature of cultural and taste hierarchies demonstrated in his study.[78] Zygmunt Bauman argues that Bourdieu's research is limited to the culture of a 1960s France already in decline.[79] The terminal nature of this part of society and

[76] Stewart, Simon, *A Sociology of Culture, Taste and Value* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p.79.
[77] Jenkins, Richard, *Pierre Bourdieu (Key Sociologists)* (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 144.
[78] Gartman.
[79] Bauman, Zygmunt, *Liquid Life* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005).

Bourdieu's cultural hierarchies goes against many of the theories that would display taste cultures, and the hierarchies themselves, as an ever changing and evolving phenomena (analysed further below).[80] The way Bourdieu declares social class having greater importance than other ranges of audience stratification is also considered outdated, especially in terms of social inequalities. Similarly, his text presents inequalities of social class as more important than any other potentially stratifying elements, disavowing the likes of age, gender, race, and sexuality.[81] Indeed, John Frow states it best as he points out; 'that Bourdieu works with an inadequate concept of class, essentializing it as a coherent structure and setting it in a fixed relation to cultural forms; culture is seen not only as a process of negotiation of class position but as an expression of it.'[82] As this thesis goes on to show, a classes' understanding of legitimacy is not fixed, and certainly is not limited to their understanding or expression of it. Rather, it is at times dictated to them through industrial means.

It appears as if Bourdieu's text has problems of oversimplification and limited view, both regarding the class structures themselves (described above), and with various institutions, one example being museums. Bourdieu sees museums as an upholder of the standards of higher culture,[83] which arguably has not been their goal throughout the 20th century, as many are free to the public

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[80] As seen in Levine, Lawrence, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).
Fleishman, Avron, *New Class Culture: How an Emergent Class Is Transforming America's Culture* (Westport: Praeger, 2002).
Baumann, Shyon, *Hollywood Highbrow* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007).
[81] Prior, Nick, 'A Question of Perception: Bourdieu, Art and the Postmodern', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 56 (2005), 124–39 [pp. 131].
[82] Frow, John, *Cultural Studies and Cultural Values* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 5.
[83] Bourdieu, Pierre, Alain Darbel, and Dominique Schnapper, *The Love of Art: European Art Museums and Their Public* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997).

and have attempted to broaden their audiences beyond the upper classes with different exhibits more enticing to the general population.[84] Although Bourdieu may not have been able to predict such a shift with museums, his text displays a general lack of complexity within intuitions, as he either ignores or simplifies them.[85] The lack of complication and fluidity for institutions that act as taste influencers, although pushed aside by Bourdieu, is key to the understanding of changing legitimacy discourse in this project. If one was to follow Bourdieu's model, certain institutions similar to museums, like awarding bodies, academia, or the television industry itself, could not possibly shift their evaluations of cultural products.

It is not only museums and other institutions that Bourdieu simplifies and caricatures. David Gartman takes issue with Bourdieu's description of the lower classes, painting them as 'down-to-earth creatures who reduce practices to their functions and are unconcerned about games of distinction'.[86] Bourdieu describes the lower classes as lacking the economic ability to concern themselves with the aesthetical appreciation of the upper classes. Instead, they must look on life with a sense of necessity. Gartman appears to take offence to Bourdieu's portrayal of the lower classes, as he finds Bourdieu 'degrades [the lower class] to the level of an unreflective, animal existence.'[87] Gartman then notes how Bourdieu launches another attack on the hypocrisy of bourgeois culture, in a sense turning those in the lower classes into 'Rousseau-like noble savages'.[88]

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[84] Prior, p. 130.
[85] Garnham.
[86] Gartman, p. 424.
[87] Ibid, p. 440.
[88] Ibid.

Bourdieu's evaluation of those existing outside his idea of upper class presents other problems. One is that different classes create their own taste cultures within diverse activities not directly related to necessity. As one example, Sarah Thornton details the taste cultures in the discotheque scene of the UK.[89] Her discourse provides clear proof that lower classes can experience a cultural product beyond simply the practices of their functions, considering discotheque's unnecessity for survival and the way those that enjoy the music argue its value with their social circle. Similar to Thornton's work, Hannah Davies, David Buckingham and Peter Kelly's 'In the Worst Possible Taste' examines the taste cultures within a small group of school children, attempting to quantify the concept that if left to their own accord children associate with the 'worst' kinds of cultural objects. With this study using types of television consumption as a an echo of taste hierarchy, the study reveals that the small group actually creates its own taste hierarchy influenced from both inside of their classroom circle and the outside (from their parents for example).[90] Besides the disparities of the lower classes as presented above, Bourdieu also displays no singular true sense of an upper class, but rather a certain section of educated elites within it. The critique of limited portrayal, analysed by David Halle, comes from an acknowledgement that many in the upper classes enjoy both cultural products meant for them and partake in popular cultural products (like television), although Bourdieu fails to acknowledge this.[91] Jim Collins asserts that the higher classes in Bourdieu's sense, those with more financial and

[89] Thornton, Sarah, *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital* (Oxford: Polity Press, 2001).
[90] Davies, Hannah, David Buckingham, and Peter Kelley, 'In the Worst Possible Taste', *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 3 (2000), 5–25 [pp. 5].
[91] Halle, David, *Inside Culture: Art and Class in the American Home* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

cultural economy, are not distinguishers of taste.[92] Instead, Collins maintains that there exists a plurality of value scales, including gender, age, geography for example, coming before any notions of cultural hierarchy. Tony Bennet et al. expresses this consensus within a UK context, arguing that each subculture enjoys its own taste culture and does not see items related to other taste cultures as more legitimate than its own.[93] The various discourses relating to the different understandings of cultural value in micro-societies not only diminish Bourdieu's overarching argument of cultural value, but also provides this study with perception of cultural value not reliant on elitism. This means cultural products must be legitimated in other ways than having it only acceptable to the upper class or placed into museums.

Though the evidence above stages an attractive vision of alternate taste hierarchies existing alongside one another, some might argue that this is rather too utopian to exist in the real world.[94] An additional argument finds that while Bourdieu's sense of 'higher class' may be outdated, there still exist certain members of society that have more influence upon society, or at least certain aspects within society. One such group could be the 'new class', with their 'new class culture', as being an influential force, especially within the United States. Avron Fleishman discusses how the 'new class' act as a kind of highly educated middle class, who do not simply aspire to and yearn for the culture of the upper classes as presented in Bourdieu's model, but instead question and critique these

[92] Collins, Jim, 'High-Pop: An Introduction', in *High-Pop: Making Culture Into Popular Entertainment*, ed. by Jim Collins (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), pp. 1–31 [pp. 19]
[93] Bennett, Tony, Mike Savage, Elizabeth Silva, Alan Warde, Modesto Gayo-Cal, and David Wright, *Culture, Class, Distinction* (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 205.
[94] Newman and Levine, p. 6.

traditions.[95] The 'new class' identifies with 'a rejection of traditional authority and a conviction that all social arrangements should be subject to reasoned analysis and critique.'[96] Fleishman considers them as masters of new technology, particularly communication (the internet for example), giving them control over certain aspects of society, including taste.[97] The 'new class' acts as a type of culture omnivore. In their rejection of the traditional notions of taste, and their lofty positions within legitimating institutions such as universities and the media, they have a power Bourdieu would only limit to the culturally and economically wealthy, while also partaking in cultural products seemingly under their status. Similar to the very cultural products discussed above, it seems that those in the position to alter its cultural value may likewise change. Furthermore, for the purposes of this study, certain groups, like journalists, have an influence on the perception of cultural value for their readership. It appears that George Orwell's proclamation of '[a]ll animals [taste makers] are equal, but some animals [taste makers] are more equal than others',[98] adeptly describes the philosophy behind cultural value's taste makers. The television industry adopts an idea of legitimating hierarchy and social groups during TV II, as they focussed on luring an audience with similar traits to that of Fleishman's 'new class' (see below discussion of 'quality' TV) or to the group of television elitists studied in this thesis who may also hold a significant role of legitimation for the medium with the rest of society.

[95] Fleishman, 2002.
[96] Ibid, p. 67.
[97] Ibid, p. 76.
[98] Orwell, George, *Animal Farm* (Project Gutenberg, 1996), p. 126.

As indicated in the above, the legitimacy of a cultural product is not inherent but depends upon a process of legitimation (at least if one is avoiding Bourdieu's concepts) over time. A cultural product's, for example television or telefantasy, value changes through the years. Lawrence Levine provides a historical account of how society in the United States created cultural hierarchies that influenced the debates and treatments of certain cultural products. His text provides an example of how previous cultural forms have shifted up or down cultural hierarchies. Levine details the historic process of the creation of social hierarchies in the United States, and how certain class distinctions, like the newly emergent 'highbrow', were absorbed and adopted into specific class distinctions. Levine maintains that his case studies — the plays of William Shakespeare and the opera — as well as other cultural works now considered 'high art', or at least somewhat artistically legitimate, did not start out as such. Society originally deemed these works as part of popular culture. However, a new class of people called the 'highbrow' absorbed it. Levine documents the historical process which, taking Shakespeare as an example, began with the whole population enjoying the Bard's work, whether it be those with less capital and less education (low class) or those who were wealthy and educated (high class). A change occurred when increasing social segregation in theatres (those of higher social background found they did not want to sit with vulgar, 'low' people[99]), coupled with an increase in immigrants arriving in the States who would be less likely to understand the language of the plays, caused the people with greater financial position and education to adopt the works of Shakespeare into the category of 'high art' meant only for the 'highbrow'. The segregation of

[99] Levine, 1988, p. 57.

Shakespeare from the larger population occurred mainly in two ways. The first was the gradual 'sacralisation' of the text; the plays were no longer to be known as or laughed at for jokes considered low (such as sexual innuendo for example), but appreciated aesthetically for their language and symbolism (in other words, intellectualising the text).[100] The second was the exclusivity of the location of performances, limiting audiences to those that could afford the high theatre ticket costs. Those who did not have the financial capital for theatre would instead visit a vaudeville show, or, later on, watch a film.[101] However, Levine also has his critics, with William Uricchio and Roberta Pearson stating that Shakespeare was still a part of popular culture as well as being 'sacralised' throughout the period Levine determines this change was taking place.[102] So for the purposes of this thesis, it is not wrong to propose the notion that a cultural product can both become legitimate or 'sacralised' while still maintaining a place within popular culture. It is also possible to conclude that a cultural product's value, like telefantasy, would alter depending on time and circumstance, be that culturally or industrially.

As discussed above, Bourdieu's model conceives of social hierarchies as unchanging. Levine, on the other hand, finds plausible evidence of how the perception of a cultural product's legitimacy changes**.** In this line, Richard A. Peterson and Roger M. Kern discuss the shift in the ability to appreciate cultural products which are not part of an individual's class tastes. Their study explores the evolution of the upper-class enjoying cultural products, specifically certain

[100] Ibid, p. 35.
[101] Ibid, p. 76.
[102] Uricchio, William, and Roberta Pearson, *Reframing Culture: The Case of the Vitagraph Quality Films* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 67.

music genres, not deemed ‘high art’, as they partake in many different art forms considered ‘low’ or ‘middle’. However, this ‘omnivorousness’ does not apply to all genres of music without discrimination, as highbrows display ‘symbolic boundaries’[103] in their selection of what they listen to and how. The writers give as an example the boundary found within the country music genre. They maintain that while highbrows enjoy this genre of music, they do so in a different way to the lower classes, creating a ‘symbolic boundary’ between themselves and the genre’s lowbrow audience. Instead, highbrows acknowledge and judge the genre with an educated background in its aesthetics, intellectualising the music through discourse. Peterson and Kern’s study also shows how a medium such as television could too be enjoyed by highbrows, or at the very least, it allows an understanding that even in Bourdieu’s unchanging model. Those with the power of legitimation might vary, providing an example for cultural value’s fluidity. This group’s legitimating value shows how a different cultural group legitimated an item for the rest of society through their criticism.

Levine’s and Peterson and Kern’s studies show how cultural products like television could shift in cultural hierarchy as well as the way it could happen because of changes to both social groups and the cultural products themselves. The latter’s work gives five reasons for the shift from ‘snob’ (a word equating to those of the upper classes who only enjoy cultural products meant for them) to ‘omnivore’ within the highbrow community. Firstly, ‘structural change’ which is ‘highbrow’ arts becoming less exclusive, as well as geographical migration and the ability for those of the lower classes to move up economically

[103] Peterson, Richard A., and Roger M. Kern, ‘Changing Highbrow Taste: From Snob to Omnivore’, *American Sociology Review*, 61 (1996), 900–907 [pp. 904].

and gain access to cultural products meant for the higher class. Secondly, 'value change', which society experiences as a whole, and leads to open-mindedness towards those that held different values within society (the acceptance of diverse religions, for example). Thirdly, 'Art-world change', as those who are in positions to make such evaluations (such as intellectuals and art critics) distinguish 'high art' from 'low art', allowing aesthetic judgments for all different cultural products. Fourthly, 'generational politics', which is a certain age group in society distancing themselves culturally from older generations. Finally, 'status-group politics', where those who see popular culture as bad or vulgar, lose power to those who saw value in it.[104] The shift from snob to omnivore seems to indicate a shift in the process and perception of how taste works within social hierarchies, and once again displays the fluidity of the understanding of cultural value partly based on a notion of legitimation through time. As this thesis presents throughout, a cultural form or medium gains legitimacy as it gets older, while newer products and media are delegitimated (this is certainly what happens to early television, as discussed in Chapter 2). There does appear to be a continued notion that cultural forms become perceived as more legitimate as they get older whereas newness often equates to something of lower cultural value (unless it is someway innovative).

However, the argument above also presents problems. Bauman points out that cultural snobbery also has a denial of snobbery in it,[105] as those from the upper hierarchies of culture deny their supposed cultural superiority despite taking advantage of it. Country music provides a further example of this kind of

[104] Ibid, p. 905-6.
[105] Bauman, Zygmunt, *Culture in a Liquid Modern World* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011).

indirect snobbery. As discussed earlier, higher classes appear to enjoy the music genre in a fundamentally different way than the lower classes. The upper classes' enjoyment links to a sense of superiority due to the academic nature in which they partake of the music genre as described in Peterson and Kern. As such, there is a lack of unity regarding the appreciation of a cultural product, meaning it is only legitimated when one group, like highbrows, enjoys it, rather than accounting for other groups who can intellectualise an object.

Furthermore, there is an argument of accessibility, as multiple taste cultures are only available to those of the higher classes. Beverly Skeggs argues that only the upper classes possess the time, money, and knowledge to access many contrasting taste cultures.[106] Tak Win Chan and John H. Goldthorpe develop the omnivore nature of the upper classes further in their 'omnivore univore' argument.[107] They claim taste hierarchies separate in association with the number of cultural products accessible rather than access to specific cultural products. In other words, those of higher social status can participate in a greater number of cultural products than do those from the lower statuses, and it is this figure that indicates their position within the social hierarchy. This further shows problems in a simple definition of legitimacy, as it reflects how different members of society, like those in the television industry and critics, can come together to discuss and appreciate a cultural object.

John Frow further disrupts notions of highbrow and taste cultures; he claims that because of socio-historical reasons there does not exist a clear value hierarchy between 'high' and 'low' culture, and these values can no longer/if

[106] Skeggs, Beverly, *Class, Self, Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004).
[107] Chan, Tak Wing, and John H. Goldthorpe, 'Social Stratification and Cultural Consumption: The Visual Arts in England', *Poetics*, 35 (2007), 168–90.

ever relate to a specific hierarchy of social class.[108] According to Frow, objects have become devoid of any placement within social hierarchies due to the following four reasons. First, the production of objects deemed for 'highbrow audiences' has become the same as objects made for the 'low', since the majority of cultural products in the contemporary are produced mechanically and in mass.[109] Second, 'high culture' no longer dominates and holds power over other taste values; instead, various equally held taste hierarchies all exist alongside one another (similar to the discussed examples earlier).[110] Third, Frow maintains consuming 'low' culture as something negative has disappeared, and mass culture stopped being opposition to art.[111] Finally, there ceased an antagonism between highbrows and lowbrows. Instead, there is an interconnection between high and low value cultures.[112] In Frow's understanding, there is no hierarchy for cultural products. However, were this the case how would one explain the distinguishing factors that this thesis and other works presented above use to make judgments? In sum, the relevance of Frow's argument for this thesis comes from the conclusion that taste cultures exist simultaneously rather than, as Frow argues, distinctions having entirely disappeared or never existed.

Although Frow's argument presents some flaws, it also holds some merit. There does appear to exist a number of different taste spheres as discussed throughout this thesis. The spheres themselves seem to be almost at infinite, as different ages, cultures, race etc., may all come together to form a certain opinion depending on the cultural product. One of these groups, the elitists of television

[108] Frow, p. 1.
[109] Ibid, p. 23.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid, p. 24.
[112] Ibid, p. 25.

discourse, who read papers like *The New York Times* and scour the industrial pages of trade magazines such as *Variety,* have an opinion reflected through media sources (which are used as primary data in this thesis). Unlike other groups, their understanding of cultural value are documented through the print media they read. As such, the process of cultural legitimation is certainly reliant on who legitimates. However, certain objects also offer supposedly innate items of high cultural value, which have themselves been legitimated through past legitimators. These elements have been understood as legitimate, and discourse of these objects in legitimate ways reflects that. With the general academic discourse concerning cultural value, including its different forms and theories, now established, it becomes key to analyse how these discussions relate to the increasing legitimacy of popular culture, like television.

As changes in the opinions of media's cultural value emerge, forms of popular media can no longer be dismissed as unworthy. Steven Johnson takes this stance, as he maintains popular culture enlightens and educates the masses (especially children). He holds that seemingly pointless popular cultural products can have a variety of educational lessons within them (for example, a baseball card game based on statistics increasing mathematical knowledge).[113] His work describes this type of education as the 'sleeper curve' and finds it 'is the single most important force altering the mental deployment of young people today, and [that] it is largely a force for good'.[114] To prove his claim, Johnson analyses the diverse ways the brain functions when exposed to different kinds of popular culture, especially focusing on media like games and television.

[113] Johnson, Steven, *Everything Bad Is Good for You* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005), p. 9.
[114] Collins, p. 12.

Although Johnson is not an academic, Joan Shelly Rubin [115] and Janice Radway[116] explore the connection between cultural value and education. Rudin and Radway's work demonstrates that people participate in self-education through mass produced texts for middlebrow audiences wishing to gain cultural capital.[117] In other words, people use popular, mass-produced, cultural products to educate themselves.

Shyon Baumann discusses the change its cultural value for another type of popular media, film. He details how Hollywood movies in America gained a perception of legitimacy, becoming an art form rather than just entertainment in the 1960s.[118] To explain Hollywood's changing legitimacy, Baumann describes a 'legitimation framework', [119] which he claims can 'explain the artistic legitimation of not only Hollywood film but of other artistic media as well'.[120] This thesis uses some of Baumann's ideas regarding the creation of its own legitimating criteria below. His 'legitimation framework', comprises three factors that allows a cultural product legitimacy.[121] The first is 'opportunity space' within the society in question to accept a new art form. In other words, this factor takes into account what has happened historically in a society that would allow space for the legitimation of a cultural product to occur. The writer argues that multiple events led to the alteration of Hollywood film's cultural value, including the economic fallout from the two World Wars (the first

[115] Rubin, Joan Shelly, *The Making of Middlebrow Culture* (London: University of Carolina Press, 1992).
[116] Radway, Janice, *A Feeling for Books: The Book-of-the-Month Club, Literary Taste, and Middle-Class Desire* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).
[117] Collins, p. 7.
[118] Baumann, p. 1.
[119] Ibid, p. 18.
[120] Ibid, p. 18.
[121] Ibid, p. 14.

creating an artistic driven film industry in Europe which America could learn from and the latter creating a larger middle class in America allowing for more leisure time), an increased birth and education rates in the general population, and finally the Pop Art movement.[122] Although the author maintains all factors are greatly important in creating the 'opportunity space' for Hollywood film to be seen as a legitimate art form by the 1960s (TV may also have contributed to this situations, as the emergence of a new medium allowed film to escalate in the hierarchy), he specifies the Pop Art Movement as being most directly key, due to it revolutionising ideas of what could be considered art.[123] Indeed, academics often mention the Pop Art Movement as a key factor when interpreting the changes of cultural values experienced in this period of time.[124] The Pop Art Movement allowed a 'desacralisation'[125] of cultural products meant for highbrows, as it sought to challenge seemingly eternal notions of distinctions between the artistic and the commercial, and aimed to lift popular culture into the world of the legitimate.[126] Movements such as Pop Art provide a clear example of modifications in cultural value. While 'opportunity space' is discussed throughout this thesis in regard to telefantasy, for example transitions and changes in the television industry resulting in the creation of products with different cultural value, Baumann's understanding of value heavily relies on

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[122] Ibid, p. 22.
[123] Ibid, p. 52.
[124] The Pop Art Movement began in the 1950s and was a campaign to challenge what constitutes art. Pop art artists used elements from mass and popular culture as subjects for their creations in order to question traditional fine art. Collins, p. 6.
Hall, Stuart, and Paddy Whannel, *The Popular Arts* (Essex: Hutchinson Educational, 1966).
Ross, Andrew, *No Respect: Intellectuals and Popular Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1989).
[125] Ibid, p. 6.
[126] Ibid.

notions of highbrow set up by Bourdieu, rather than seeing different legitimating groups providing cultural value.

The second part of Baumann's 'legitimation framework' is 'institutionalized resources and activities', or, in other words, the changes within the production of the cultural product and how people treat these items. In terms of film, Baumann sees these shifts in the following: the creation of film festivals, film academia, and the director as artist producing a more artistic discourse by those involved in the industry around the way they treated film. Baumann continues by noting how an increased curiosity in art houses, an economic interest in 'prestige productions', new censorship practices and films of the 1960s becoming more substantive,[127] changed the way films were made. These developments in both the perception of filmmaking and its practices 'constitute the major factors within the film world that helped to create an art world for film.'[128] Similar factors are discussed in this thesis in relation to the television industry.

The third, and final, part of the 'legitimation framework' is the 'intellectualization through discourse'. Baumann discusses this 'intellectualization' in the way movie critics change their rhetoric in film reviews throughout time; critics teach audiences how to think about films and supply the rhetoric discussing films.[129] Film producers recognised the changing power of the reviewer, as Baumann details the way film advertisers would use these quotes from film 'experts' to promote their films.[130] The primary sources

[127] With regard to theme, looking at topics previously left aside or thought of as off-putting for an audience, and textual elements, allowing experimentation with new techniques relating to directing and mise-en-scene.
[128] Baumann, p. 53-4.
[129] Ibid, p. 112.
[130] Ibid, p. 159.

used through this thesis similarly evidence the evolution of an intellectualisation of television discourse between TV I and TV II, reflecting the opinions and views of the groups of those who discuss the medium.

Despite Baumann's research on the artistic legitimacy of film, he cannot put the medium any higher on the social hierarchy than 'middlebrow art'. The reason for this, he states, is the lack of 'purification of genre'[131] as highly artistic Hollywood films still tie to seemingly lesser filmic works, even being shown in the same theatres.[132] A similar idea extends to television, as Jane Feuer argues that television itself is too hybrid for conventional separations of genre.[133] Yet, while there exist discourses that differentiate television through genre (which this thesis frequently evidences throughout) it remains a valid label, problematic even though it may be, in order to differentiate content. Furthermore, Baumann finds that a 'blockbuster' economic ideology Hollywood adopted after the 1960s (which looked to devote finances to a fewer number of films in the hopes that a hit film would make enough money to be both profitable and pay off the losses on any failures) helped reinstate the perception of Hollywood film as a firstly money making industry rather than an artistic one.[134] So, whereas legitimacy can be gained in certain aspects, notions of delegitimacy can exist at the same time, with cultural value crucially linked to time and place.

However, the legitimacy of film was not a singular set event. The period presented by Baumann, the 1960s, was not the movie industry's first bid at using institutional resources to gain legitimacy. Indeed, Uricchio and Pearson study

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[131] Ibid, p. 166.
[132] Ibid, p. 167.
[133] Feuer, Jane, 'Genre Study and Television', in *No Channels of Discourse, Reassembled: Television and Contemporary Criticism*, ed. by Robert C. Allen (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pp. 138–60 (151).
[134] Baumann, p. 168.

the film industry's endeavour to change its perception as early as the first decade of the 1900s, hoping to gain acknowledgment as mass entertainment rather than a cheap form of amusement.[135] The attempted legitimating of early film occurred through a discourse within the industry itself, as those in the industry agreed to produce films of a higher narrative quality (often by including adaptations of works of literature, the bible, and historically based), and avoid simplistic melodrama and comedy.[136] The shift in content created by the film industry aligned with their view of high culture at the time, an example the industry wished to modify its social status. Baumann, and Uricchio and Pearson prove how those in an industry can push for a transformation in cultural value, similarly to what television does in its own evolution discussed further below.

This thesis adopts and modifies, some of Baumann's criteria of value. Baumann's notion of 'opportunity space' is mirrored in this work, though not as a legitimating factor. This text presents 'opportunity space' as inherent within any discussion in the change of cultural value, hence, the legitimating factors below are all reliant on the chance of their existence. That is why the thesis takes time to discuss the details of the periods of TV I and TV II in separate chapters, as it provides context to the 'opportunity space' the discourses of legitimacy for the case study programmes take place in. Another factor this text observes from Baumann is the way in which the television industry itself provides the resources for conversations of cultural value to alter. This factor is particularly evident in TV II and its 'quality' television (discussed below). Finally, what Baumann demonstrates in his text is the relevance of intellectual discourse by critics in

[135] Uricchio and Pearson, p. 41.
[136] Ibid, p. 42.

order to create a naturalised notion of legitimacy. The role journalists perform in the formation of cultural value is a key factor in this thesis as discussed in the methodology section of the introduction.

Moving beyond more general understandings of popular culture's evolving legitimacy to discussions of cultural value in the television medium specifically, Newman and Levine's *Legitimating Television* is the key texts of this field. As the title suggests, the book attempts to examine discourses of television's changing position in the cultural hierarchy.[137] To accomplish their objective, the writers base their identification of legitimacy on the ideas of a raised cultural status within society, grounding themselves theoretically in the existence of social hierarchies (as seen in Bourdieu), rather than the utopian belief of their disappearance seen in other theories.[138] However, Newman and Levine find that taste patterns follow distinctions in popular culture, allowing for those of higher taste values to find legitimate genres within popular culture. On television legitimacy, the writers argue that

> it is a mistake to accept naively that television has grown better over the years, even while such a discourse is intensifying within popular, industrial, and scholarly sites. In contrast, we argue that it is primarily cultural elites (including journalists, popular critics, TV creators and executives, and media scholars) who have intensified the legitimation of television by investing the medium with aesthetic and other prized values, nudging it closer to more established arts and cultural forms and preserving their own privileged status in return.[139]

[137] Newman and Levine, p. 3.
[138] Ibid, p. 6.
[139] Ibid, p. 7.

Though I too base my argument on the idea that certain members of the audience influence the legitimation of telefantasy, I further explain that the legitimacy is not wholly dependent on this factor. Instead, I note several legitimating factors allowing a modification in the perception of cultural value, and these changes are often made in conjunction with the change in television's industrial history.

Newman and Levine's notions of legitimacy also reflect in the way the writers see the possibility of certain television programmes being viewed as art, as '[p]opular art is transformed into esoteric or high art at precisely that time when it in fact becomes esoteric, that is when it becomes or is rendered inaccessible to the types of people who appreciated it earlier.' [140] The inaccessibility of certain programmes for groups of people create a hierarchy within television's audience, between those who have access to certain content and those that do not. Programming on a subscription channel offers a Bourdieuian example of television's esotericism, since such premium content is only available to those who have the economic means to experience it. The creation of the esoteric in television shows it is not really the content itself that can become legitimate, but rather its relation to a set of changing contexts outside of the programme. Newman and Levine concluded that legitimacy in television is an ongoing process, with the very best programmes on television during the convergence era situating in the 'middlebrow range' of social hierarchy, or in Bourdieu's terms, as '"major works of minor arts"'.[141]

However, Newman and Levine are clear to point out that not all forms of television are subject to the entitlement of legitimacy. Indeed, for a particular

[140] Ibid, p. 9.
[141] Ibid, p. 8.

cultural product or a group of products to develop legitimacy, it is often at the cost of delegitimacy for another. So, they argue that only 'quality' TV (discussed further below) became more legitimate, above all other forms of television production. Once again, there is a problem of conflation between genre and medium; while Newman and Levine maintain that television as a whole developed more legitimacy, their argument actually only concerns one particular area of television programming, 'quality' television.[142] Jane Feuer discusses the problems in identifying legitimacy within genre, because of it having pre-established notions of cultural value from other media. Yet, to clearly separate an area of television as legitimate in this fashion, especially regarding the problematic nature of television hybridity as noted by Feuer earlier, shows an oversimplification of the medium's content. The increasing legitimacy of 'quality' television, they claim, raises the legitimacy of the medium entirely.

The phrase 'quality' TV did not originate with Newman and Levine, but has long existed within television studies.[143] Newman and Levine use the ideas concurrently while describing what and how 'quality' TV works as a marker of legitimacy. Perhaps the earliest discussion of 'quality' TV is by Jane Feuer, Paul Kerr and Tise Vahimagi,[144] where the authors examine the notion that 'quality' TV first emerged through programming like *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* (CBS, 1970-1977) and *Hill Street Blues* (NBC, 1981-1987) developed by MTM Enterprises (1969-1998). Though 'quality' television will mostly come into context in relation to the chapters based on TV II, I discuss them briefly here

[142] Feuer, 'Genre Study and Television', 138-9.
[143] Thompson, Robert J, *Television's Second Golden Age: From Hill Street Blues to ER* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1997), p. 12-13.
[144] Feuer, Jane, Paul Kerr, and Tise Vahimagi, eds., *MTM 'Quality Television'* (London: bfi Publishing, 1984).

because of their place in the formulation of the legitimating criteria this thesis uses throughout.

One aspect of 'quality' TV included within the legitimate perception of television is authorship,[145] which, being borrowed from film theory, places someone (often an executive producer) behind the television series in a creator role, and the show becomes associated as an element of a creator's brand. The label 'showrunner' describes the television author, despite no such title initially existing in the television industry.[146] The title has since been adopted in order to sell a programme as an artistic vision.[147] The 'showrunner's' position of artistic integrity is often even more heightened when they must fight with television networks in order to get their artistic views on the air.[148] Certain telefantasy programmes become synonymous with a strong authorship figure, which this study later goes on to detail.

Next, comes the notion of 'quality' TV having a continuing storyline,[149] with a main plot and other side plots continuing for whole seasons or even multiple seasons. The characters in the shows themselves also exhibit similar properties, as they display growth and development within the series rather than returning to the status quo after every episode.[150] While the serialisation

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[145] Newman and Levine.
Feuer, Kerr, Vahimagi., Mccabe, Janet, and Kim Akass, eds., *Quality TV* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007).
Nelson, Robin, *State of Play: Contemporary High-End TV Drama* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).
[146] Newman and Levine, p. 38-39.
[147] Hadas-Dattner, Leora, 'Selling Genius' (University of Nottingham, 2015), p. 8
[148] Feuer, Jane, 'The MTM Style', in *MTM 'Quality Television',* ed. by Jane Feuer, Paul Kerr, and Tise Vahimagi (London: bfi Publishing, 1984), pp. 32–60.
[149] Newman and Levine; Feuer, Kerr and Vahimagi; Nelson; Jancovich, Mark, and James Lyons, eds., *Quality Popular Television: Cult TV, the Industry and Fans* (Suffolk: bfi Publishing, 2003).
[150] Jacobs, Jason, 'Issues of Judgement and Value in Television Studies', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 4 (2001), 427–47.

presented here resembles less legitimate genres, like soap operas, 'quality' TV is legitimated since the fictional events are expressed and acted with a sense of realism, rather than with the melodrama found in soap opera.[151] Furthermore, this setup allows 'quality' TV to have a long format resembling a novel, linking the genre to an already legitimate medium.

'Quality' TV must display superiority in what it shows on the television itself, its mise-en-scene, as well as a sense of innovation in its presentation.[152] Critics and academics often label this kind of high quality appearance as being 'cinematic'.[153] One way to gain legitimacy is through comparison to an already legitimate cultural product, so using the mise-en-scene of television in relation to the more legitimate medium of film, in turn, legitimates the former (and hence another reason why perhaps film became more legitimate when television arrived). A more complex presentation of storytelling also allows a 'quality' TV programme the ability to be self-referential or intertextual. Intertextuality in 'quality' TV rewards long time viewers and those with cultural currency in different kinds of culture (like other arts) to understand references within the show itself so they can have access to a higher experience.[154]

Certain telefantasy programming have been associated with 'quality' TV. Shows like *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (The WB, 1997-2003), *The X-Files* (Fox, 1993-2002), *Twin Peaks* (ABC, 1990-1991), etc. integrate into discussions of 'quality' TV.[155] However, the inclusion in this canon does not mean they always

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[151] Geraghty, Christine, 'Aesthetics and Quality in Popular Television Drama', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 6 (2003), pp. 25–45 (30).
[152] Newman and Levine. P. 61.
[153] Cinematic refers to a the mimicry of the mise-en-scene of a television programme to that of film, a processes allowed with the cheapening and development of the television making process. Nelson, p. 11.
[154] Feuer, p. 42.
[155] Discussed further in Chapter 5.

fit completely. The most obvious example of this is the debate of realism within 'quality' TV. Robert J. Thompson remarks that shows must have a realistic nature to be 'quality',[156] something not applicable to telefantasies, since the sense of realism he discusses is found not only within the interaction of characters but also from setting, action, etc. Yet, it can be argued that the world presented in telefantasy could be considered realistic within its own story-built world and, as such, certain aspects of a telefantasy may still be considered realistic inside of its own universe but still rest beyond the known verisimilitude for its audience. Furthermore, certain generic features, such as science within a science fiction, could also be presented as realistic within the programme's universe and provide the presentation of plausibility to its audience, even if it is implausible to an audience due to some kind of limitation, like a lack of technological advancement at the time of the show's airing, this would too hold some form of realism for the audience. Furthermore, like other generic concepts, the criteria surrounding 'quality' television change throughout time through discourse and other industrial changes.[157] This means that the standards encompassing 'quality' television could change from Thompson's designations.

However, the aspects described above do not wholly account for the legitimacy of 'quality' TV. The audience of these programmes also factor into its cultural value. The viewers of 'quality' TV are of a higher social/economic

[156] Thompson, p. 15.

[157] Nelson, Robin, 'Quality TV Drama: Estimations and Influences Through Time and Space', in *Quality TV: Contemporary American Television and Beyond*, ed. by Janet McCabe and Kim Akass (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007), pp. 38–52 (46).

standing,[158] who often interact in some fashion with the programme,[159] with watching television possibly linked to a kind of educational experience. Finally, there is television's changing notion of its own legitimacy, as the television industry's award ceremonies recognise and award 'quality' TV for its apparent excellence,[160] and also a change in discourse throughout media regarding 'quality' TV in general.[161]

This thesis takes many of the ideas discussed above regarding legitimacy and applies them to telefantasy through two periods of time. As analysed above, Bourdieu argues that it is a certain group within society that legitimates for the whole of society. These legitimating people gain their ability through social standing and education. However, this argument had limitations in regard to who legitimates and the reason behind their ability to bestow cultural value. Such a limited scope would mean that legitimate culture simply ties to a single group, while other theorists, such as Sarah Thornton, show that legitimacy can exist within many social groups. This also does not reflect the flexibility of legitimacy: that it can change throughout time based on context and discourse, which is what Levine argues. Though Bourdieu's model of legitimacy has boundaries, it does have the inherent truth that certain collectives have a legitimating influence over cultural products, if only in a limited scope as to those who question its value. Similarly, although many groups have legitimating abilities, some influence

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[158] Newman and Levine.
Jacobs.
Frith, Simon, 'The Black Box: The Value of Television and the Future of Television Research', *Screen*, 41 (2000), 33–50
Mittell, Jason, *Television and American Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
[159] Geraghty, Christine, and David Lusted, eds., *The Television Studies Book* (New York: Arnold, 1998).
[160] Thompson, p. 15.
[161] Newman and Levine, p. 99.

more than others. A collective's power to construct value is represented by an intellectualisation of the medium through discourse, and that is what the collected media text within this thesis represent for the elitist television group. Since this particular body of individuals have no connection other than their appreciation and interest in a medium, the primary data examined within this thesis with a much broader audience is still relevant to the group of television elitists, since these discourses offer intellectualisation through criticism rather than simplistic reporting only accounting what has happened.[162] Yet, while dialogues of a particular collective are required for legitimation, they base their discourses of telefantasy on certain criteria. These criteria are the elements that are either intellectualised or not within a programme and provide the basis for the acceptance of a product as legitimate. These are the features that may influence the debate about a cultural product's value.

Legitimating Criteria for Telefantasy

Discourses of legitimacy are complex and often contradictory, with disagreement on its major principles and even its very existence. From my review of the various arguments I conclude that legitimacy exists, but its form is temporally specific and subject to alterations. These changes often reflect reconfigurations from both society and the television industry. When the television industry alters its production output, those commentating on the medium, like journalists, adjust their opinions. However, while there are

[162] Amanda D. Lotz. (2008) On "Television Criticism": The Pursuit of the Critical Examination of a Popular Art, Popular Communication, 6:1, 20-36.

changing criteria of legitimacy, there are still ever-present criteria, as seen above with Baumann. Often, journalists' opinion reveals implicit assumptions about legitimating criteria, providing a means to understand their value of a cultural product. Even if this was not the goal of their texts, their intellectualisation of these specific facets discloses their perception of value. As such, the text must exhibit certain qualities itself in order for these discourses to exist. Both these qualities and the discussions around them are subject to change over time.[163] I chose the below legitimating criteria through an analysis of the discourses of legitimacy discussed in this chapter as well as the primary data gathered. They are textual elements, authorship, audience, genre, cultural commentary, comparison and contrast, integration, awarding institutions, and academia. Other legitimating criteria not present below are era specific and are discussed in chapters 2 or 4, respectively. Because of the number and differentiation of legitimating criteria, there are cases where certain factors legitimate while others delegitimate. The ultimate cultural value of the programme becomes clear through the culmination of all the legitimating factors.

Textual Elements

Conversations about television's textual elements, like all the legitimating factors discussed below, change throughout time. In the history of the medium, textual elements often distinguish the most legitimate television. In TV I, the theatrical style of live-teleplays led to judgments of 'realistic' and superior

[163] As this thesis shows.

writing. In TV II, the idea of ‘cinematic’ within ‘quality’ television featured in the discourse of the legitimacy of the television type.

But what do I exactly mean by textual elements? The use of this phrase acts as an umbrella term covering multiple facets of the television texts such as narration, theme, and audio-visual presentation. In other words, it comprises the presentational aspects of television. I chose the phrase textual elements because there does not exist a term to designate these aspects of television, since the areas covered are wide, varied, and separated within television academia. These textual elements include: acting, directing, sound, music, writing (including narrative, plot, and overarching themes along with dialogue), editing and mise-en-scene (which includes, the use of the camera, composition, lighting, framing, set design, perspective, and cinematography). Genre, although arguably also a textual element, has been excluded from this section because, as this thesis shows throughout, it carries distinguishing facets influencing the creation and perception of cultural value beyond its textual presence. It is not this thesis’ role to judge the textual value of the case study programmes. Rather, it analyses how discourses of these programmes discuss their various textual elements. Do cultural commentators talk about a programme’s camerawork? If so, how? Do they talk of acting skill? These and related questions divulge an understanding of the perception of a programme’s cultural value in terms of textual elements.

Authorship

Paintings have painters, novels have writers, poems have poets, films have auteurs, and television programmes have showrunners. Television shares the

legitimating factor of authorship with film and other arts.[164] Having a clear and identifiable author of a cultural product signifies its cultural value.[165] However, unlike novels and paintings, which are often products produced by a single or a few authors, television and film often have tens or sometimes even hundreds of people working on the creation of a specific product. Yet, the focus upon authors or showrunners obscures the efforts of all of these individuals. The disavowal of other creators is the price paid for legitimacy.

Robert Stam describes authorship as a key legitimating factor in film.[166] He states that an author, in film's case the auteur, of an art piece is key in determining the worth of a cultural product, its value changing in relation to its creator. The notion of the auteur in film comes from literature's own ideas of authorship.[167] Like these other media, television has also adopted the authorship model, especially when discussing programmes appearing to have the most cultural value. As will be seen in Chapter 4, 'quality' television becomes the marker of the most legitimate television during TV II. These programmes shared a trait by having a clearly identifiable authorship figure working behind the scenes of the programme. Newman and Levine summarise the role of showrunner as legitimating factor:

> The showrunner is potentially an auteur: an artist of unique vision whose experiences and personality are expressed through storytelling craft, and whose presence in cultural discourses functions to produce authority for

[164] Baumann, p. 66; Bourdieu, Pierre, *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), p. 153.
[165] Johnson, Derek, 'Participation Is Magic: Collaboration, Authorial Legitimacy, and the Audience Function', in *A Companion to Media Authorship*, ed. by Jonathan Gray and Derek Johnson (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), pp. 133–57.
[166] Stam, Robert, *Film Theory: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000).
[167] Ibid, 83.

> the forms with which he is identified. The rise to prominence of television auteurs and of authorship discourses surrounding them functions to distinguish certain kinds of television from others, and, as in cinema, to promote auteur productions as culturally legitimate.[168]

Whereas the television author did not fully emerge until TV II, an important focus of the thesis will be upon the ways in which the primary sources in both TV I and TV II identify and discuss the authorship figures related to the case study programmes.

Audience

The audience required for legitimation is based on both cultural and industrial factors connected to television viewers within a period. Traditionally, a cultural product appreciated by a large audience has not been seen as legitimate. This is certainly the case in Bourdieu's view,[169] and corresponds with Newman and Levine's argument concerning current television legitimacy. However, the situation differs in the TV I era. In the three-network oligopoly, a show could not survive without a sustainably large audience; television programmes that did not have a large enough audience to draw in advertisers were quickly cancelled. But programmes with the highest number of viewers were not necessarily the most legitimate. For example, many westerns dominated the Nielsen ratings[170]

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[168] Newman and Levine, p. 38.
[169] Bourdieu, 1996.
[170] Nielsen Television ratings refers to an audience measurement system established by Nielsen Media Research in the 1950s that counted how many people were watching a certain programme. It became the measurement system adopted by the United States television Industry. 'Nielsen: Our History', *Nielsen* <http://sites.nielsen.com/timelines/our-history/> [accessed 11 November 2019].

while at the same time were seen by some as delegitimate due to their violent nature and lack of originality.[171] One must not base legitimacy on Nielsen ratings alone, but consider them in the context of other factors, such as the reviewers' perspectives, age groups, gender, and class status in determining value through audience in this era. Even though the television industry's understanding of these audience groups were not as prevalent in TV I as in more contemporary television, discourses at this time were still aware of certain audiences and their legitimating value. The television industry itself acknowledges audience diversity beginning in the early 1970s,[172] but the emphasis upon niche audiences grows even more dominant in TV II, because of the number of channels that become available gradually increasing.

The audience factor for legitimacy in TV II is more straightforward. Newman and Levine's, as well as many others that discuss 'quality' TV, associate this content with its 'highbrow' viewership.[173] In short, due to the number of new channels with new content, as well as an emerging emphasis on advertising to specific demographics, there was no longer a major focus on large audiences. Instead, the television industry desired niche audiences, especially if they were young, urban, technologically up to date, financially secure, and educated (essentially fitting in with Fleishman's 'new class'). However, while some audiences legitimate, such as that described above, others do not. Take,

[171] This is referenced in Minow, Newton N., *The 'Vast Wasteland': Address by Newton N. Minow to the National Association of Broadcasters, Washington, D.C. May 9, 1961*, ed. by Frank J. Kahn (New York: Prentice Hall College Div, 1961).
[172] Pearson, Roberta, and Maire Messenger Davies, 41
[173] See for example Jancovich and Lyons. Feuer, Jane, Paul Kerr, and Tise Vahimagi, eds., *MTM 'Quality Television'* (London: bfi Publishing, 1984). Mccabe and Akass, eds. To name but a few.

for example, the soap opera audience which has long been seen as delegitimate.[174]

Genre

Genre acts as a legitimating factor, especially for the television industry itself, when used as a classifier for a television program. Although shows often encompass many different genres, for example *The X-Files* being both sci-fi and horror, the designation of a certain genre can speak to that program's legitimacy, since some genres influence legitimacy more than others. Jason Mittell points out that:

> genres can be seen as key ways that our media experiences are classified and organized into categories that have specific links to particular concepts like cultural value, assumed audience, and social function. By considering genre an ongoing multifaceted practice rather than a textual component, we can see how genre categorization points to much more than just whether *Northern Exposure* is a comedy or a drama, providing greater insight into the specific ways in which our most widespread cultural medium shapes our social world through categorical differences and hierarchies.[175]

This thesis too uses genre beyond its simple role of a label of certain elements within a television programme. Its goal is to analyse and understand how certain generic descriptions influence the perception and construction of cultural value

[174] Newman and Levine, p. 82.
[175] Mittell, 2004, p. vii.

of a telefantasy show. As shown throughout the thesis, journalistic and industrial texts often use generic labels in order to pragmatically discuss and group texts, relying on their audiences' pre-established understanding of a generic label. They may have no wish to use this label to provide a programme with a declaration of value, but readers could not judge whether this was a writer's intention or not. Generic labels construct legitimacy as well as provide an understanding of a programme's content.

According to Philip Goldstein and James L. Machor,[176] one of the most legitimate of television genres constructed is drama, while reality or game shows are considerably less legitimate. However, there are also different designations of genres, and each variation can have various levels of legitimacy. Take, for example, soap opera and costume drama, which would both fall into the drama generic category. The latter is one of the most legitimate of television genres, whereas the former one of the most delegitimate.[177] An example related closely to telefantasy is the difference between the delegitimate space opera and the more legitimate science fiction, an issue discussed in scholarly texts on science fiction.[178] Scholars note 'science fiction' as the more legitimate due to its supposed scientific plausibility, while they identify 'space opera' as delegitimate because its stories are more character based, linking to soap opera in more than just name.[179] Hence, as Mittell notes above, when discussions of a programme bring up a show's genre the discussants do more than simply describe a program.

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[176] Goldstein, Philip, and James L. Machor, eds., *New Directions in American Reception Study* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
[177] Ibid, 40
[178] Phillip Goldstein, and James L. Machor. and Booker, M. Keith, and Anne-Marie Thomas, *The Science Fiction Handbook* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).
[179] Bould, Mark, and Sherryl Vint, *The Routledge Concise History of Science Fiction* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 47.

They are also choosing to label a programme within a certain genre, creating connotations that can both be legitimate or delegitimate. However, these legitimating discussions for science fiction were limited to a small segment of the population who took science fiction seriously. Steve Neale comments how for the majority of society, non-realistic genres, like science fiction, fantasy, and horror, unless used in high art, were deemed for children or those of a childish disposition.[180] The reason for children's lack of legitimacy comes from their historic identification as such, with them not having the cultural currency to understand a cultural product's worth.[181] A connotation with such an audience delegitimates by proxy the genres within telefantasy for the television elites discussed within this thesis.

However, one cannot set a genre's legitimacy. For example, the quiz show scandal in the 1950s destroyed any resemblance of legitimacy the genre held in the United States, with audiences before the scandal considering it to be quite legitimate because of its use of factual trivia educating its audience.[182] As much of the viewership felt betrayed by the event, the genre completely lost its legitimacy, the backlash of which caused many networks to cancel their quiz shows. The quiz show scandal caused further repercussions, such as delegitimating the television medium as a whole.[183] Therefore, there exists the

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[180] Neale, p. 35.

[181] Burn, Andrew, 'Hogwars Versus Svalbard: Cultures Literacies and Game Adaptations of Children's Literature', in *Edinburgh Companion to Children's Literature*, ed. by Clementine Beauvais and Maria Nikolajeva (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), pp. 314–28 [314].

[182] The quiz show scandal occurred in the 1950s. It was made clear that game shows like *Twenty-one* (NBC, 1956-1957) gave answers to the contestant they thought had the most potential of attracting a large audience. The public's knowledge of this cheating resulted in audiences no longer trusting these programmes. Sterling, Christopher H, and John Michael Kittross, *Stay Tuned: A History of American Broadcasting*, 3rd edn (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2002).

[183] This issue is discussed in: Ross, 1989.

possibility for a genre to be delegitimate in TV I, gain legitimacy in TV II, and lose it by TV III, representing the construction of genre and its association to cultural value through discourse.[184]

Moreover, the legitimacy of a genre is not limited to the medium in discussion. Indeed, the non-verisimilitudes genres that make up telefantasy, including science fiction, fantasy, and horror, exist as classifiers in a myriad of media outside of television, like film and literature, each adding to the construction of value for the text. These more general discussions of genre and their cultural value are discussed in chapters 2 and 5 respectively, in relation to the era of television discussed. While it is not the remit to discuss the whole of non-verisimilitudes genres' cultural value during a period (such a study would require a thesis itself), some information is added to add context to the larger discourses of genre outside of television.

Cultural Commentary

To understand the validity and necessity of cultural commentary as a legitimating factor, verisimilitude's relationships with telefantasy must be acknowledged. Steve Neale describes fantasy as working in two different lines of verisimilitude: generic and socio-cultural.[185] The two conflict in telefantasy genres such as science fiction, fantasy and horror, as the generic verisimilitude (i.e., what one expects to find in a telefantasy show, such as the presence of magic or aliens), would naturally go against socio-cultural verisimilitude (what

[184] Mittell, p. 56.
[185] Neale, p. 31.

is believed to be real or truthful in society), as described previously in this chapter. In accordance, genres in telefantasy draw on generic verisimilitude in order to challenge socio-cultural verisimilitude, and as such, the audience can accept depictions of socio-cultural verisimilitude that are strange, becoming an accepted part of its generic verisimilitude. Moreover, it is this play between these two verisimilitudes that links telefantasy's use of cultural commentary to legitimacy. For example, a fantasy program can use conflicts between two races, for instance, dwarves and elves, to comment on race relations in the audience's contemporary society, or a horror show might have a monster created through the fallout of a nuclear bomb, perhaps representing current social fears about nuclear war. In both cases, the generic verisimilitude challenges the socio-cultural verisimilitude. Through this, telefantasy turns into a creative vehicle used to point out contemporary issues to audiences, giving the programmes more meaning, significance, and legitimacy. In this sense, these telefantasy programmes become just as 'real' as the more legitimate 'quality' dramatic genres in television, at least in terms of issues of socio-cultural verisimilitude.

There also is the notion that part of the creation of a plausible socio-cultural verisimilitude in telefantasy, especially in genres such as science fiction, relies on the believability of the presented text's science and physics. Telefantasy's level of 'scientific verisimilitude', especially in regard to the science fiction genre, allows texts portraying the fictitious side of science fiction plausibility or a sense of credibility. As the thesis will go on to show, the value of scientific credibility acts as a key factor in the perception of value for science fiction. The accuracy of the scientific is an aspect that science fiction television shares with its literary and cinematic counterpart, with correctness and scientific

plausibility being legitimated by its audience.[186] Indeed, Hugo Gernsbeck's original definition of the term 'science fiction' in 1924 hoped to distinguish stories with scientific accuracy and educational potential and distance them from the 'scientific romances' of the past.[187] 'Science fiction' becoming the most legitimate within the genre meant that less plausible texts are then given different sub-generic names such as 'space opera'.[188] This, in turn, gives 'science fiction' a kind of scientific legitimacy, related to its understanding of current science and plausible yet unproven science. However, believability in a programme's physics offers genres outside of science fiction the same chance of prestige. Set logic or rules within a fantasy or horror world provides these genres a sense of cohesion and understanding for its audience. While this type of plausibility does apply to all the genres within telefantasy, this study shows how discourses on this subject tend to discuss the believability of science fiction more than other genre.

Comparison and Contrasts

A text's legitimacy is possible to determine when compared or contrasted with other objects. Indeed, as Newman and Levine maintain, a key aspect of television's move to legitimacy in the convergence era was the comparison to film.[189] However, television is not the only medium that attempted to gain

[186] Telotte, J.P., 'Introduction: Across the Screens: Adaptation, Boundaries, and Science Fiction Film and Television', in *Science Fiction Film, Television, and Adaptation*, ed. by J.P. Telotte and Gerald Duchovnay (New York: Routledge), p. xviii.
[187] Geraghty, Lincoln, *American Science Fiction Film and Television* (Oxford: Berg, 2009), p. 9.
[188] The delegitimacy of these labels are discussed in Chapter 4.
[189] Newman and Levine, p. 102.

legitimacy through comparison, as film itself also had to gain legitimacy through its relation to theatre.[190] Moreover, TV too gained legitimacy through resemblance to theatre and to the novel.[191] As discussed earlier, legitimacy is often based on a comparison or contrast to something delegitimate, or when an item is compared to or resembles another legitimate object.

While comparisons can occur between media, it may likewise happen with different cultural products or creations in the same medium. Baumann notes this aspect, and places a special importance on the legitimation of film based on comparative discussions of films' directors and between movies in general.[192] Comparisons may be textual, as in the respective evaluations of two contrasting shows' mise-en-scene, or contextual, for example, the age group of two separate programmes' audiences. Comparison is perhaps the most generalising of the legitimating factors, with almost limitless potential as any resemblance always makes a comment on a cultural product's legitimacy. As stated by Máire Messenger Davies; 'A text is 'good' by virtue of comparison with some supposedly higher cultural form',[193] and in the same vein, a text is also 'good' or legitimated when contrasted with a lower cultural form. This thesis will examine what comparisons or contrasts are made to the telefantasy case studies, and how it influences the view and construction of its cultural value.

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[190] Bordwell, David, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style & Mode of Production to 1960* (London: Routledge, 1985), p. 114.
[191] Newman and Levine, p. 14.
[192] Baumann, p. 6.
[193] Davies, Maire Messenger, 'Quality and Creativity in TV: The Work of Television Storytellers', in *Quality TV* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 171–84 [pp. 181].

Integration

Integration into culture is the incorporation of a cultural product into the general lexicon used in areas outside of television. In essence, the cultural product discussed must become a part of contemporary culture. Integration as a legitimating factor compares somewhat to legitimating institutions, and matches ideas presented by Cathryn Johnson, Timothy J. Dowd and Cecilia L. Ridgeway in that '[s]omething is legitimate if it is in accord with the norms, values, beliefs, practices, and procedures accepted by a group'.[194] The group within this thesis are the television elites represented by journalists making up the primary sources of this thesis because of the eras of television covered. Yet, should discourses related to telefantasy appear in areas outside of the interest of these elites, it represents larger society's awareness of a cultural products existence. Therefore, a part of legitimacy is that the object is known by society or groups within it. While the understanding of what a cultural product is by society or certain groups in society is not necessarily a legitimating factor by itself (as something delegitimate may be just as well-known as something legitimate), [195] the connotations and lexicon used when describing a cultural product, as well as incorporating other legitimating aspects presented by the cultural product in

[194] Johnson, Cathryn, Timothy J. Dowd, and Cecilia L. Ridgeway, 'Legitimacy as a Social Process', *Annual Review of Sociology,* 32 (2006), p. 54.

[195] For example, reality programmes such as *Keeping up with the Kardashians,* which have been slammed critically Bellafante, Ginia, 'The All-Too-Easy Route to Stardom', *The New York Times*, 13 October 2007 https://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/13/arts/television/13bell.html, are certainly popular and well-integrated into popular culture, with some episodes watched by more than 10 million people. Lerner, Rebecca, '"Keeping Up with the Kardashians" Ratings Improve', *Forbes*, 17 January 2018 https://www.forbes.com/sites/rebeccalerner/2018/01/17/keeping-up-with-the-kardashians-ratings-improve/#7f20033f69c2.

question, allows this to develop into a legitimate legitimating factor. Indeed, if no one knows what a cultural product is, then there is no way for it to become legitimate. Legitimacy, to a certain extent, relies on fame.

Awarding institutions

One obvious way that cultural products are legitimate (or in rare cases, delegitimated[196]) is through the bestowal of awards. Bourdieu argues that the legitimacy of a cultural product relies upon its acceptance into a legitimating institution,[197] and it is often the main goal of awards to create a canon to separate that deemed of high value from other cultural products.[198] Awards allow audiences to understand how a certain cultural product has a value for an institution. The legitimacy of the institution's evaluation of a cultural product depends on the institution's own cultural value. Certain awards, like the Nobel Prize, have gained a prominent level of legitimacy, while other awards, such as the MTV movie and television awards, do not carry the same cultural value in certain communities. The reason for the hierarchy of value within awards is as complex an issue as tackling the view of telefantasy's legitimacy and requires in-depth research. For practicality sake, the awards analysed throughout this thesis are those discussed in the primary sources of this thesis. I base the legitimacy of these awards and their impact upon the perception of the case study programme's cultural value on the primary source's identification of value for

[196] For example, see film's Razzie Awards. Lindrea, Victoria, 'Blowing Raspberries at Tinseltown', *BBC News*, 2007 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/entertainment/6392701.stm> [accessed 26 April 2019],
[197] Bourdieu, 1996, p. 62.
[198] English, James F., 'Winning the Culture Game: Prizes, Awards, and the Rules of Art', *New Literary History*, 33 (2002), 109–35.

the award. For example, does the journalist find the case study unworthy of a reward? If so, it reveals the evaluation of the award in respect to the show in question.

As discussed in the introduction, one of television's most legitimating honours are the Emmy Awards. However, the Emmys have had long issues with legitimacy, as like film's Oscars, the Emmys must establish artistic credibility while at the same time functioning as an advertisement for the television industry [199] Nevertheless, the awards have continually attempted to praise artistry in television, as seen in industry publications as early as 1961, and shows that garner Emmy's do carry the imprimatur of legitimacy (at least in the social group discussed in this thesis). The Emmys are but one example of the legitimating institutions discussed by this thesis. I discuss the others in the relevant chapters. A further, more detailed, account of the Emmys is provided in the next chapter.

Academia

As Newman and Levine state in the concluding chapter of their work:

> Television scholarship is an important space for the legitimation of the medium […]. While in many ways the discourses of academics exist in a marginalized space, well removed from the television industry and the popular and trade presses, some scholars are regular sources of expertise

[199] In certain social groups, advertisement has often been seen as delegitimate, hence the reason these awards become problematic. Hilmes, Michele, *Only Connect: A Cultural History of Broadcasting in the United States* (Wadsworth: Thomson Wadsworth, 2007), 243.

> for journalists and scholarly, popular, and trade discourses can and do influence one another. Besides, most television scholars help to shape public understandings of media in their interactions with students, if nowhere else. Study in institutions of higher education has historically marked the ascent of cultural forms such as theatre and film to high status, as intellectualization promotes the serious contemplation of meaning and value and aligns new forms with old conceptions of cultural legitimacy'.[200]

Academic study holds a key place in the status of a cultural product's legitimacy. Bourdieu agrees that the study of certain objects, even those of less historical cultural value, by academics legitimate the object, at least to a degree. This text too uses the value of academic study as a legitimating factor, reflecting ideas of intellectualisation. However, academic study in of itself does not automatically equal legitimacy. While a text such as Newman and Levine's reveals television's new position of cultural value, older texts like Leo Bogart's or, Hilde T. Himmelweit's[201] show television in a place of delegitimacy. Not only does this display the forces of change within the medium's cultural value, it also reveals how academic study does not inherently mean legitimation. Indeed, in television specifically, the study of reality television or soap operas have not necessarily led to the legitimacy of these genres. Instead, it means that the medium has become legitimate enough that academics consider the whole of television worth studying. This in itself legitimates the medium if not the content on it. When looking at the value of telefantasy in academia, the text will look at both what

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[200] Newman and Levine, p. 153.
[201] Himmelweit, Hilde T., *Television and the Child* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1958). Bogart, Leo, *The Age of Television: A Study of Viewing Habits and the Impact of Television on American Life* (London: Crosby Lockwood & Son, LTD, 1958).

journalists have to say about the product as well as in which context academics place telefantasy texts. The context of study reveals what the writer thinks about the text, and hence discloses its cultural value. These academic discussions are also based on the same legitimating factors discussed in relation to the primary sources of this thesis.

Conclusion

These legitimating factors (textual elements, authorship, audience, genre, cultural commentary, comparison and contrast, integration, awarding institutions, and academia) provide a clear basis for the understanding of legitimacy in each of the case studies. As will be seen in the case study chapters, they are the basis of the perception of cultural value constructed through discourse for telefantasies. I built these aspects themselves upon a reflective relationship with the primary sources making up this thesis and the theoretical discussions regarding the changing cultural value of television and other popular culture generally. I shape the discourses of the altering cultural value of television and popular culture upon the various theoretical frameworks regarding legitimacy discussed in detail throughout this chapter. I conclude that these discourses are limited to a group who intellectualise television, holding sway over the rest of society in this area. These deliberations are crucial to grasp the complex, time contextual, and fluid nature of legitimacy this thesis uses as a basis. Before entering into an analysis of the case studies it is first key to recognise the context from which their value is created and judged.

Chapter 2: TV I, A Context

Newton N. Minow, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission (the FCC),[202] in his speech to the National Association of Broadcasters on May 9 1961 labelled television a 'vast wasteland'. He described how the medium was a space filled with 'a procession of game shows, formula comedies about totally unbelievable families, blood and thunder, mayhem, violence, sadism, murder, western badmen, western good men, private eyes, gangsters, more violence, and cartoons.'[203] In TV I, dominated by a three network oligopoly whose goals were to air content viewers deemed safe and acceptable for audiences while avoiding anything they might perceive as objectionable, there was little room for anything but Minow's list of rigid programming. However, as Minow also says in his address, television had the potential to be better, and provided another list of programmes, including the case study *The Twilight Zone,* as examples of good TV. Douglas Gomery says it best when he describes television during TV I as not a 'vast wasteland', but rather just vast.[204] In this respect, Minow's generalisation of TV I as a 'vast wasteland' may be an overstatement. This chapter, and the following two, attempt to find out if telefantasy was part of the 'vast wasteland' or the vast. This chapter groups the history of TV I into two parts. The first analyses the 'golden age' of television programming, while the second looks at the introduction of the network system. Though divided into two subsections within this chapter, the 'golden age' and the network system are not separate periods of time within TV I. Rather, the 'golden age' existed within the

[202] Newton N Minow served as chairman between 1961 and 1963.
[203] Minow.
[204] Gomery, xiv.

network age. The reason they have been separated into two periods below is to provide some coherency within the large amount of time TV I encompasses. Hence, the section below on the 'golden age' is not simply about the canon of programming that has become bestowed with the label, but also US society's thoughts and feeling of early television. The section on the network era, on the other hand, discusses the rest of the period of TV I as relevant to the case studies discussed.[205] This historical account provides crucial context to analyse the dialogues of legitimacy related to telefantasy, as the cultural value of any specific programme during its time reflects the contemporary state of the medium itself.

Hence, this chapter focuses on investigating the following: the industrial background of television at the time, the kinds of productions aired, how audiences regarded the medium and the value of other non-verisimilitudes cultural products. The need to describe the beginnings of TV is due to the case study programmes', especially *The Twilight Zone's* (1959-1964, CBS), place in television history. *The Twilight Zone* came from a time of transition between the two leading dramatic formats associated with the 'golden age' and the network era of the medium. To frame the discussions of legitimacy regarding *The Twilight Zone* requires an establishment of its historical context. The second case study, *Star Trek* (1966-1969, NBC), was more a reflection of the three-network system that dominated the network era from 1960s and onwards. The section recounts television and generic history and their legitimacy as relevant to the case studies.

[205] Meaning that not the whole period of TV I is covered here, just up until the years of the cancelation of *Star Trek* in 1969.

The 'Golden Age'

Before television, the United States of America was a nation of radio listeners. US citizens used radio for their news, education, and entertainment.[206] Yet, the United States was on the verge of a gigantic transformation, as TV took over from the audio only medium. Douglas Gomery describes the masses' initial interest in television beginning with a boxing match between Joe Lewis and Billy Conn in June 1946. Curiosity about the fight was apparently huge, as '[f]olks crowded bars, hotels, and department stores to watch, as fewer than 25,000 homes had a [television] set.'[207] During the medium's early years, from the 1940s to the mid-1950s, most US citizens accessed the medium in this public manner.[208] Television's original inability to penetrate most Americans' houses was due to two main reasons: the high cost of TV sets and the limited broadcasting services available outside of large cities. The usual price of a television set at the time, as well as installation, was expensive for working class people.[209] There were also few broadcasting stations distributing services throughout the country. For most of the United States, broadcasting stations were usually located around densely populated areas such as cities. Much of the rest of the United States only received minimal services or even no service at all.[210] By the late 1950s television sets declined in value, owing to developments

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[206] Gomery, Douglas, *A History of Broadcasting in the United States* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 107.
[207] Ibid, 107.
[208] McCarthy, Anna, *Ambient Television* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), p. 29.
[209] Sterling, Christopher H, and John Michael Kittross, *Stay Tuned: A History of American Broadcasting*, 3rd edn (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2002), p. 317.
[210] Sturcken, Frank, *Live Television: The Golden Age of 1946-1958 in New York* (North Carolina: Mcfarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 1990), 25.

in technology, while the medium's broadcasting services also became more widespread.

It was not only early television audiences expressing scepticism and mixed opinions towards the medium, as cultural critics in the 1950s shared similar concerns. There were two major criticisms of television in print media from the mid-1950s. The first was that watching TV purloined the time for more worthwhile activities.[211] The second was the negative influence of television shows; stylistically, socially, and morally upon the viewers, something that would continue to haunt the medium until the eventual rise of 'quality' television in TV II.[212]

The New York Times columnists often compared the new medium to bad nickelodeons.[213] Other disapproving statements journalists aimed at television included calling it tasteless, unimaginative,[214] and, as one writer described, "such an invasion of good taste as no other communication medium has known."[215] TV networks, such as NBC, attempted to combat these negative comments by claiming that they offered tasteful, educational, and intellectual content in television related publications or newspapers.[216] This refined programming usually took the form of live anthology dramas.

The networks' presentation of live drama would sometimes sway critics' opinions of television. Jack Gould, one of TV's most 'influential' critics according to William Boddy, stated in 1952:

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[211] Spigel, Lynn, *Make Room for TV: Television and the Family Ideal in Postwar America* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 51.
[212]Sturcken, p. 253.
[213] Ibid.
[214] Ibid.
[215] Ibid.
[216] Ibid, 255.

> "On every count—technically and qualitatively the [television recoded] films cannot compare with live shows and they are hurting video, not helping it […] There is simply no substitute for the intangible excitement and sense of anticipation that is inherent in the performance that takes place at the moment one is watching".[217]

Gould continued stressing how, such was the support for the sanctity of the live performance, he felt that "'to regard the medium as merely a variation on the neighbourhood picture house is to misunderstand the medium."'[218] Here, Gould perfectly exemplified a legitimating factor regarding television, comparison. He valued live programming over recorded TV, legitimating one over the other (The privilege of liveness, connecting the medium to the theatre, continued as a legitimating factor in later eras of television).[219] This more culturally valuable kind of programming matched the tastes of the television owners who could afford these sets, as further detailed below.

Since the medium was not accessible by the majority for home viewing, who were the owners and watchers of television in this space? Richard Butsch describes TV's initial audience, who were affluent, often highbrow, city dwellers located mainly in New York. He maintains these viewers had a mixed and anxious relationship with television, as they were unsure how much they should use this medium and the intellectual value of the programmes they were watching. This was especially true in the domestic setting of the home and in relation to the medium's potential effect on children.[220] Lynn Spigel also

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[217] Boddy, William, *Fifties Television: The Industry and Its Critics* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 74.
[218] Ibid.
[219] Newman and Levine, p. 21.
[220] Spigel, Lynn, 1992, p. 37.

discusses the uncertain connection between the new medium and its audience,[221] stating:

> Utopian statements that idealized the new medium as an ultimate expression of technological and social progress were met by equally dystopian discourses that warned of television's devastating effects on family relationships and the efficient functioning of the household. Television was not simply promoted; rather, it was something that had to be questioned and deliberated upon.[222]

Evidently, this new medium caused a great deal of anxiety and uncertainty for early television spectators. Even if TV was a fashionable modern piece of technology, there were still issues within the domestic space that provoked unease. All this mistrust influenced the medium's legitimacy in a less than positive manner, amid fears television would ruin traditional family values. However, there were also aspects of the medium audiences enjoyed. For example, television offered a way to access culture and current affairs without having to leave the home.[223] The urban, economically better off viewers were the reason producers conceived teleplays, as they hoped to create programming that would interest these people, because the industry thought programming resembling more legitimate works, like how live tele-plays resembles the theatre, would entice the highbrow urbanites who could afford the medium.[224] It would be this content, created for the wealthy, city-dwelling spectators, which would eventually gain the label of the 'golden age' of television. Despite this, as

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[221] Ibid, 48.
[222] Ibid, 3.
[223] Butsch, Richard, *The Making of American Audiences: From Stage to Television 1750-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 237.
[224] Ibid.

described previously, there were those that did not view TV as a legitimate pastime. Lynn Spigel found that while networks aired television for a highbrow audience, there was still an understanding from these viewers that the medium was new and potentially dangerous.[225]

Another topic cultural critics and print media journalists discussed during this time was television's negative effect on children. Spigel documents how early articles often blamed the medium for taking too much of youngsters' time.[226] They felt that instead of spending hours in front of televisions, kids should pursue more worthwhile activities. TV was deemed bad because of the time spent watching it rather than what was on it. Indeed, some even went as far as saying that television can have a positive impact on youth, as long as they view it in moderation.[227] However, not every programme was thought to be of value to the youth of the US. Shows and genres for an adult audience, such as westerns and crime dramas, usually attracted the most reprimand. Articles claimed children exposed to this kind of programming might suffer from anxiety, depression, delinquency, and a lack of good taste.[228] Spigel adds that some magazines blamed TV for causing learning disabilities, weak bodies, and 'bugeyedness' in juveniles.[229] By the end of the 1950s, criticisms of television had affected its legitimacy; but, these condemnations of the medium coincided with the medium's movement from the 'golden age' and into the 'network era', discussed further in the next section. While this section has so far discussed the negative opinions around television in a segment titled the 'golden age', its

[225] Lynn Spigel, *Make Room for TV: Television and the Family Ideal in Postwar America* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 50.
[226] Ibid.
[227] Ibid, 56.
[228] Ibid.
[229] Spigel, p. 51.

purpose was to show the mixed opinion US audiences had of the medium. The below continues with a discussion on content more suited to the banner of this subchapter.

The live television anthology programme was a dominant scheduled feature in prime time during the late 1940s and the 1950s.[230] Each episode of a live anthology contained the presentation of a teleplay, acted out and aired live. Along with their prevalence in the schedule, TV critics often heralded live anthology shows, such as *The Philco Television Playhouse* (1948-1955 NBC) and *Playhouse 90* (1956-1960 CBS), as the most legitimate type of programming on primetime television.[231] The live anthology programmes' legitimacy during this period stems from several factors. For example, television plays drew inspiration from the already legitimate theatre. This is evident in their appearance on screen. The plays stylistically resembled the theatre in their use of staging and mise-en-scene, with many critics commenting on the format's likeness to the theatre as a result.[232] It helped that those working on these presentations usually had a background in theatre.[233] In choosing actors, for instance, producers picked cast members based on their ability to match that particular teleplay. As Erik Barnouw says: '[live] anthology actors were chosen to fit the play, and not vice versa.'[234] The writing for these teleplays was a major factor in their legitimacy. Either the teleplays were originals scripted by so-

[230] Boddy, William, 'The Studios Movie into Prime Time: Hollywood and the Television Industry in the 1950s', *Cinema Journal*, 24 (1985), 23–37, 29.
[231] Wheatly, Helen, 'Mystery and Imagination: Anatomy of a Gothic Anthology Series', in *Small Screens, Big Ideas: Television in the 1950s*, ed. by Janet Thumim (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), 165–80, 166-167.
[232] Sturken, p, 11.
[233] Edgerton, Gary R, *The Columbia History of American Television* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 194.
[234] Barnouw, Erik, *Tube of Plenty: The Evolution of American Television* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). 154.

called artist-playwrights such as Rod Serling or Tad Mosel,[235] or they were adaptations from literary sources such as Shakespeare's *Macbeth* (*Philco Television Playhouse,* NBC, May 1, 1949).[236]

The playwrights mentioned above positioned themselves as the main creative force behind these live teleplays, becoming the de facto authors of their works. Their position as authors extended to the presentations themselves, as their names appeared in credits as dominant as the actors of the piece.[237] The live anthology teleplay allowed a place for writers to create content on television that empowered their position as authors.[238] These playwrights acted as an authorship figure, mirroring the author discussions seen in later discourses of legitimate television from TV II (like 'quality' television).[239] This space for their creativity continued throughout the 1950s. Eventually, the decline of artistic freedom, and indeed much of the value of live teleplays, was due to the interference of sponsors. The sponsors, acting as financiers for the teleplays, meddled with many aspects of production, including narrative matters. In terms of legitimacy, forces connected with purely financial gains such as sponsors, interfering with an author's work delegitimates.[240] Even with this delegitimating factor, the press heralded these productions as excellent. An example of this is Rod Serling's *Requiem for a Heavyweight* (1956, *Playhouse 90,* CBS), which John Crosby, a New York television critic, praised as '"set[ting] the whole town

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[235] Boddy, 87.
[236] 'The Philco Television Playhouse: All Seasons', *TheTVBD.Com* <http://thetvdb.com/?tab=seasonall&id=74591> [accessed 20 November 2016].
[237] Barnouw, 154.
[238] Ibid, 156.
[239] Michael Z Newman and Elana Levine, *Legitimating Television* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 50.
[240] Becker, Christine Ann, 'An Industrial History of Established Hollywood Film Actors on Fifties Prime Time Television' (University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2001), 242.

talking in much the same way Al Jolson used to do when he'd walk out on the stage of the Winter Garden and knock'em dead in the 1920s.'"[241] This is a key factor in the discussion of legitimacy at the time, as despite meddling from sponsors and advertisers, there was still the possibility of legitimate TV.

This era of television and the live teleplay has obtained, for many, the label of the 'golden age' of television.[242] However, this tag came a great deal after the 1950s and was reserved for only a certain number of productions. The whole 'golden age' has been retrospectively reduced to a canon of particular productions, rather than objectively looking at the complete medium, with teleplays like *Marty* (1953, *The Philco Television Playhouse,* NBC), *Requiem for a Heavyweight*, or *Bang the Drum Slowly* (1956, *U.S. Steel Hour*, CBS) becoming emblematic of the entire period. While the teleplays listed above received critical acclaim at the time of broadcast, not every live teleplay reviewed well.[243] Yet, the consensus regarding this era of television's superiority happened extremely quickly. Journalists, like Gould mentioned previously, considered the recorded dramatic shows of the 1960s inferior to the 1950s live anthology programmes,[244] demonstrating the movement from the 'golden age' to the 'vast wasteland' (or the era associated with 'least objectionable programming', discussed further in the next section). Due to their closeness in time and the relatively high speed in which the television industry

[241] John Crosby speaking retroactively about the play in Crosby, John, 'It Was New and We Were Very Innocent', *TV Guide*, September 22, 1973, pg 6. In Boddy, 89-90.
[242] Edgerton, 194.
[243] Johnson, Catherine, 'Negotiating Value and Quality in Television Historiography', in *Re-Viewing Television History: Critical Issues in Television Historiography*, ed. by Helen Wheatle (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 55–66, 56.
[244] One of the key points made by Minow.

changed, live teleplays of the 1950s become the standard to which programmes of the 1960s were compared.

It was not only journalists like Gould saw live anthology dramas as the most legitimate. Sponsors used prestigious programming to gain esteem for their brand and/or advertised product/s.[245] Broadcasters similarly exploited the live anthology drama to boost their cultural position, as they claimed the audience of these live anthology teleplays could raise their status and cultural capital.[246] Compare these productions with those blamed for creating the 'vast wasteland' of television and it is evident that there existed a struggle in the understanding of television's cultural worth. Debates of the medium's cultural legitimacy were never black or white but abided in a grey area. These arguments, as seen in the case studies, carry on to the individual presentations themselves.

If discussions of television's value were mixed during TV I, those in the industry itself tried to distinguish legitimate from the delegitimate by providing those worthy with awards. The Emmy awards began in 1949, awarding programmes from the previous year's television season. The awards started rather small in scope, being an event attended by those in the industry and only honouring entertainment productions broadcasted on Los Angeles stations. Initially, there were only six award categories, although this number would quickly increase in the following years.[247] By 1957, the TV industry saw they could financially profit by airing the award ceremony on television to the rest of

[245] Meyers, Cynthia B., 'From Sponsorship to Spots: Advertising and the Development of Electronic Media', in *Media Industries: History, Theory, and Method*, ed. by Jennifer Holt and Alisa Perren (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp. 69–81, 73.
[246] Butsch, 254.
[247] Sterling and Kittross, p. 307.

the country.[248] The awards in its early history saw live anthology teleplays; such as *Texaco Live Theatre* (NBC, 1948-1956), *Pulitzer Prize Playhouse* (ABC, 1950-1952), *Studio One* (CBS, 1948-1958), *U.S Steel Hour* (ABC, 1953-1963), *Playhouse 90* (CBS, 1956-1960) and *Hallmark Hall of Fame* (NBC, 1951-1978), dominating awards in the drama category. However, from 1954 onwards, recorded drama also began to make their presence felt, especially with series like *Dragnet* (1951-1959, NBC) and *Gunsmoke* (CBS, 1955-1975) winning awards.[249] The awarding bodies providing prestige to these shows is surprising considering the discussion throughout this section revealing these police and cowboy shows' apparent delegitimacy, showing how different spheres identify cultural products as legitimate.

Another area that requires an understanding if one is to fully comprehend the construction of cultural value for telefantasy during this period is the broader cultural context of the evaluation of non-verisimilitude genres outside television.[250] While the origin of genres like science fiction, fantasy, and horror, can arguably find their modern roots beginning with Mary Shelly's *Frankenstein; or, The Modern Prometheus* (1818),[251] the discourses most affecting the cultural value of telefantasy outside of television during TV I came in the form of literature and film. Indeed, many in society viewed science fiction, fantasy, and horror in the 1950s and early 1960s as a delegitimate.[252] The label 'science

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[248] Hilmes, 2007, p. 206.
[249] For more information see 'Primetime Emmys Nominees and Winners', 2015 <http://www.emmys.com/awards/nominees-winners> [accessed 3 June 2015]
[250] At least in the academic construction of these genres.
[251] Jackson, Rosmary, *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion* (New York: Routledge, 1981), p. 25; Aldiss, Brian W., and David Wingrove, *Trillion Year Spree: The History of Science Fiction*, 2nd edn (London: House of Straus, 2001), p. 38. Rhodes, Gary D., *The Birth of the American Horror Film* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), p. 25.
[252] See Chapter 1 that discusses the legitimacy of science fiction

fiction' itself was a relatively new concept, its name originating from the delegitimate form of the pulp magazine,[253] although the medium produced all kinds of non-verisimilitudes texts. This form of literature was viewed as lude and low in cultural value.[254] It also appeared to attract a delegitimate child audience,[255] garnering connotations of childishness. Non-verisimilitudes genres also marked a place in cinemas, even if it was once again the most delegitimate of versions. B-movie stories like *The Thing from Another World* (RKO Pictures, 1951), *Invaders from Mars* (National Pictures Corps, 1953), *It Came from Outer Space* (Universal Pictures, 1953), *The Island Earth* (Universal International, 1955), *The Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (Walter Wagner Productions, 1956), and *The Flesh Eaters* (Cinema Distributors of America, 1964), became synonymous with delegitimate cinema.[256] While certain films with non-verisimilitudes elements, such as *King Solomon's Mines* (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1950), *The Ten Commandments* (Cecil B Demille Productions, 1956), and *Around the World in 80 Days* (United Artists, 1956), gained critical or commercial acclaim,[257] they were associated with more legitimate media such as literature.[258] As such, they were largely left aside in the construction of the genres that would most influence the cultural value of the case study programmes. This view would begin to change late into the 1960s with films

[253] Parrinder, Patrick, *Science Fiction: Its Criticism and Teaching* (London: Methuen London and New York, 1980), 2.
[254] Aldiss and Wingrove, p. 329.
[255] Bould and Vint, p. 60.
[256] Davis, Blair, *The Battle for the Bs: 1950s Hollywood and the Rebirth of Low-Budget Cinema* (London: Rutgers University Press, 2012), p. 13.
[257] 'Academy Awards: Winners & History (1950-1959)', *Amcfilmsite* <https://www.filmsite.org/oscars50.html> [accessed 13 April 2020]; 'All-Time Box Office Hits (Domestic Gross): By Decade and Year', *Amcfilmsite* <https://www.filmsite.org/boxoffice2.html> [accessed 13 April 2020].
[258] Ross, 1989, p. 27.

like *2001: A Space Odyssey* (Stanley Kubrick Productions, 1968) and Hollywood film's attempt to legitimate itself through a more artistic appearance.[259] However, as Chapter 5 will show, this more legitimate connection for non-verisimilitudes genres would be short lived.

It is impossible to split the eras recognised as the 'golden age' and the 'network era' neatly into two. Yet, although they both make up the historical era known as TV I, there are key differences between them in terms of the television industry and its audiences' opinions of the medium. Laid out below is an attempt to divide the important developments of the 'network era' from the 'golden age' in as much chronological sense as possible. Considering that both case studies in the chapter develop within the network system, *The Twilight Zone* in its beginnings and *Star Trek* when it was more established, it is key to understand this time, as well as the actions that caused transition, to fully comprehend the discussions of legitimacy relation to the case studies.

The 'Network Era'

Television scholars argue that the 'network era' took place from 1950 to the early 1980s.[260] That the same era consisted both a 'golden age' and 'vast wasteland' of television evidences the difficulty of grouping this era of TV. Despite the disparity in content during this period, certain industrial events provide a cohesive understanding of TV I. A major event leading to the three-network oligopoly that would dominate both the 'golden age' and the 'network

[259] Baumann, 2007, p. 128.
[260] Gomery, 167.

era' was the FCC's 'Sixth Report and Order'[261] and the collapse of the DuMont network. The 'Sixth Report and Order' was the legislative conclusion of a time in television history known as 'the big freeze', where the FCC did not allow the creation of any more broadcasting stations.[262] The reason for this halt in the formation of new stations was due to the oversaturation of broadcasting stations in small areas.[263]

There were too many television stations for too little space on radio frequencies, and stations' signals being too close together caused poor picture quality. Hence, from between 1948 and 1952 the FCC did not allow any new stations. Without the possibility of new competition, the established networks (ABC, CBS, DuMont and NBC) monopolised the medium.[264] Eventually, four would become three, as DuMont became bankrupt in 1956. Taking advantage of DuMont's collapse,[265] the remaining networks ABC, CBS, and NBC, dominated the televisual airwaves.[266] This brief industrial history of the 'network era' was the root of what developed into the era of 'least objectionable programming' (defined below). Although the 'golden age' continued to flourish

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[261] Edgerton, 137.
[262] Boddy, 28.
[263] Hilmes, 151.
[264] Boddy, 56.
[265] This oligopoly created a powerful hold on the industry for the following decades. There are several reasons for the fall of the DuMont network. The first was the lack of a radio network supporting DuMont in its formative years. The other three networks could draw upon income from radio, during televisions' less profitable early years. The lack of radio income caused it to struggle financially throughout its existence. DuMont, 'when most markets had fewer than four [broadcasting] stations' was always the last to be developed. In short, stations would air other networks' content ahead of DuMont's, and advertisers were unwilling to fund a network whose programmes did not air nationally. ABC was also in financial difficulties at this time, as the network had a large amount of debt. However, a merger with Paramount Theatres in 1951 added a much-needed monetary boost enabling ABC's survival. Sterling, Christopher H, and John Michael Kittross, *Stay Tuned: A History of American Broadcasting*, 3rd edn (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2002), p. 357.
[266] Boddy, 56.

for a few years after the establishment of the three-network oligarchy, these industrial events put into motion the eventual rise of television's 'vast wasteland' and an era of perceptual delegitimacy for the medium.[267]

As seen in the previous section, viewers had mixed opinions about the legitimacy of early television. Yet their opinion of the medium worsened, as the legitimacy of TV suffered a major blow in the mid-1950s. The quiz show scandal was a significant event that provided evidence in solidifying the medium's image as delegitimate for people.[268] It also sparked essential industrial changes in the medium as a whole. Quiz shows were initially programmes used to fill up time slots in the television schedule during the summer.[269] However, by the 1950s the genre attracted huge audiences.[270] Productions like the *$64,000 Question* (CBS, 1955-1958) and *Twenty One* (NBC, 1956-1958) were based on contestants answering general knowledge questions to win a prize. Many heralded quiz shows as some of the more legitimate production types.[271] The reason for this was that viewers saw them as educational programming because of the often highbrow nature of the questions asked in the competitions.[272] Yet all was not as it seemed.

In 1957, a contestant from *Twenty One* informed the press that the contestants of the show attended coaching sessions on the questions they were to come across prior to going on air.[273] The reason staff behind the quiz shows deceived their audience in this manner was the need to control their content. The

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[267] This is further discussed below.
[268] Ross, 1989, p. 104.
[269] Anderson, Kent, *Television Fraud: The History and Implications of the Quiz Show Scandals* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1978), 7.
[270] Ibid, 53.
[271] Ibid, 177.
[272] Ross, 103.
[273] Barnouw, 243-4.

producers and sponsors of the quiz show felt that it would be best for spectators if the winners of the show were the most charismatic and likable characters.[274] Although *Twenty One* was the initial focus of the scandal, the media would soon incriminate other quiz shows. The original scandal eventually led to fraud hearings in court.[275] The outcome of these hearings was a change in policy for television networks, especially regarding advertising and funding.[276] Before these scandals, companies individually sponsored programmes.[277] This single sponsor was the major source of funding for a production, as they would use the show as a platform to advertise their company or products. The nature of this relationship between sponsors and shows gave them a great deal of leverage and authority over creators. After the hearings, television programming in general no longer used single sponsors, allowing producers to gain control of their production.[278]

The quiz show scandal also impacted the perception of legitimacy for television. For members of its audience, the quiz show scandal sealed the medium in a place of delegitimacy.[279] People of significant clout and power made their disapproval of the scandal and TV well known. Two examples are President Dwight Eisenhower and Walter Lippmann (one of the United States' most famous newspaper columnists at the time, and hence a key legitimator).[280] However, not all US citizens felt the scandal delegitimated the medium. Many

[274] Anderson, 28.
[275] Ibid, 145.
[276] Ibid, 178.
[277] Boddy,, 1.
[278] Tedlow, Richard S., 'Intellect on Television: The Quiz Show Scandals of the 1950s', *American Quarterly*, 28 (1976), 483–95, 490-93.
[279] Ross, 104.
[280] Tedlow.

claimed that the controversy did not change their feelings about TV at all.[281] The quiz show scandal stands as an exemplary example of how one event can influence the notion of value for a type of programming on television.

In the case of the quiz show scandal, the sponsors were the main perpetrators, putting pressure on shows and their producers to have the contestant that audiences most favoured win.[282] The new policy introduced from the hearings disrupted the impression sponsors had on the programmes and gave creative power back to networks and producers. Yet, it is arguable that there were other factors that led the networks to want to retain more control over their production, such as the lowering costs of film and the rise of an international market for filmed TV presentations.[283] In place of the single sponsor, the new scheme launched spot advertising as the major method companies used to advertise on television, changing the way networks would make their money.[284] In this new system, advertisers would pay for an allotted time in-between programming to air their advertisements. These changes, the loss of the single sponsor, the technological improvements to film, and the wish for the creation of recorded programming, meant the end for live anthology programmes.[285]

With live anthology teleplays becoming obsolete in the late 1950s, what were the major formats for delivering drama on television into the 1960s? One was the recorded anthology programme, used by productions such as *The Twilight Zone* or *Outer Limits* (1963-1965, ABC). As the name suggests, the

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[281] Baughman, James L., *Same Time, Same Station: Creating American Television, 1948-1961* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2007), 298.
[282] Abelman, Robert, and David J. Atkin, *The Televiewing Audience: The Art and Science of Watching TV*, 2nd edn (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2011), 106.
[283] Boddy, 74.
[284] Meyers, 73-4.
[285] The reason for the format's demise is described below. Creeber, Glen, Small Screen Aesthetics: From TV to the Internet (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 45.

arrangement of these anthology broadcasts mirrored their live counterpart. Anthology dramas were plays written by a scriptwriter with usually a different plot and varied actors, locations, etc. each episode. The largest contrast between the live arrangement and the recorded anthology drama, aside from the former airing live, was the difference of legitimacy between the two. As discussed previously, live anthology teleplays were the most legitimate form of television during the 'golden age'. Though journalists did not regard the recorded anthology drama as delegitimate per se, they did view this composition as less legitimate than their live equivalent.[286]

To state that the recorded anthology programme evolved from the live format would be incorrect. Rather, they coexisted throughout much of the 1950s. However, eventually the live setup largely became extinct by the early 1960s while recorded anthologies would live on. There were several recorded anthologies created and aired alongside live plays, for example *Your Favourite Story* (1953-1955, NBC). This anthology drama, although not a live teleplay, attempted in format to mirror as closely as possible its live counterpart. Despite the show's effort to act out legitimate plays and use legitimate actors, the presentation could not gain the legitimacy of live tele-plays.[287] One reason it did not find legitimacy was due to the inferior quality of the picture, a result of recording the programme on film, which reviewers found took away from its visual and audio excellence.[288] Despite the discrepancy in cultural value, live teleplays became less frequently produced, due to a shift in the audience television producers wished to target, as they aimed for mass by appealing to the

[286] Becker, 97.
[287] Becker, 127.
[288] Ibid, 119.

people of USA's 'heartland' (described below). Yet, there was an early sense that these recorded presentations could not stand up to the value of the live shows of the past.[289] As will be seen in the first case study, this becomes a key point in a determining a recorded anthology programmes' legitimacy.

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, other recorded programming types came into prominence as networks phased out live television. Indeed, certain recorded programming, such as *I Love Lucy* (1951-1957, CBS) and *Dragnet,* held their own and even surpassed the number of viewers for live anthology dramas.[290] They were, to a certain extent, legitimated too; an example of this is *Dragnet's* multiple Emmy awards in the 1950s.[291] The Emmys throughout the 1950s rewarded such recorded episodic programmes above many live dramas. However, by the 1960s, cultural commentators' discussions about episodic TV regard the format as mostly delegitimate.[292] Minow's speech epitomised the delegitimation of episodic television series,[293] and he found the worst offenders were episodic dramas. Minow specifically mentions the most delegitimised genres at the time, westerns, crime shows, and sitcoms, which were normally recorded episodic dramas.[294]

Episodic would become the dominant arrangement of dramatic television from the late 1950s onwards. These programmes usually had a

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[289] The proliferation of these programmes that appealed to this audience resulted in Minow's 'vast wasteland'.
[290] Spelling, Aaron, 'Crime, Punishment, and Affirmative Action', in *Prime Movers: From I Love Lucy to L.A. Law - America's Greatest TV Shows and the People Who Created Them* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 163–70, 163.
[291] 'Dragnet Awards', *IMDB* <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0043194/awards> [accessed 20 November 2016].
[292] Boddy, *Fifties Television,* 194.
[293] Minow.
[294] Academics continue to use such terms in reference to this period. For an example see Brown, Les, 'The American Networks', in Anthony Smith (ed.), *Television: an International History,* 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

character or group of characters that ran throughout the series. The change from episode to episode came in the various problems the characters would encounter. In addition, rather than having the story continue from week to week, each episode contained a complete narrative, so it would not be necessary to watch a previous episode to understand the next. However, unlike programmes like *Dragnet* and *I Love Lucy* (which were exceptions), these other programmes did not gain legitimacy. A reason for the lack of cultural value for these programmes in comparison to live-teleplays lies with their estrangement from more legitimate media, such as the theatre, in terms of narrative structure and production techniques, instead mirroring less legitimate series previously produced on radio.[295]

The main reason for the creation of lowbrow content, and the phasing out of live television, links to the increasing number of TV sets in the 'heartland', a term used to describe the geographically central states of the United States who generally exhibit more conservative values than their west and east coast neighbours during this period.[296] The change in programming tactics by the networks indicated the transition from the sophisticated urban audience of the 'golden age' to the mass spectators of the 'heartland'. The growing viewership in this area marks a movement of perceived values from the supposedly highbrow urban spectators to the allegedly less artistically inclined spectators of the middle states of the US.[297] The reason networks changed their targets was because there were more people in the 'heartland' for advertisers to sell to than

[295] Boody, p. 195.
[296] Johnson, Victoria E., *Heartland TV: Prime Time Television and the Struggle for U.S. Identity* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), p. 5.
[297] Ibid, p. 10.

on the coasts. Hollywood-produced shows reflected these alterations in values, as their programmes attempted to coincide with the tastes of the 'heartland' rather than highbrow, urban audiences (discussed earlier). This evolution saw broadcasts such as *The Lawrence Welk Show* (ABC/Syndicated, 1955-1971), a music show designed to the tastes of the 'heartland', with its more traditionalist and lowbrow palates, become its most popular from 1965-1968, despite being a decade old.[298] Other programming that were particularly favoured during this time having a similar appeal were westerns, like *Gunsmoke* and *Bonanza* (NBC, 1959-1973), and sitcoms such as *The Beverly Hillbillies* (CBS, 1962-1971). These productions all remained popular into the early 1970s, their Nielsen ratings[299] placing them in the top twenty most watched.[300] Evidently, these programmes made up a vastly different television schedule than the legitimate live dramas of the 1950s, as networks chased the rural 'heartland' market over the highbrow urban audience. Advertisers and networks in this period understood a show's success in terms of its sheer viewer numbers, and the 'heartland' represented the most populated section of the United States.[301]

It was no wonder that networks with a focus on obtaining the largest viewership, no matter who that audience was, would target the 'heartland'. During this time, the station and programmes with the highest Nielsen ratings were the most likely to attract advertisers. This means that networks could sell advertisement slots for a lot more money on popular series.[302] The fear of losing

[298] Ibid, p. 73.
[299] Described in further detail below.
[300] Ibid, p. 123.
[301] Ibid, p. 41-2.
[302] Einstein, Mara, 'Broadcast Network Television, 1955-2003: The Pursuit of Advertising and the Decline of Diversity', *The Journal of Media Economics*, 17 (2004), 145–55, 150.

these numbers generated programming known as 'least objectionable programming'. The phrase, coined by Paul Klein (Vice President in audience measurement at NBC),[303] describes the content of television and watching habits of its viewers at that time. To keep their audience, networks created programming for many US citizens who they believed ignorant and unsophisticated, mostly residing in the 'heartland'. [304] Networks thought spectators remained consistent even when faced with a dearth of quality programming. This meant networks only had to make their shows tolerable enough so audiences would not switch to another station and carefully avoid any content that could offend these viewers.[305] The alteration of objective viewers, from the urban to the rural, was a significant industrial change for the television industry, seeing how it led to the creation of 'least objectionable programming'. The difference in programmes of the 'least objectionable' and others like the 'golden age' comes not only in production (one being recorded whereas the other live and certain genres being favoured over others) but also in content (stories of the 'golden age' often provoked audiences to deal with contextual issues while the 'lest objectionable' simply hoped to not offend or make audiences think). As such, the way journalists and cultural commentators discussed them also changed, with 'least objectionable' carrying the label as delegitimate unlike its earlier counterpart.

[303] As seen in; Pearson and Davies, p. 18.
[304] Feuer, Kerr, and Vahimagi, eds., p. 63.
[305] As seen in; Pearson, and Messenger Davies, 18.

Conclusion

This chapter analysed the history of TV I to better understand its cultural value. Early TV was a medium both revered and feared, as although there was the 'golden age's' live teleplays, there was also a worry of what television was doing to the viewing audience, particularly children. While there were awards created to honour the best of TV, there were further statements about it being a 'vast wasteland'. Non-verisimilitudes genres during this period were culturally devalued because of their associations with media and audiences deemed delegitimate. Although categorised into a 'golden age' and 'vast wasteland', the history of the medium was complex and varied. The medium's complicated past influenced cultural commentator's perception of television's legitimacy, which the below case studies will reflect, as they experienced difficulties trying to understand the perceived value of the medium considering its past 'golden age' and the less legitimate 'vast wasteland' they were entering. Established in this section was that, rather than the period of TV I being a 'vast wasteland' or a canon of 'golden age', the legitimacy of the medium at the time was reliant upon changes within the industry, since these forced changes with television content, as it influenced discourses on the medium. The next chapter analyses the first case study, placing the context of the industry during TV I into practice with regards to legitimacy.

Chapter 3: *The Twilight Zone*

The Twilight Zone was not the first telefantasy on television. Telefantasy's roots, like other serialised programming on early US television, can be traced to radio shows such as *The Fall of the City* (CBS Radio, 1937) and *The Magic Island* (Syndication, 1936). However, soon after television's establishment in the United States, telefantasy productions started airing on screens. One of the earliest examples of a telefantasy was *Captain Video and his Video Rangers* (Lawrence Menkin and James Caddigan, DuMont 1949-1955). The show followed the adventures of a group of fighters for justice, led by the titular Captain Video, stopping the plans of evil doers in Earth's distant future. Jack Gould, journalist and television reviewer for *The New Your Times*, quipped 'Captain Video is a triumph of carpentry and wiring rather than writing'.[306] Explaining his negative opinion of certain textual elements such as writing while praising another in set design, Gould foreshadows some of the issues telefantasies would face regarding their value throughout history. Gould appeared to value writing over set design, considering his sarcastic tone. This reveals his view of legitimacy of both the show and the component of writing, being more legitimate, and set design or carpentry (generally the production value), being less so. Gould's article delegitimates the perception of *Captain Video and his Video Rangers,* unimpressed with this early example of telefantasy, especially in terms of its textual elements. However, this is but one piece, and it is viable that other reviewers would have judged the programme

[306] Jack Gould, 'TELEVISION IN REVIEW: Re: "City at Midnight" " Captain Video'', *The New York Times*, 20 November 1949, p. X9.

more favourably. Yet, as this case study goes on to show, Gould's negative evaluation of the perception of a telefantasy programme's value would be shared by other journalists for other telefantasies, like *The Twilight Zone.*

The Twilight Zone, which first aired on CBS from 1959 until 1964, is possibly Rod Serling's most remembered work. Whether browsing for books on the programme, shopping for a DVD, or going for a ride at Disneyland's *Hollywood Tower of Terror*, the show's title and the image of Rod Serling are inseparable. It may surprise then, for those not versed in its history or its writer, to find that Serling possessed apprehensions about creating a filmed television broadcast. In 1957 (two years before *The Twilight Zone*'s airing) Serling wrote an article for *The New York Times* whose title, 'TV in the Can vs. TV in the Flesh: A prizewinning video writer states the case for live television, but does not rule out the possibility of the filmed show as an art form,' summed up his feelings on the recorded format at the time. In the article, Serling acknowledged that live television was vastly superior to its filmed counterpart, although he further saw hope in the industry's ability to produce a filmed show that borrowed the best elements from live and filmed production.[307] This was because up until this point Serling was most well-known for his scripts for live plays from the 'golden age', such as *Requiem for a Heavyweight* or *Patterns*. As seen in the previous chapter, cultural commentators considered these shows the height of legitimacy on TV, and to go from this format to a filmed production was a potential decline in prestige for the author, as filmed television associated with the less legitimate programming that eventually would become the 'vast

[307] Serling, Rod, 'TV in the Can vs. TV in the Flesh: A Prizewinning Video Writer States...', *The New York Times*, 24 November 1957, p. 251

wasteland'. Journalists of the time found Serling's authorship of the programme legitimating, but *The Twilight Zone's* arrangement as a filmed anthology, while also a telefantasy, haemorrhaged their valuation of the show. The following chapter will analyse journalists' and other cultural commentators within the media's thoughts on *The Twilight Zone*. I break these discussions down into individual legitimating factors, both for the sake of methodological clarity, and to allow a clear understanding of the use of these legitimating factors in discourses.

Authorship

As stated previously, Serling expressed doubts about creating a recorded television programme instead of live teleplays. Caren Deming details how the preference for live TV over its recorded counterpart stems from its similarities to stage productions (and the legitimating prestige that comes with it),[308] and Serling shared comparable thoughts. Despite Serling's qualms over filmed television, he maintained he saw a chance for this to be a legitimate form of the medium, even if, in his opinion, there had never been a creation of artistic value in filmed television yet.[309] He saw an opportunity to create within a changing medium, and rather than sticking to his live television roots, he moved on with the filmed television form. However, another reason explaining Serling's switch was because he realised the demand for live TV was ending,[310] and the future of

[308] Deming, Caren, 'Locating the Televisual in Golden Age Television', in *A Companion to Television*, ed. by Janet Wasko (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), p. 128.
[309] Serling, Rod, 'TV in the Can vs. TV in the Flesh: A Prizewinning Video Writer States...', *The New York Times*, 24 November 1957, p. 251.
[310] As discussed in the previous chapter.

the medium was in filmed shows.[311] If he wanted to continue working on television, he would need to adapt.

In an interview in *The Los Angeles Times*, Serling defended his artistic integrity because of his switch to the less legitimate television type, stating:

> "Maybe they say I've sold out," says Rod Serling. "I don't feel that way. Perhaps, if I were just doing a lousy little half-hour series…But Twilight Zone is more than that. It's honest, it's literate, it's uncompromising. It does what we set out to do as well as we can do it. I'm proud of it."[312]

Serling understood the risk to his artistic legitimacy due to his movement to filmed television. He knew people may criticise him for his choice, 'selling out' to take a financially lucrative project rather than a legitimate one. However, Serling defended his choice to move to recorded TV, demonstrating a savvy understanding of the financial prospects this television had over live-anthologies. His comments mirrored the realisation of other artists (especially musical ones) who found the idea of 'selling out' as a negative and anachronistic thought process.[313] Serling argued that he was proud of the new programme he made and how it was valuable above other 'lousy little half-hour series'. The quotation demonstrates an attempt from Sterling to use the power of his own cultural value and the journalistic medium to construct the legitimacy of his new programme. Serling's promotion of his programme as culturally valuable through *The Los*

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[311]Serling, 1957.
[312] Smith, Cecil, 'The Man Behind Twilight Zone', *The Los Angeles Times*, 23 April 1961, p. 3.
[313] Meier, Leslie M., 'Promotional Ubiquitous Musics: Recording Artists, Brans, and "Rendering Authenticity"', *Popular Music and Society*, 34 (2011), pp. 399–415 (402). However, later in his career, Serling would face ridicule from the media for promoting a beer company at the Emmys; Smith, Cecil, 'Carol Departing for Bigger Things', *The Los Angeles Times*, 29 May 1962, p. C8.

Angeles Times showed an understanding of the legitimation process, as he tried to discursively construct his programme's cultural value and new the social group required to do so could be reached via this publication. It is worth noting the ideals he used to defend *The Twilight Zone* from ridicule. He stated it was literate, honest and uncompromising, legitimating the show through its relationship to reality,[314] maintaining his programme's and his own artistic integrity. While he knew that the filmed arrangement may have cost himself a loss of legitimacy, he believed that his creation had the potential of cultural value, which he attempted to solidify through the journalistic medium.

Serling's move to filmed television did not go unnoticed by the industry and the journalists who reflected the ideal of elite television viewership. Indeed, *Variety's* Jo Ranson commented on Serling's new filmed show, *The Twilight Zone*, stating:

> CBS films has Rod Serling, no mean hand at a TV scripting, working on a science-fiction series entitled "Twilight Zone." Advance reports indicate this one is bound to cause more than a mere earthquake when made available to stations.[315]

Ranson's excitement was but a single sample of journalists' feelings on the author.[316] His name, as a writer-author, in the eyes of the industry, carried enough weight to generate attention around the show. Serling's role as a former live television writer from the 'golden age' had significance in *The Twilight*

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[314] The relationship to reality and its legitimacy in a medium like television was detailed in Chapter 1.
[315] Ranson, Jo, 'TV Trips the Light-Year Fantastic', *Variety*, 6 August 1958, p. 32.
[316] Godbouts, Oscar, 'Rod Serling Accepts C.B.S. Contract; N.B.C. Plans for Shows in Soviet Gain', *The New York Times*, 4 June 1958, p. 67.
Godbouts, Oscar, 'Science Fiction New Trend on TV: Producers Showing Interest in Space Development', *The New York Times*, 10 March 1958, p. 45

Zone's legitimacy, even before it was on the air. That this review comes from *Variety*, representing a more industrialised discourse of cultural value, constructs Serling and his project as valuable within the medium, and those most closely tied to it. His name itself constructed a heightened sense of legitimacy and expectation about the programme, as authorship usually does in other media like literature.[317]

The report above also became a demonstration of a trend that would span the entire of *The Twilight Zone's* initial run and beyond; the inclusion of Serling's name when discussing the show. Throughout the archival research done for this project, all pieces about *The Twilight Zone* included Rod Serling's name. The quote above serves as an illustration of this happening before the first episode even aired. In the eyes of cultural commentators, Rod Serling played the role of author for *The Twilight Zone*. This ties in closely with legitimacy discussions in terms of authorship, as a text is legitimated through association with an artist or creator.[318] Dialogues of authorship and legitimacy reference the function the author serves in legitimating the creation. In other words, without the artist, there is no art.[319] Serling's position as author was not limited to behind the camera. As the host of the show in the episodes themselves, the audiences were presented Serling as an author visually, and this helped with the recognition of Serling as author by viewers. Indeed, Serling was the first and last figure spectators would see/hear when tuning into the programme. He opened episodes with a monologue deliberating the various themes of the story and in closing

[317] Earl, Benjamin, 'Literary Tourism: Constructions of Value, Celebrity, and Distinction', *Journal of Cultural Studies*, 11 (2008), pp. 401–17 (408).
[318] Baumann, 60.
[319] Thompson, Kristin, *Storytelling in Film and Television* (London: Harvard University Press, 2003), p. 110.

remarks at the end he would sum up the show's events and often the moral lesson of the broadcast. This made Serling a kind of tele-visual author, as he was writing many of the scripts, but he was also there on *The Twilight Zone*, a physical presence for audiences to identify with, even if Serling had not written a particular episode. His performance on the show visually and his own promotional discourse provided in the journalistic publication discussed above allowed Serling the chance to legitimate as author, reflecting Leora Hadas's work on authorship and promotion. The networks used 'authorship discourses […] as a marketing tactic: a form of branding',[320] which Serling also took advantage of in publications.

Serling was not the original instance of a tele-visual author, as Alfred Hitchcock also appeared before each episode, describing the themes and plot in *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* (1955-1965, CBS, NBC). Despite Serling's role on the television set, producers and advertisers initially discussed the possibility of replacing Serling with Alfred Hitchcock after the first season.[321] It is reasonable to suggest that producers thought they could bring in Hitchcock as a recognisable figure for viewers. No doubt, the introductions of *The Twilight Zone*, and the attempt to recruit Hitchcock himself, served as an effort to replicate the legitimacy Hitchcock bought to his own show by performing in the introduction.

However, as demonstrated in the following quote from *The Los Angeles Times'* Doc Quigg, it was important for both the audience and the television

[320] Hadas, Leora, 'A New Vision: J.J. Abrams, Star Trek, and Promotional Authorship', *Cinema Journal*, 56 (2017), pp. 46–66 (47).
[321] Quigg, Doc, 'SERLING HOSTS OWN SHOW: Award-Winning Scripter Didn't Write This Role', *The Los Angeles Times*, 6 September 1963, p. C11.

industry that Serling continued his role as the author both on and off the screen, even if Serling was not a fan of hosting. Quigg stated:

> Serling does not like hosting show, [he] does it by default […]. The series has been renewed by the sponsors and Serling has been asked to continue as narrator. This, surely, is a strong argument for experimental programs and offers hope that more gifted, creative people such as Serling will be given a chance to develop new programs. The chances of breaking out of situation comedy cycles and the herds of cowboy shows lies somewhere in TV's own twilight zone. [322]

The journalist directly stated that it was because of writers like Serling that there was a potential for television to become a more innovative and expressive medium. His clear identification as author of the programme, despite his reluctance to appear in it, meant that reviews reflected his position and status, mirroring a discourse found in other media identifying artworks with an author.[323] In turn, the relationship between a creation and its creator factors into the perception of its cultural value.[324] However, as we shall see, Serling's past both helped and hindered reviews, opening *The Twilight Zone* to particular scrutiny in terms of writing.

The Twilight Zone and its author Rod Serling demonstrated a strong link between creation and creator, becoming synonymous with his programme, aided by his visual presence on the show itself. Evident was the importance journalists placed on the show because of its established and already legitimate (at least in

[322] Ibid.
[323] Bourdieu, 1996, p. 153.
[324] Howell, p. 36.

the medium's field) author, demonstrating how a text's, in this case *The Twilight Zone's,* legitimacy is constructed. As the rest of the section describes, Serling's position as creator is a through-line connecting many aspects of legitimacy, including the show's textual elements.

Textual Elements

As seen above, journalists expected much from Serling creatively because of his work on live-teleplays; they anticipated the quality of his writing to continue over to *The Twilight Zone.* Commentators scrutinised the programme's textual elements comparing it to Serling's past creations, especially in terms of writing and story. As this section describes, the expectations of Serling as a scriptwriter ended up delegitimating rather than legitimating the show, at least in certain reviews. Serling wrote or adapted material for 96 episodes of the show. As such, he was responsible as a writer for only 61% of *The Twilight Zone* episodes, but, as my research shows, was 100% responsible to take the brunt of legitimating discourses. The result of Serling's history of work and his position of author meant journalists judged the programme with these factors in mind.

Serling's background in live television created a double-edged sword for the show's legitimacy. While this is difficult to quantify, the reviews reflected a high standard expected from the production. Early pieces about *The Twilight Zone* lived up to journalists' expectations, heralding its originality.[325] In *TV Guide,* Feb DeB wrote:

[325] Laurent, Lawrence, 'Serling Finds Success by Use of Imagination', *The Washington Post,* 21 June 1960, p. A25.

> It is a pleasure to report that "The Twilight Zone," a Rod Serling enterprise filmed in Hollywood and broadcast on Friday nights by CBS, is the most refreshing new anthology series in some time. It has imagination, highly competent production and excellent acting. There isn't much meat in it, but, for a mulligan stew, it is a tasty dish indeed. […] So far a highly competent group of actors have been employed on "The Twilight Zone"—Burgess Meredith, Everett Sloane, Dan Duryea, Ed Wynn, fellows like that. But the real star of the series is its creator, chief writer, executive producer and narrator, Serling. It is the Serling touch that brings "The Twilight Zone" out of the everyday—and into the beyond.[326]

While Feb DeB labelled features like acting and production as 'highly competent' and 'excellent', the journalist's focus situated in other areas. The writer found that although interesting, the writing was superficial and lacking 'meat'. The journalist compared the episode to a 'mulligan stew', a dish which is a combination of adding together various ingredients. The show reflected the reviewer's metaphor as different parts of a television production, acting, writing etc., which the writer claimed the show did well but lacked the 'meat', or, in other words, a substantial weight behind the story (in the journalist's context).

While the actors were one by one picked out and labelled as 'highly competent' it was Serling who DeB Feb identified as the 'real star'. The commentator proclaimed Serling's ability to write elevated the production. In

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Crosby, John, 'Rod Serling Is Way Out in the Sixth Dimension', *The Washington Post,* 22 November 1959, p. G15.
Smith, Cecil, 'The TV Scene: Twilight Zone Is Video's Brightest', *The Los Angeles Times,* 26 January 1960, p. A6.
[326] Feb DeB, 'The Twilight Zone', *TV Guide,* 27 February 1960, p. 11.

the perception of the programme's legitimacy, even if Feb DeB found some fault in the show's narrative, the association to Serling and his 'star' role acted as a legitimator both textually and solidified his position as author. The review, which included metaphors and emphasis on aspects of textual elements, displayed journalists being afforded the space and creativity to investigate these features of a television programme, with the rhetoric used influencing perceived cultural values.[327] As such, while the text itself may have found faults in *The Twilight Zone* as a cultural product, its framing as a discourse based on authorship and authorial presentation provides the text legitimacy within the sphere analysed.

The extract below provides a less positive account of the programme's textual elements. In a piece for *Variety* 'The Thirty Fathom Grave', which is from the 4th season of *The Twilight Zone,* the year episodes stretched to an hour rather than the 30 minutes of previous seasons, Herm described the show in quite a negative light. S/he scrutinised the writing most of all:

> While these explorations into the occult, the fantastic and the science fictional were able to generate a hypnotic and occasionally terrifying atmosphere as half hours, the show has become a slack run-of-the-chill drama in the longer format, judging from the initial two offerings.
>
> The yarn was so thin that the hour had to be heavily padded with inconsequential naval routine. There was less progression to the drama than repetition of incident until the climactic suggestion that the banging might not have been made by men more than 20 years

[327] Baumann, 2007, p. 138.

> dead. The nervous breakdown of the mate was the pretext for some hokey psychologizing that piled artificiality into incredibility.[328]

The review presents negative criticism, with the main flaw being its writing. S/he described the overall plot of the episode as 'slack run-of-the-chill drama', emphasising the generic and uninspired quality of the storytelling (punning run-of-the-mill as 'run-of-the-chill' to assert both the programme's unoriginality and its tone or genre). What was evident from this was that for this journalist, *The Twilight Zone's* textual excellence directly relied upon the integrity of the show's writing. In this review, there was no mention of the acting quality, the cinematography or the directing, etc. The most likely reason for the emphasis on its writing, once again, was Rod Serling's past as a live television playwright and his presence as an author of the show. However, commentators' scrutiny of its writing presents a conundrum for the programme's legitimacy. It was the writing itself that formed the basis of either praise of criticism of textual distinction, above other elements. This shows how legitimacy is contested and nuanced, as the same thing can be praised or criticised. Despite the distinction for writing, it did not mean other facets like acting were completely ignored.

Along with writing and directing, some journalists recognised the performances of the actors.[329] Though the arrangement of the programme meant an actor would only perform on the show once for around thirty minutes, their performances were noteworthy and garnered praise, even if they did not receive the same attention as Serling. A *Los Angeles Times* piece by Hedda Hopper

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[328] Herm, 'The Twilight Zone (Review)', *Variety*, 16 January 1963, p. 33.
[329] Smith, Cecil, 'Rod Coaxed Back Into "Twilight Zone"', *The Washington Post*, 13 August 1962, p. A21.
Henniger, Paul, 'Twilight Zone Will Repeat "In His Image"', *The Los Angeles Times*, 9 June 1965, p. D17.

reflected this. She found that 'Agnes Moorehead should be adding another Emmy to her trophies for an amazing performance in "Twilight Zone."[330] Agnes Moorehead starred in the episode 'The Invaders', a role devoid of other actors with minimal dialogue, impressed Hopper to the extent she thought her award worthy Although, Moorehead did not receive an Emmy nomination for her part in *The Twilight Zone*, her brief appearance was enough to affect the journalist's opinion. However, Agnes Morehead was a well-established film actor and brought her own legitimacy to the programme,[331] and her reputation may have influenced the commentator, similar to the way in which Serling's history affected the discourses on his writing for the show. While the Emmy awards would never nominate her, or any actor's performance for the production, the recognition by journalists that their performances were deserving of nomination still served to perceptually legitimate *The Twilight Zone* and the actor's performances on it.

The Twilight Zone's main textual aspect for reviewers was the show's scripts and writing, with Serling's history as a scriptwriter from television's 'golden age' influencing the opinions of writers at the time. *The Twilight Zone* demonstrated the integral role authorship had in discussions of legitimacy, even if it was in an area such as its textual elements. Yet, as described later in this chapter, despite these apprehensions by journalists about *The Twilight Zone*, the show garnered legitimating institutional awards.

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[330] Hedda Hopper, 'Entertainment: Melcher, Doris Day May Buy Studio Plan to Star Martin, Grant; "San Luis Rey" to Be Remade', *The Los Angeles Times,* 2 February 1961, p. C8.

[331] There were many actors bought to television programmes, often at an attempt to legitimate the shows and trying to respark an actor's career; Becker.

Legitimating Institutions



[Picture of Rod Serling accepting his award for *The Twilight Zone*]

During its original run, *The Twilight Zone* and Rod Serling won several honours with a number of legitimate institutions. This acknowledgement served to positively influence the perception of the show's cultural value in the press, as they reported on these accolades in their respective publications. However, only a few of these awards and recognitions went to *The Twilight Zone* itself. Instead, they mostly awarded the production of the programme, and especially its writer, creator, and executive producer, Rod Serling. Yet, this did not make much of a difference in terms of value, because of the close association between actor and show.[332] This section will examine how journalists described some of these awards and appreciations and how they affected the show's legitimacy.

[332] Their closeness is referred to in the 'Author' section of this chapter.

In terms of the various organisations that recognised *The Twilight Zone*, those that awarded specifically for the television industry was the most prolific.[333] A *Variety* article by M. Nixon about Rod Serling's Emmy Award in 1960 construed it as the year that the awards went 'highbrow'.[334] Writers proclaimed this product as 'highbrow' because the awards recognised Serling for his achievement in writing and seemed to stem from an assessment of the show's intellectual nature regarding storytelling. Serling continued to win a considerable number of Emmy Awards for his work on the production and reports of these victories were present in a few publications, not just those focused on the entertainment industries. See the following article from *The Los Angeles Times* where journalist Cecil Smith reported: 'TOP Writing Award – Rod Serling walked off with the outstanding writing accomplishment in drama at television award ceremonies. Serling won an Emmy for his work on "Twilight Zone"'.[335] Serling and his writing were not the only parts of the show that various institutions rewarded, as others behind it also received recognition. This included directing, where 'The Screen Directors Guild have nominated six television films for their best-Direction award',[336] one of which was *The Twilight Zone* episode titled 'Time Enough at Last' directed by John Brahm. Brahm was a well-established film director, so his victory may have been a result of his reputation in the more legitimate medium.[337] Yet, while articles on Serling, such as the examples described previously, encompasses analysis of the awards

[333] A full list of award nominations and victories may be found in Appendix B.
[334] M. Nixon, 'Emmy Awards Go High-Brow This Year', *Broadcasting*, 22 May 1961, pp. 68–69.
[335] Smith Cecil, 'Bergman, Oliver Win Top Emmys: Honored as Finest Performers of Year', *The Los Angeles Times*, 21 June 1960, p. B1.
[336] 'Voted', *The Stage and Television Today*, 28 January 1960, p. 14.
[337] English, p. 56-7.

and provide further information, these pieces lack such material. Instead, they simply state the show's nomination.

Institutional recognition for *The Twilight Zone* did not just comprise of various awards. People from the show's network, CBS, also legitimated the programme. However, they took the opportunity to raise the network's cultural value because of the legitimacy of the programme. In a statement made in an interview by *Variety's* Oscar Katz, a CBS network representative commented on their attempt to present a variety of programming, which includes 'respectable' drama:

> We at CBS Television Network have always believed that it is the responsibility of the broadcaster to offer a balanced variety of programs, and the times are never easy in the effort to maintain program balance. Good drama, for example, has been the hardest commodity to come by in recent television; nevertheless, we have carried more drama than any other network, as witness shows like "The United States Steel Hour," "The General Electric Theatre," "Armstrong Circle Theatre," "The Twilight Zone" and various other dramatic presentations.[338]

Here, the representative recognised *The Twilight Zone*, and a few other productions, as 'good' drama, which by CBS's own admission was a difficult commodity to come by in this era of television. The article placed the show in this bracket, raising its value within the institution as one of the premiere dramas available at the time. Notably, the programmes they praised were all anthologies

[338] Oscar Katz, 'How to Achieve Balance Without Using Aerobats', *Variety*, 2 August 1961, p. 25.

rather than episodic series. It also appears as an undertaking to increase the distinction of the network, as its ability to have 'good' drama such as *The Twilight Zone* seems to be an attempt to separate itself from the other networks, as well as distance itself from accusations of pandering to the lowest form of television which was a major issue during the period. This was the kind of TV discussed by Minow in his infamous 'vast wasteland' speech such as the 'procession of game shows, formula comedies about totally unbelievable families, blood and thunder, mayhem, violence, sadism, murder, western bad men, western good men, private eyes, gangsters, more violence, and cartoons' found on the networks.[339]

During its run, *The Twilight Zone* won three Hugo awards for outstanding drama in 1960, 1961, and 1962.[340] The Hugo Award, introduced in 1953, annually awarded the best of science fiction, voted on by the World Science Fiction Convention.[341] Although the awards may mainly be legitimating to the science fiction community, since it entered discourses in the primary data of this thesis its relevance extends to the social sphere studied.[342] In terms of televised science fiction, during *The Twilight Zone's* run the World Science Fiction Society found it the best presentation of science fiction drama in the media of film and television. The show's ability to win over films like *The World, the Flesh, and the Devil* (Ranald MacDougall, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer 1959)

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[339] Newton N. Minow, *The 'Vast Wasteland': Address by Newton N. Minow to the National Association of Broadcasters, Washington, D.C. May 9, 1961*, ed. by Frank J. Kahn (New York: Prentice Hall College Div, 1961).
[340] '1960 Hugo Awards', *The Hugo Awards* <http://www.thehugoawards.org/hugo-history/1960-hugo-awards/>; '1961 Hugo Awards', *The Hugo Awards* <http://www.thehugoawards.org/hugo-history/1961-hugo-awards/>; '1962 Hugo Awards', *The Hugo Awards* <http://www.thehugoawards.org/hugo-history/1962-hugo-awards/>.
[341] http://www.thehugoawards.org/about/
[342] 'Chatter', *Variety*, 13 September 1961, p. 76.

and *The Time Machine* (George Pal, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer 1960) raised the programme's value, if only in the science fiction community,[343] and for this thesis' purposes, any of the television elite who also happen to be science fiction fans. What this displays was the high generic distinction of the broadcast, especially considering it won awards over films, which at the time were far more legitimate than television.[344] However, the general media only mentioned these victories in passing,[345] displaying that the awards themselves did not hold much worth in legitimating the series for a broader audience.

Outside of TV, the show gained some recognition in a different institution, academia, if only through its creator Rod Serling. In 1962, Serling would join Antioch College as a part-time teacher and writer in residence. His work in the institution included teaching a few classes such as dramatic writing, as well as help with the school's theatre productions.[346] A television writer joining academic staff certainly appeared to legitimate his creation. In another area of academia, Serling, along with a few other television writers, created courses to teach aspiring writers. Magazines like *Variety* frequently advertised these classes, and it seems Serling ran them for several years. Though not associated with the programmes directly or with a legitimate academic establishment, the classes demonstrated Serling's attempt to legitimate the medium, as he trained writers to create legitimate dramatic productions,[347] while

[343] Science Fiction's cultural value during this time was rather stunted. Further details are provided in the next chapter.
[344] Newman and Levine, p. 30.
[345] 'Chatter', *Variety,* 13 September 1961, p. 76.
[346] 'Rod Serling Will Join Antioch College Faculty', *Variety,* 2 May 1962, p. 181.
[347] 'A New Kind of School for People Who Want to Write', *The Los Angeles Times*, 20 November 1960, p. L7. Note, however, that there are also limitations to this legitimacy, as other television writers not teaching is not delegitimating (this is because there are a number of reasons for them not to teach like not having access to a university or because they lack the time, as examples). So, while it is a positive for

at the same time furthering his brand as a television author of repute (not to mention probably being well paid for the classes). Although there was a lack of direct connection between legitimating institutions such as universities and the show, for example, there were no classes taught on *The Twilight Zone* and no academic papers based on it during its broadcast, the connections made through Serling raised the value of Serling and his product. During this time, long before television would cross into academic study as an artistic medium (there were studies of TV in general, for instance, of how it affects children[348]), the recognition of Serling aided in the construction of the programme's value.

The acceptance of *The Twilight Zone* by legitimating institutions was largely TV based, as it won many awards within the medium's own legitimating institutions. Outside of television, the production's victories in the Hugo awards indicated a generic distinction. Although not perhaps as influential as Serling, genre too played a crucial role in *The Twilight Zone's* perceived value, particularly when relating to the genres within telefantasy.

Genre

Even before *The Twilight Zone* first aired, journalists faced a challenge defining the show's genre. This made sense to a degree, considering *The Twilight Zone* possesses the ability to change genre from episode to episode, and even in the episodes themselves. For instance, 'The Monsters Are Due on Maple Street',

The Twilight Zone's perceived value for Serling to teach, it does not mean other writers not teaching is delegitimating.

[348] Wilbur Schramm, Jack Lyle, and Edwin B. Parker, *Television in the Lives of Our Children* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961).

where dangerous extra-terrestrials hide among the citizens of a small neighbourhood. The episode not only displays science fiction elements, with its presentation of aliens, but also develops into a kind of psychological horror, where no one in the neighbourhood exists safely from the extra-terrestrials, and none escape suspicion of being an alien either. Another reason commentators and Rod Serling avoided using generic classifications was because of the connotations labels, such as science fiction or horror, had in legitimacy during the period.

In the press, Serling avoided conventional generic classifications to describe his show. In a statement about *The Twilight Zone*, he described it as '"difficult to give a generic classification, a single definition of the series. I guess you can say it's stories of imagination, they all tilt from centre—unreal, told in terms of reality."'[349] In the same meeting, Serling stated the show '"is not science fiction; it's sheer fantasy"'. Both Serling and the journalists discussed below adopted different words and phrases to depict the programme. These other labels provide an attempt to redefine the generic construct as something unique and previously unseen, mirroring Mittell's notions of genre construction through discourse. Here, Serling and the journalist hoped to avoid the delegitimating associations to non-verisimilitudes genres,[350] and instead tried to use descriptions and labels that did not delegitimate. 'Imagination' was a term referenced repeatedly by both journalists and Serling. Though the term applies logically to all cultural products,[351] 'imagination' served a supplemental purpose

[349] Crosby, John, 'Rod Serling Is Way Out in the Sixth Dimension', *The Washington Post*, 22 November 1959, p. G15.
[350] Mittell, p. 102.
[351] Since imagination is required in every creative endeavour.

in these articles. This added function clarifies when this idea of 'imagination' ties with the other conditions used to define *The Twilight Zone*, unreal stories told close to reality. While Serling formed the distinction that his show works as a fantasy rather than science fiction, there necessitates a need to distinguish what exactly he means by fantasy and why he distinctly avoided the use of science fiction as a label.

As discussed in the previous chapter, mass proportions of society did not consider science fiction in the 1950s and early 1960s as a legitimate genre.[352] The delegitimacy of telefantasy genres extended to fantasy and horror, which people largely associated with kid's shows, pulp magazines, comic books, and Hollywood B movies. It stands to reason that journalists who seemed to like the production, and Rod Serling, avoided these designations. In his own words, Serling described the programme as 'sheer fantasy'. Instead, what they attempted was to construct *The Twilight Zone* its own genre, one linked either to 'imagination' or 'sheer fantasy', which would avoid inherent value judgments present in already established genre labels.

Using the descriptive phrases, 'imagination' and 'between the real and unreal' means more for the show's legitimacy discourse than just the distancing from science fiction or other genre labels. The language linked to both Serling's role as writer and his history in the 'golden age' of live television plays. For commentators and Serling, the choice to include 'real' within this discourse reinforces this point. Within the medium, the idea of real or realism harbours not only connotations of Serling's past creations, as his plays presented dramas based closely on reality with little moving beyond the known verisimilitude, but

[352] See Chapter 1 that discusses the legitimacy of science fiction

also that his production belonged to a legitimate genre of television. As stated in Chapter 1 of this thesis, realistic drama reserved a place as the most legitimate of texts.[353] Although academic works regarding more realistic genres as legitimate come from much later in time than the discourses of *The Twilight Zone*, evidence proves such commentary extended to this period. In terms of artistic creation, realism was more culturally valuable than other types; one needs only to look to cinema for an example. David Bordwell, Jane Staiger, and Kristin Thompson notes how realistic drama receives special kudos compared to other genres.[354] Furthermore, journalists praised live teleplays for their depictions of realism, an aspect found as a part of many legitimate media like the theatre.[355] *The Twilight Zone's* stories described as 'imagination' based texts presenting both the 'real and unreal' masked its 'unreal' generic elements, so as not to tarnish the potential legitimacy of the programme.

Despite Serling's declarations about the show's genre, journalists sometimes adopted generic classifications for *The Twilight Zone*, including science fiction, fantasy, and horror.[356] The result of these characteristics altered the perception of its value. The examples below provide evidence of how the classification of *The Twilight Zone's* genre meant more than a marker to reference and depict the programme. The terms used for it carried significant legitimating and delegitimating undertones. As Jason Mittell argues;

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[353] Garcia, Alberto N., *Emotions in Contemporary TV Series* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 13.
[354] Bordwell, Staiger, and Thompson, p. 99.
[355] Boddy, 1990, p. 85.
[356] Examples of these different descriptions are seen in the examples below; 'Photo Standalone 33', *The Los Angeles Times*, 5 June 1960, p. K3. and DeB, F., 'The Twilight Zone: Review', *TV Guide*, 19 December 1959, p. 7.

> generic categories comprise discourses of definition, interpretation, and evaluation. This last category seems to be a crucial issue for genre audiences, as hierarchies between programs and genres are one of the primary ways in which television viewers situate themselves among media texts and their social locations.'[357]

When commentators exploited a generic label for the show, the most popular choice was science fiction. This was often the case in shorter articles, especially ones where writers grouped *The Twilight Zone* together with other genre programmes. *Variety's* Les Carpenter provided an example, as he briefly acknowledged several new productions airing in 1959; 'Newcomers this year are […] and the science-fiction ("Space," "Challenge," "Twilight Zone").'[358] Journalists used science fiction in these types of pieces because it was the easiest way to characterise the broadcast in the limited number of words they had, using science fiction as a generic label that all of the shows above fit. Considering that *The Twilight Zone* exhibited textual elements that related it much more to a science fiction than a western, comedy, mystery, or outdoor adventure, it made sense the writer would group it into the science fiction category. However, one needs to acknowledge the journalist wrote the above before the programme aired, meaning they did not possess the opportunity to view and judge for themselves the production's genre. While describing the show as science fiction might have been the only pragmatic option, it impacted the perception of the programme's legitimacy. Labels such as science fiction provided readers baggage regarding

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[357] Mittell, Jason, 'Audiences Talking Genre: Television Talk Shows and Cultural Hierarchies', *Journal of Popular Film and Television*, 31 (2003), pp. 36–46 (36).
[358] Carpenter, Les, '22% of TV Webs' Prime Evening Time Will Still Be Oaters "59-"60', *Variety*, 3 June 1959, p. 18.

the genre's legitimacy, which was then associated with *The Twilight Zone*.[359] Yet, other writers, who had more information and more column space, chose different ways to describe the show's genre.

What this section has shown is that journalists had difficulty identifying *The Twilight Zone's* genre. When pressed with limited space to discuss the programme they would result to calling it a science fiction. However, when reviewers discussed the show in detail, particularly if they enjoyed the programme and wished to legitimate it for their audience, they avoided the use of such generic terms, because of their delegitimating connotations. This shows that science fiction and other genres in telefantasy faced an uphill battle regarding their cultural value, since the elite television audiences found the simplest way of describing them as delegitimate. The programme's issue regarding genre spread to other legitimating criteria, like cultural commentary.

Cultural Commentary

Dialogues about social/cultural commentary during the period of *The Twilight Zone's* initial airing presents problems of analysis. With television a relatively new medium, which extends to conversations of its newness, it is possible that the language infrastructure was not yet available to provide in-depth discourses of the show's underlying messages. There were also other problems regarding discourses about programmes, such as the strict pressures of censorship. So, there existed two concerns in the discussions of cultural commentary on television at this time. Firstly, the creators of the shows themselves, which this

[359] Howell, p. 39.

section will display, were reluctant to say their products were a means of cultural criticism. The reason for this most directly stemmed from the fear of advertisers potentially pulling funding, as they did not want their brand associated with something controversial. Secondly, journalists, likely feared a similar threat from the advertisers of their newspapers and/or magazines, did not critique social commentary in productions. In the television industry at the time, because of its need to attract the largest number of viewers and not risk upsetting any audience member, programming harvesting the capacity to disrupt the dominant hegemony was unlikely to come out, or if it did, was likely to not gain the ratings needed to stay on the air or the interest from advertisers to fund it.

Rod Serling himself, perhaps thinking about ramifications from networks and/or advertisers if he upset the major hegemony, denied the show's probable intentions of commentary on current culture. In an interview in *The Washington Post*, he discussed the conflict in the cultural criticisms potentially evident in his programme:

> "No, they're no vehicles of social criticism. They're mature adult stories. One story 'Monsters Are Due on Main Street' is a strange oblique commentary on prejudice. The minorities always need a scapegoat to explain their own weaknesses."[360]

Serling in his commentary pronounces he both was not criticising society while making an observation on aspects found within society such as prejudice. He seems to be imposing that the show reflects more general commentary found in every society, rather than anything within his contemporary social context.

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[360] Lawrence Laurent, 'Serling Finds Success By Use of Imagination', *The Washington Post*, 21 June 1960, p. A25.

Serling attempted to distance the show from cultural commentary by describing the programme as 'stories of imagination […] unreal, told in terms of reality', alluding his work more to a fantasy in order to distract from the idea of the show's cultural commentary. That these episodes were pure imagination, and were unreal yet infused with notions of reality, displayed Serling's further endeavours to dissociate himself from admitting that his creation has anything to do with social critique. Instead, Serling implies how his stories present elements society could learn from without commentating on any issues happening in his contemporary. The ability to present an alternative reality links to telefantasy's use of its generic verisimilitude to distort and question the current cultural climate.[361] A reason for Serling's disavowal of criticism might stem from the pressures he felt as an executive producer from networks and advertisers to not present any content that might upset the audience.[362] As an artist, the limitations of working during this period of television shackled Serling. However, Serling may have been avoiding discussions about cultural commentary because of its association to the science fiction genre. As Keith M. Booker and Anne-Marie Thomas explains, '[s]cience fiction tends to be weak on characterisation in relation to the literary novel, but strong in its exploration of important social and political issues.'[363] As such, distancing oneself from cultural commentary also creates space from the science fiction label. Regarding the programme's cultural value, while a feature of legitimation for a

[361] Catherine Johnson, *Telefantasy* (London: bfi Publishing, 2005), 27.
[362] 'TV Experts Roast, Roasted in Hollywood: Minow and Others Grilled on TV Arts and Sciences Panel', *Broadcasting*, 24 December 1962.
[363] Booker and Thomas, p. 8.

creator is moving past attempts of censorship,[364] Serling bows to the wills of the industry of the time, pragmatically ensuring he has a production on the air.

However, despite Serling's best efforts, journalists found social commentary within his show. This was most evident in the following article from *The Washington Post* by Lawrence Laurent:

> There have been futuristic science fiction stories in which men traveled by rockets to other planets. There have been stories out of the past, notably one which began with a Western lynching. Many of the stories, however, deal with extraordinary events that take place in the very ordinary. Commonplace contemporary neighborhoods.
>
> In one of the futuristic stories, an interplanetary traveler was given all the comforts of the earth, but found he was on permanent display in a zoo. In the western, a badman was projected into the second half of the twentieth century. He found our present even more terrifying than the predicament from which he had been saved. In the contemporary realm; Serling has dealt with a trumpeter's advance peek at his own death: with a boxer's terrible inability to accept a child's powerful faith: with the awesome power of loneliness; and, in last Friday's show, with the ruination of a robot baseball pitcher when the robot was given a heart.

[364] Gans, Herbert J., *Popular Culture and High Culture* (New York: BasicBooks, 1999), p. 66.

> The robot, you see, developed compassion and was no longer willing to deprive the opposing batters of a chance to make a good living […]
>
> In the best of "The Twilight Zone" episodes, the characters and the settings have been ordinary. Imagination brought the unusual into these lives and resulted in a surprising reaction.[365]

In the quote, Laurent lists elements of the social commentary presented in the programme. Evident in his analysis was the praise he reserved for the areas he found as having a deeper meaning than what was initially on the surface. Though not delving into the various subject matters of the *The Twilight Zone's* cultural commentary, his review displays a journalist's thoughts about the production beyond just the outward presentation on the screen. Importantly for this study, the article above displayed cultural value for aspects of cultural critique. Such acclaim for interpretations mirrors discourses within science fiction literature, as a distinction for more legitimate works from the medium are for texts that provide readers with the ability to examine and interpret thoroughly.[366] Notably, Lawrence presented these displays of cultural commentary while associating the episodes they take place in with generic labels such as science fiction and western. Here, it appears that the journalist attempted to link these non-verisimilitudes elements to cultural commentary as a way to legitimate these labels (along with the show itself).

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[365] Lawrence Laurent. 1960. Serling finds success by use of imagination. *The Washington Post*, Jun 21, 1960, P. A25

[366] Beeler, Stan, 'Stargate SG1 and the Search for the Perfect Science Fiction Premise', in *The Essential Science Fiction Television Reader*, ed. by J.P. Telotte (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2008), pp. 267–82 (268).

While the journalist recognised social themes throughout many of the episodes, he did not describe them in any detail. A reason for this results from the lack of textual reflectivity within television discourses during TV I. Considering that Baumann finds that the discussions of Hollywood film had not developed enough during this period to analyse film in an in-depth manner, it is conceivable to extend this argument to TV, and in general, the medium usually follows film in terms of its development as an artistic form.[367] Whether fearing their own careers or the potential of upsetting someone in the television industry, it was possible that writers might have decided not to criticise aspects of US society because of this reason. The conclusion of the inability of journalists to talk about *The Twilight Zone's* commentary on society influenced the perception of its legitimacy. While in one regard, reviewers grasped that the episode said something about its contemporary culture, they did not discuss these elements fully. This resulted in superficial examinations of the programme that only scratched the surface of the show's presentation of cultural criticism, meaning the perception of the show's value is not affected because of it.

The Twilight Zone's and Serling's apprehensions toward highlighting cultural observations were not wholly unwarranted. *The Defenders* (1961-1965, CBS) was a legal drama that presented contentious topics at the time. 'The Benefactor', an episode about the legal defence of an abortionist, provides an example as to why concerns were justified. The fear of controversy the episode possessed caused three of the four sponsors of the broadcast to pull their advertisements. And hypothetically the sponsors' fears were justifiable

[367] Shyon Baumann, *Hollywood Highbrow* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007), 112.

considering the backlash from the television audience, visible in the letters printed in *The Los Angeles Times* below:

> I hope my letter is one of hundreds written in protest of the recent episode of The Defenders entitled "The Benefactor." The sympathetic light in which the defendant was placed will do irreparable harm to the young girls who viewed the program. It seems that the moral of the story was not to stay out of trouble but rather to see a good doctor.
>
> G. E. M., North Hollywood.
>
> I have just seen The Defenders. I'm glad their sponsors refused—I wish the fourth had. This constant undermining of morals will destroy Americas as it did Rome.
>
> Patricia McAllister, San Bernardino[368]

Evidently, the show's controversial subject upset some of its viewership. Despite the apprehensions of the product's advertisers and certain members of the audience, Cecil Smith revealed that most correspondence received about the show supported its artistic choices rather than condemns them, and that the above letters but a vocal minority. Smith's response read:

> WE GET LETTERS—
>
> Because of the controversial nature of "The Benefactor," the drama on abortions that Occupied The Defenders last Saturday night, we are devoting this column to excerpts from the first 10 letters received by this desk on the program. The ratio, as you will note, is eight for

[368] Cecil Smith, 'In Defence of The Defenders: WE GET LETTERS', *The Los Angeles Times*, 3 May 1962, p. C10.

> and two against the program. CBS reports that through the nation, telephoned comments from viewers ran around 85% in favor of the show. Three sponsors refused to sponsor the show; a fourth (Speidel) picked up the tab.[369]

Although Smith acknowledged a favourable ratio in terms of opinion towards the programme's content, advertisers did not want to upset any members of the audience, especially in the era of least objectionable programming. It was logical that Serling, who had similarly caused advertisers headaches in the past because of his teleplays, would desire an avoidance of such controversies with *The Twilight Zone*.[370] Hence, it makes sense that he would downplay discussion of cultural commentary that his programme may be making. Serling favoured the continuation and profitability of his show over expressing some kind of commentary about his contemporary culture (and missing the potential to alter the perception of *The Twilight Zone's* legitimacy positively).

Outside of direct debates about *The Twilight Zone*, there were aspects of the production side that caused CBS some discomfort regarding the presentation of the show. One episode had a risk of not airing because of it having an all African American cast in March 1960.[371] This was due to potential backlash from the southern states of the USA, as there was the possibility that many of the viewers in the region would boycott the network. The appeasement of large audience sections in this case fits into the television industry's modus operandi of largest overall spectator numbers as a top priority for any programme. To

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[369] Cecil Smith, 'In Defence of The Defenders: WE GET LETTERS', *The Los Angeles Times*, 3 May 1962, p. C10.
[370] Peter Wolfe, *In the Zone: The Twilight World of Rod Serling* (Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Press, 1997), p. 18.
[371] '"Eden" and "Heavenly" "Plays of Week" Bought But Dixie Ain't Beaming', *Variety*, 30 March 1960, p. 30.

upset any person risked losing viewers, hence the label of 'least objectionable programming' for the period.[372] Although it appeared networks did not pull the episode (there does not seem to be evidence to support that they did), the influential hegemony at the time influenced both the network and reports in newspapers. The discourses related to cultural commentary seemed to be a double-edged sword. Certain journalists praised *The Twilight Zone*, and others like it, for the ability to present a broadcast with more than just surface. However, the presentation of cultural criticism that went against the dominant hegemony hazarded upsetting large sums of audience members, something the networks and advertisers did not want to do. As a result, cultural commentary during this period was a subdued legitimating factor. However, even if commentators did not talk about such themes in *The Twilight Zone*, evidently, the programme still appeared to have made an impact with audiences, integrating into other areas of society.

Integration

Judging from the primary research conducted for the thesis, *The Twilight Zone* integrated quickly into general culture. Yet, before being able to fully comprehend the integration, it is important to separate mentions of 'twilight zone' the expression and *The Twilight Zone* the television production. 'Twilight zone' as a phrase came long before Rod Serling's programme aired means not every referral relates to the show. There are many such instances of the wording 'twilight zone' not referencing *The Twilight Zone* or having a clear

[372] Pearson and Davies, p. 18.

connection.[373] As this is the case, it is necessary to distinguish between the two by certain features, such as the context of the quotation bearing similarities to the show's themes or the genre, that make it evident that the use of the term was a mention of the programme. Once separated, it becomes clearer which examples were references and which were not. The media integrating *The Twilight Zone*, while not affecting the legitimacy or cultural value of the broadcast itself necessarily (as examined in Chapter 1 of the thesis), adds to the legitimating factors discussed throughout.

Journalists mentioned the show when identifying strange events that are unlikely and surprising, referencing its generic elements.[374] Take, for instance, the following excerpt from *The Los Angeles Times'* Hal Humphrey, where the writer seemed to have a moment of deja vu when channel surfing from one television movie to another: 'After a few minutes I could have sworn I had entered Rod Serling's "Twilight Zone." The dialogue coming from Miss Colbert and Gable was almost identical to that I had just heard from the lips of Miss Allyson and Lemon." [375] Although earlier not wanting to label the product as science fiction or horror, Humphrey's account connected to both generic elements (granted, it similarly relates to Serling's designation of 'imagination' stories). What is key to note here is that the audience reading this report understood the reference.

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[373]Austin C. Wehrwein, 'No M'namara Warns Soviet To Beware of Limited Wars', *The New York Times*, 18 February 1962, p. 1., Sid Ziff, 'Twilight Zone?', *The Los Angeles Times*, 26 April 1963, p. B3. And 'Twilight Zone Justice', *The Washington Post and Times Herald,* 7 April 1959, p. A16.

[374] Wanda Henderson, 'Confetti: Mystic Flight Into Twilight Zone', *The Los Angeles Times*, 15 September 1963, p. 14.

[375] Hal Humphrey, 'Eerie World of Movie Remakes', *The Los Angeles Times*, 26 May 1963, p. B29.

Hal Humphrey seemed to quite like referencing *The Twilight Zone*, as he also mentioned the broadcast when discussing dealings within the industry:

> Would CBS have stood firm, maintain that the machines have got to be right? What recourse would Rockerfeller have? He might confront the big master computer and charge hotly, "You are wrong!" Then, in a scene such as we see in "Outer Limits" or Rod Serling's "Twilight Zone," the wheels would spin and the lights flash and Rockerfeller would shrink to pygmy size before our eyes and be sucked into a slot in the machine marked "Waste."[376]

Aside from Humphrey's preference of using *The Twilight Zone* as a point of comparison, the journalist used the show's genre and context to create a connection between the programme and an event that transpired at the time within the television industry. He related a real occurrence to the feelings generated in *The Twilight Zone* (or *Outer Limits*), connecting to elements of the supernatural or beyond the known verisimilitude.

Others in the media also referenced *The Twilight Zone* outside of the medium. Mal Florence, a writer reporting on a football game between the Detroit Lions and the Green Bay Rams in *The Los Angeles Times,* used the programme to highlight strangeness: 'Follow me as we take a trip into the "Twilight Zone."[377] Apparent was the transferable nature of the reference. Here, although the writer misses mentioning Serling by name, it was evident that this is a

[376] Hal Humphrey, 'Networks May Jump in the Pool', *The Los Angeles Times,* 10 June 1964, p. C14.
[377] Florence Mal, 'Be Wrong but Exciting, Rams Told', *The Los Angeles Times*, 12 September 1963, p. B3.

reference to the show. The phrase 'follow me as we take a trip' resembled thematically the opening monologues of the programme which goes:

> There is a fifth dimension beyond that which is known to man. It is a dimension as vast as space and as timeless as infinity. It is the middle ground between light and shadow, between science and superstition, and it lies between the pit of man's fears and the summit of his knowledge. This is the dimension of imagination. It is an area which we call the Twilight Zone.

Although not a direct quote, it is close enough to give the reader the sense that it came from the show, as Serling's opening monologues gives a similar message of travelling on a journey to a place not understood.

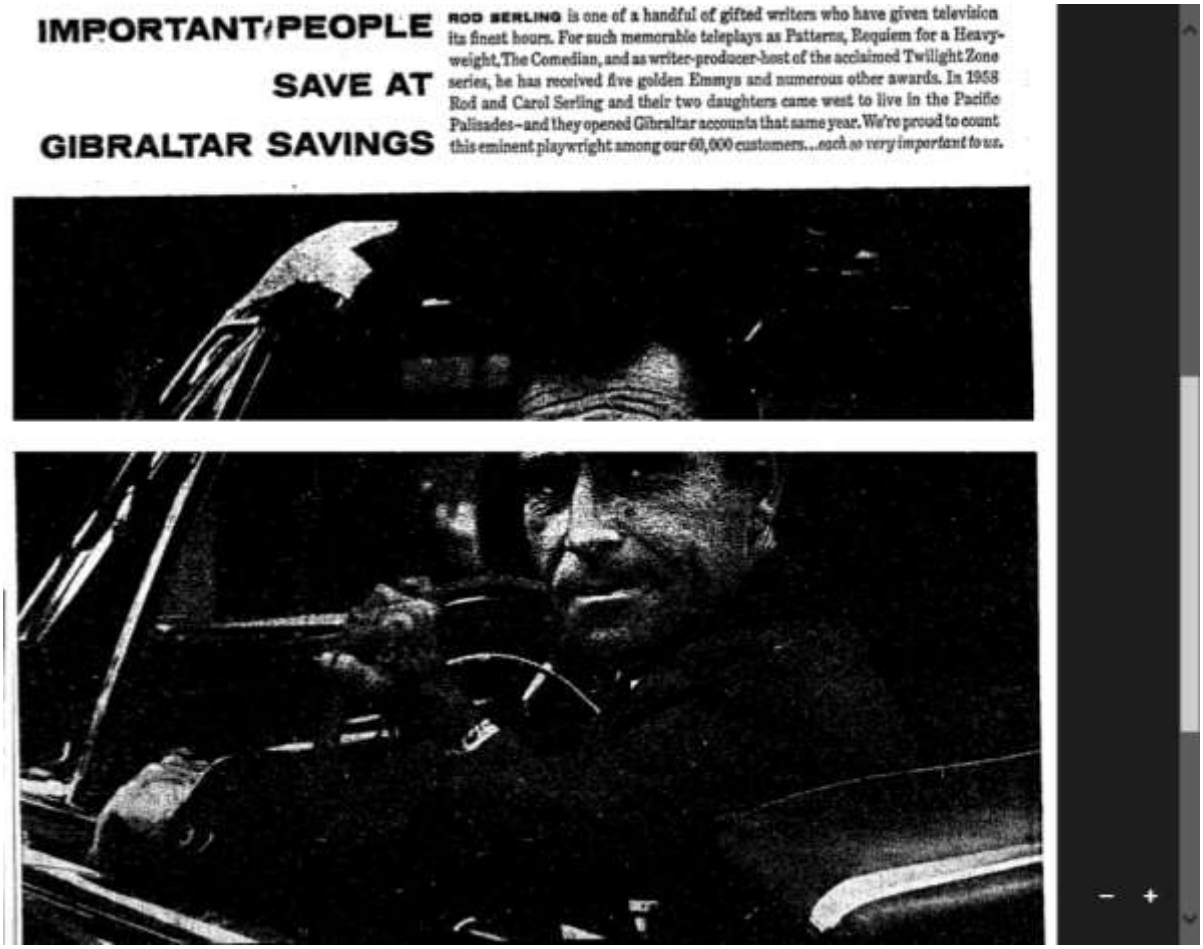
The Twilight Zone also integrated in other ways, not just into popular culture. Early on there was the potential to adapt the show into a film.[378] Although none made the film at this time,[379] journalists writing about the possibility of the production being adapted into a movie raised its legitimacy. This was because films were more legitimate than television at the time, and the link between the two alters *The Twilight Zone's* distinction for the positive.[380] The 1968 season of the show presented an episode titled 'An Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge', an award-winning French film, that aired as part of *The Twilight Zone's* fifth season. The film's inclusion elevated the programme's prestige, as the film represented many aspects considered prestigious. It was a part of

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[378] 'Major Studios Negotiating For TV's "Twilight Zone"', *Boxoffice*, 27 November 1961, p. 16.
[379] *Twilight Zone: The Movie* was eventually made and then released in 1983 (Steven Spielberg, John Landis, Joe Dante, George Miller; Warner Brothers)
[380] Michael Z Newman and Elana Levine, *Legitimating Television* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 9.

European cinema, which during this period was at the height of its value.[381] It was technically a film, which, as described above, heightened the presentation's legitimacy by its connection to the television show. Not only did critics praise the film, but it also won awards, both at the Cannes's film festival and an Academy Award.[382] Because of these factors, including such an episode in *The Twilight Zone* contributed to the legitimacy of the series.

In another kind of integration, this time in an advertisement, Rod Serling, and *The Twilight Zone* were used to heighten the reputation of a bank.[383]



[381] Baumann, 10.
[382] Lawrence Laurent, 'French Film Enters "The Twilight Zone"', *The Washington Post*, 1964, p. D6.
[383] 'Display Ad 212', *The Los Angeles Times*, 10 May 1964, p. N12.

The advertisement was using the prestige of the programme and Serling to raise the status of the bank's image, which they were trying to sell. Advertisers understood *The Twilight Zone* and its creator's legitimating ability.

Integration is a factor in legitimacy that allows the programme to become a reference point. The mention of the show's title created a knowledge base where one must know the product to comprehend these articles. This was a requirement if a broadcast was to turn into legitimate in a specific social group or society as a whole.[384] However, without the other facets of legitimacy, this aspect turns mute or even becomes a delegitimator. This was because products that lack cultural value can become as well-known as a legitimate work. P. David Marshall notes the value fame has with interpreting legitimacy, finding a requirement of renown as part of distinction.[385] Similar trends continued when journalists compared *The Twilight Zone* to other forms of media and television.

Comparison

Journalists made comparisons between *The Twilight Zone*, different media, and other TV shows. When comparing the show to another form, the usual choice was literature. In time, writers related different series to *The Twilight Zone*. Such correlations included relating Serling's product to the other programme for genre and arrangement. The following section analyses how journalists compared *The Twilight Zone* to various media, and how various models

[384] Cathryn Johnson, Timothy J. Dowd, and Cecilia L. Ridgeway, 'Legitimacy as a Social Process', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 32 (2006), 53–78, 56.
[385] Marshall, P. David, 'New Media - New Self: The Changing Power of Celebrity', in *The Celebrity Culture Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 634–44.

correlated to the production, counting the way in which each comparison affected the show's legitimacy.

Writers often compared *The Twilight Zone* to works of literature including novels, short stories, and poetry. The comparisons were made because they all shared a generic element, a connection with the supernatural. Take, for example, the following excerpt from Cecil Smith in *The Los Angeles Times*:

> Rod would kick like the devil—and with reason—to hear his series referred to as ghost stories. Actually, he is filming tales of imagination and suspense ranging from adult science fiction to fantasy, even to the occult, yet the stories and characterizations are handled realistically, they have no "green-headed monsters or rattling skeletons," and (from a look at the pilot), they have logical explanations. I was rather unhappy at the explanation (the first film is a beauty, dealing with a man who turns up in a deserted town which obviously has been functioning until a few moments before his arrival; it's haunting tale that reminds you of the De La Mare poem "The Listeners"); I'll confess I prefer my ghost stories to remain ghostly, to be without answers, without explanations.[386]

The journalist first indicated Serling's potential unhappiness to hear *The Twilight Zone's* stories compared to ghost stories, as it would overly simplify his story.[387] Once again, this brings up the elements of genre and legitimacy seen earlier in the chapter, how Serling and certain journalists wished to avoid the

[386] Cecil Smith, 'Series Spooky but Sans Ghosts', *The Los Angeles Times*, 4 August 1959, p. A6.
[387] Perhaps Smith is ignoring the cultural value of ghost stories like Henry James' The Turn *of the Screw* or Charles Dickens' *A Christmas Carol*.

identification with generic classifications. Cecil Smith pointed out that he was disappointed with the ending, as he found it exceedingly explained but had no clear conclusion. During this section, he related the episode to a Walter de la Mare poem titled *The Listeners* (1912). The poem describes a traveller arriving at an empty house but having the innate feeling that some presence (even if it is from beyond the grave) is watching him. The poem concludes with the man proclaiming to the 'empty' house '[t]ell them I came, and no one answered,—[t]hat I kept my word,' and then riding away. While the poem could be a metaphor for the brink between life and death, the finale is rather cryptic, an element often perceived as highbrow or culturally legitimate. David Lodge analyses the role of ambiguity in Henry James' novel *The Turn of the Screw*, and how 'the vivid sense of 'society' present in the late work of James owes much to this device of inclusive ambiguity',[388] showing how legitimate literature uses the narrative feature. The journalist compares the closure of the poem to the ending of the episode of *The Twilight Zone*. Indeed, the plot of the show, about what is apparently the last man in the world journeying through an empty town where the occupants have vanished, ends with it all being a kind of hallucinogenic dream. The last man was actually a pilot who the military subjected to an experiment, to see how he would cope with the loneliness of outer space. This conclusion is much less ambiguous than the poems'. However, the similarities between the two stands, in terms of theme and generic elements, and it was this that Smith refers to. Smith's discourse criticised *The Twilight Zone* through comparison to a poem, dealing with comparable themes and

[388] *Turn of the Screw* for example, was ambiguous. Ralf Norman note's its role in literature: Norman, Ralf, *The Insecure World of Henry James's Fiction: Intensity and Ambiguity* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1982), p. 17.

material but not as effectively. Any resemblance to a literary case inspires the construction of legitimacy for a programme, even if the show does not meet the standards of the written text.

This was not the only time that journalists compared *The Twilight Zone* to a work of literature. In a Cecil Smith review of the 4th season opener titled 'In His Image' for *The Los Angeles Times,* the programme is again related to the medium:

> An old friend in new form, Twilight Zone, turned up Thursday night with a splendidly eerie little Frankenstein tale about a man who created a robot in his own image. It was utter hokum but it was beautifully done with George Gizzard giving a chilling performance as both the modern Dr. Frankenstein and his handsome monster, but then Twilight Zone, even stretched to an hour, would hardly qualify as a "new" TV concept.[389]

The review and comparison to a work of literature did not come without some criticism. This time, it was that the correlation to Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* comes with a sense of unoriginality on the television programme's part. The episode in question matches Shelley's novella in creating a monster (in the show's case a robotic monster) and questioning the role science has on life, much like the piece of literature (although one would hardly call the monster from Shelley's text handsome). However, the overall effect of the comparison is to delegitimate the television programme as inferior to the novel.

[389] Cecil Smith, 'The TV Scene: Visions of Sugar Plums-Lemons', *The Los Angeles Times*, 7 January 1963.

Both the comparison to Mary Shelley's novella and to Walter De Le Ma's poem, despite the critical nature of the journalistic pieces, served to legitimate the perception of the broadcast overall. Literature is a medium considered more artistically valuable than television, so any comparisons made between the two serves to legitimate the programme, even if they found the latter wanting.[390] However, in saying this, it is again important to point out the type of literature that the show compared to. The works are not high forms of drama like that of William Shakespeare or his sonnets. Instead, they fall under the umbrella of fantasy or speculative fiction. So, while the resemblance to literary pieces raise its distinction, the increase is only as far as the value of speculative fiction.[391] These comparisons are logical considering *The Twilight Zone's* genre, and it may have been illogical to compare it to the works of the above playwright.

The above connections to literature were not the only ways journalists correlated *The Twilight Zone*. There was also a certain distinction for programmes related to the case study. For example, in a *Los Angeles Times* article from 1964, a writer described *Outer Limits* (1963-1965, ABC) as the 'new *Twilight Zone*'. The comparison between the two can stem from both shows' similar features. *Outer Limits'* format resembles *The Twilight Zone* as an anthology series that presents a new tale every week. The episodes based themselves on science fiction, perhaps even more so than *The Twilight Zone*. While there exists a resemblance the connection between the two affected both shows' legitimacy. On the one hand, the connection between *Outer Limits* and

[390] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique on the Judgment of Taste*, ed. by Richard Translator Nice, 8th edn (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 26.
[391] Generally, literature with more realistic elements are deemed of greater value than others; Currie, Gregory, 'Realism of Character and the Value of Fiction', in *Aesthetics and Ethics: Essays at the Intersection*, ed. by Jerrold Levinson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 161.

The Twilight Zone raised the artistic value of the former. In stating that the former product was a 'new' version of *The Twilight Zone* was not only a comparison of genre or arrangement but also of a level of quality. The choice of wording as 'new' rather than 'like' or another linking term created higher expectations for *Outer Limits*, for it to be just as good as *The Twilight Zone*. On the other hand, the connection to a show in this manner again legitimated *The Twilight Zone*. In this article's context, the novel concepts found within the programme by the journalist increased the perception of the case study's value.[392] *The Twilight Zone* shifted into a reference.

The two programmes shared this aspect of comparison when both become a reference for other series, as seen in the following excerpt from Philip K. Scheuer of *The Los Angeles Times*: '"The Veldt" is horror out of the Grand Guignol (or does one now say Twilight Zone and Outer Limits?)'.[393] Scheuer connected *The Veldt* (a short story by Ray Bradbury) to the other television products in terms of genre, in this case, horror rather than science fiction. What the excerpt also pointed out was a passing reference. Where before, one might have used the *Grand Guignol,* a theatre famous for producing shows usually about the strange and the supernatural with a special emphasis on horror,[394] to talk about horror, the reference had now become esoteric. Instead, the programmes he cited became the reference, which many readers presumably understood. This means that the productions mentioned in the article stand as

[392] Christine Geraghty, 'Aesthetics and Quality in Popular Television Drama', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 6 (2003), 25–45, p. 35.
[393] Philip K. Scheuer, 'Bradbury's "World" a Chilling Warning: Jean Seberg "Lilith" Morbid Study of Schiophrenic Girl', *The Los Angeles Times*, 16 October 1964, p. D15.
[394] Agnes Peirron, 'House of Horrors', *GrandGuignol.com* <http://www.grandguignol.com/history.htm>.

the best, or most popular, examples of horror. While a comparison to a series does not legitimate too much overall, considering television's place in cultural value regarding other media, this type of connection at least raised it within the medium, not to mention it serves as an instance of the integration of the broadcast with the rest of TV.

As seen throughout, telefantasy programming often compared through the connection of telefantasy and the genres that encompass it. This often took the form of comparisons to literature or other television shows. Comparisons related to *The Twilight Zone* displayed how the legitimating factor is used to provide a greater perception of cultural value. While genre and authorship become the overall legitimating factors that define these programmes, the audience which falls slightly outside of both factors, was nonetheless a part of the *The Twilight Zone's* legitimacy.

Audience

The Twilight Zone represented a strange connection in terms of audience and the show's artistic value. The late 1950s and early 1960s stood where television was supposedly at its worst. Newton N. Minow would make his 'vast wasteland' speech, criticising almost the whole of the medium aside from a few programmes, one of which was *The Twilight Zone*. Cultural commentators reflected Minow's sentiments, as it was during this period that commentators and the industry themselves found the viewing public to be simpletons with the

lowest taste values.[395] With this in mind, a show like *The Twilight Zone*, which journalists and Minow considered highbrow then the rest of television, should not have a significant viewership. Of course, the view of the audience as an unintelligent mass uninterested in more complex programming was a huge overgeneralisation, infused both with a retrospective sense of snobbery in the perceived cultural value of television from the period.[396] This becomes apparent in *The Twilight Zone's* viewing figures and its overall popularity.

In the era that Minow considered a 'vast wasteland', *The Twilight Zone* worked against the trend; this is the appearance that Minow's address and some journalists give about the programme. Journalists thought sponsors found *The Twilight Zone's* distance to least objectionable programming intriguing, as they wanted to attach their name to this highbrow show. This went against Minow's or other presumptions finding television as the 'vast wasteland' making least objectionable programming to attract the highest audience numbers. Even during the establishment of the network era, it looked as if certain journalists thought advertisers still hoped to entice specific demographics,[397] the same or similar ones who used to watch the live-anthology teleplays of the 'golden age',[398] judging from the anthology programme type of *The Twilight Zone* and

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[395] Victoria E. Johnson, *Heartland TV: Prime Time Television and the Struggle for U.S. Identity* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), p. 63.
[396] As discussed in the previous chapter in regard to the connection to 'least objectionable programming'.
[397] This is evidenced by the way demographics, even if they be something as simple as age and sex, were measured at the time and how they understood the use of placing certain programming, such as recorded anthologies, against other types of shows, like the news, in order to draw different audiences. 'Rates Great!', *Variety*, 19 February 1964, p. 37; 'TvQ Scores on 12 Syndie Shows', *Variety*, 27 July 1966, p. 55.
[398] In a response to Minow's 'vast wasteland' speech, agency programme planners listed the best possible television schedule said to show the best of television. *The Twilight Zone* was grouped with live anthology plays still continuing at the time like *Playhouse 90*. 'Agencies Cultivate TV "Garden"', *Broadcasting*, 29 May 1961, pp. 19–21.

its author's association with live teleplays. Journalists noticed the sponsors' need to associate with an intelligent production and proclaimed that 'CBS [was] to become the thinking man's network. *Twilight Zone* has more sponsors than room available on the show.'[399] This writer thought *The Twilight Zone's* appeal for sponsors was its perception as a smart or complex product. The network by connecting to this programme also gained prestige in terms of its intelligence. While journalists and those in the television industry considered the audience as unintelligent and wrote the medium off as the 'vast wasteland', journalists believed sponsors wanted to back a show that was intelligent. They saw the value of *The Twilight Zone* and believed it would have viewers. Such an insight, journalists reflecting a belief that certain programming drew audiences looking for a specific type of content, shows that networks and advertisers were thinking about niche groups long before the eventual segmented audience strategy presented as a key aspect of TV II.[400] *The Twilight Zone*, as seen below, tried to occupy a space as both a prestigious show attempting to cater to an intelligent market, while also having high enough ratings, in terms of sheer numbers, to stay on the air.

Considering that those in the media saw *The Twilight Zone* as a highly intelligent show in a period designated as a 'vast wasteland', it is reasonable to believe some journalists, such as Al Hicks, thought only a few 'highbrows' would appreciate it. However, this was not the case, as the programme would continually have quite a large viewing audience, evident from the number of years the show aired when only products with the highest Nielsen ratings

[399] 'CBS-A Thinking Man's Network? Hub's Filter-Tip Program Credo', *Variety*, 18 March 1959, pp. 29, 74.
[400] As discussed in this thesis's introduction, and later explored further in Chapter 5.

survived. Al Hicks wrote about his surprise that the show did find the ratings required to keep airing in the following letter published in *The Los Angeles Times,* where he was:

> 'afraid that Twilight Zone was much too intelligent, too literate, too skilful a show to last on television – and I'm glad I was wrong.'…
>
> '"As one writer to another, I'm asking: can something be done about writers who become polished performers on TV and undermine your status with your son? It's this fellow Rod Serling that is my problem, I was not a little proud when it became known to me that my son's idol was not Wally Moon or Jon Arnett or Elgin Baylor, but Rod Serling. I was real proud to know that intellectual types were achieving status with the teen-age set […]
>
> "I hasten to add that my son is not a puny book-worm type. He's big and hardly reads at all because he's too busy watching television. And being a Twilight zone buff, he came to admire Rod Serling as the exponent of the well-turned, way-out phrase.
>
> Letter from Al Hicks (a writer).[401]

Hicks pointed out the misconception outlined throughout this section; that *The Twilight Zone* was too intelligent to have viewers. By the time Hicks wrote this letter, the show was already three years old and had proven its staying power on television. He then spoke about one particular member of its audience who did not fit the mould he subscribed to the show's audience. He uses his son as an indication that the programme appeals to all different manner of people, and

[401] Cecil Smith, 'New Serling Star in Twilight Zone', *The Los Angeles Times,* 26 May 1961, p. A10.

certainly a large enough audience to survive for multiple seasons, and not just 'intellectual types'.

What was clear was that *The Twilight Zone*, although designed as an intellectual product, had a big market. The teenager described in the Hicks quote above was not alone in enjoying the broadcast. The case study had a generous young audience, with up to one-third of its viewers coming from this age bracket.[402] *The Twilight Zone* had quite a sizable spectatorship throughout its run in the era when shows without a large market faced cancellation. Despite this, it did not live up to the 14 seasons that programmes like *Bonanza* had (*The Twilight Zone* lasted for 5 seasons). An advertisement from *Variety* attempting to sell the show's syndication rights proclaimed that '*The Twilight Zone* was enjoyed by an average 18,000,000 viewers weekly during its 5 seasons on the CBS Television Network.'[403]

In terms of the presentation's value, the show's extensive audience and the perception of this group at the time created a contradiction. On the one hand, the sizable viewership does not lend itself to considerations of legitimacy, where repeatedly, the importance of a programme being highly esoteric and only enjoyable by an elite minority held as a great legitimating factor.[404] On the other, it was evident that in the eyes of journalists *The Twilight Zone* was an incredibly smart and 'quality'. In any case, it was clear that modern discussions of 'quality' television and its 'quality' audience do not apply to this era.

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[402] 'TvQ Scores on 12 Syndie Shows', *Variety*, 27 July 1966, p. 55.
[403] 'Early or Late, Twilight Zone's Great', *Broadcasting*, 2 August 1965, p. 22.
[404] Michael Z Newman and Elana Levine, *Legitimating Television* (New York: Routledge, 2012), p. 11.

Conclusion

To conclude, discussions of *The Twilight Zone's* social construction of cultural value heavily related to two legitimating factors, Serling's role as author and the programme's genre, its elements of fantasy, science fiction, and horror. The show's direct links to 'golden age' live teleplays, through Serling's position as author, swayed perceptions of the production, with cultural commentators basing their judgments of *The Twilight Zone* to the author's past works. The various discourses from Serling within texts for a more general audience, like *The Los Angeles Times,* and more industrial based ones, *Variety,* showed an acute understanding of the stakeholders within the legitimation process for a television programme at the time. This was especially true of the programme's textual elements, as whenever certain aspects, such as writing, were judged based upon Serling's past work; they expected great writing because of his work in the 'golden age'. Serling, as well as journalists who legitimated the programme, desperately attempted to not use generically defining words, like science fiction, to describe the show. The reason they tried to avoid such terms was because of the delegitimating connotations these terms would have for the television elite reading these newspapers and magazines. Despite the lack of connection to these genre labels, the show was still compared to works of literature of a similar genre. However, since literature was a more legitimate genre, this impacted the perception of the programme's value positively rather than negatively. Likewise, the show integrated into society to occupy a role meaning strange or spooky, showing its connection to telefantasy. The show also faced issues in regard to its ability to make cultural commentary, as

circumstances at the time meant that Serling attempted to avoid the notion the show did make any discourse about his contemporary, even if some journalists did not find this to be the case. As it was one of the more legitimate programmes on television at the time, it, but especially its author, were awarded by a number of institutions that journalists took the time to write about. The programme's state as a highbrow show did not mean it lacked an audience, even if it was in the period of least objectionable programming, which surprised some journalists. They thought that without the ability to appeal to the masses or 'heartland' US, the show would simply fail to continue airing. While the programme was deemed of worth during this period, it was clear that it did not meet the same level of legitimacy as Serling's past works. Indeed, it was not hard to conceptualise the very different discourses journalists may have had for it had the author been an unknown in the industry, rather than someone of Serling's stature. Though speculation, it was easy to imagine that discussions of the case study would have been even greater based on the show's genre. The next case study *Star Trek*, whose author Gene Roddenberry was a general unknown within the television industry at the time (or at least did not carry the same name recognition of Serling), provides an example of a telefantasy who did not have an established author to influence the view of the programme's cultural value.

Chapter 4: *Star Trek*

While the *Star Trek* franchise would now be most recognisable, at least in academia, because of its large and dedicated fanbase,[405] when it initially aired journalists classified the show as simply another science fiction series. Unlike articles on *The Twilight Zone,* which had varying opinions on the case study's genre, thoughts were not so divergent with *Star Trek.* As this chapter presents, most writers identified *Star Trek* as science fiction and the construction of its value closely tied to the perception of its genre's legitimacy. The legitimating criteria such as its textual elements, cultural commentary, comparison, integration and legitimating institutions are all influenced because of the programme's close identification with science fiction. *Star Trek*'s author, Gene Roddenberry attempted to legitimate the programme in some of the above factors despite its genre. *Star Trek* only managed to stay on the air for three seasons, but cancelation loomed even after the first. The reason for its instability resulted from a lack of viewership. Arguably, what kept it on the air was a small passionate fanbase, who petitioned NBC for its continuation. While they achieved their goal in saving the show from cancelation for a few seasons, their involvement negatively impacted the perception of the programme's cultural value. The aim of this chapter is to provide an understanding of *Star Trek's* legitimacy when it first came out. I will argue that the programme's genre played a central role in most factors of legitimacy relating to the show's value.

Genre

[405] As discussed in the introduction.

The classification of *Star Trek* as a part of the science fiction genre had significance in determining the case study's cultural value at the time of its initial airing. As stated in the previous sections, science fiction was not a socially constructed legitimate genre; therefore, *Star Trek's* identification as science fiction detracted from the perception of its value.

Examples of *Star Trek's* close association with the science fiction genre go back as far as 1964, two years before it first aired. In an article in *Variety* on the programme's casting, the writer labelled *Star Trek* as a 'sci-fi series'.[406] A *Broadcasting* article from later that year shared this sentiment, as they called it 'a one-hour science fiction'.[407] *Star Trek's* genre labelling continued to its release. In a piece describing various networks' genre shows, a journalist designated *Star Trek* once again as 'sci-fi'.[408] These tags act as branding, allowing audiences an overly simplistic understanding of the broadcast. As Catherine Johnson states, 'branding depends on interactivity, two-way communication, between the consumer and producer.'[409] Hence, in the cases above, the journalists used the brand of 'science fiction' to communicate the type of programme *Star Trek* was to their readership. The viewers then interconnected by either watching it or not, based upon the information provided from the science fiction tag. However, this genre label carried associations of delegitimacy along with its more textual elements such as, being set in the future, space flight, aliens, etc. While the media would continuously connect *Star Trek*

[406] Desilu's "Star Trek." (1964, December 2). *Variety*, p. 41.
[407] 'Shorter and Funnier', *Broadcasting*, 30 November 1964, pp. 29–30.
[408] Pitman, J. (1968, February 21). TV Webs' New Skeds Looks Familiar; "Gunsmoke" Triggers Early Oaters; NBC Digging for 10P.M. Vidvariety. *Variety*, pp. 31–53.
[409] Johnson, Catherine, *Branding Television* (Oxon: Routledge, 2012), p. 3-4.

to science fiction throughout its whole time on the air, there would slowly develop some variations in the way journalists described the case study generically, as seen below. This did not mean that they began calling the programme fantasy or a different genre, rather, more in-depth articles on *Star Trek* described other generic components the show possessed in relationship with science fiction, and at times try to legitimate the show in spite of it.

An example of *Star Trek's* generic hybridity came from Jack Gould of *The New York Times.* In a review from 1966 about one of the production's early episodes, he indicated these many generic elements:

> "Star Trek," which N.B.C is presenting at 8:30 P.M. on Thursdays this season, makes clear that life in space will probably be more traumatic than on earth. A sick teenager who was never acquainted with terrestrial amenities ran amok last night on the master patrol ship. The accent was less on the super-duper gadgetry usually associated with travel in the heavens than on astronautical soap opera that suffers from interminable flight drag. It was TV's first psychodrama in orbit.[410]

While Gould laid out many of the generic features associated with the science fiction genre; such as 'master patrol ship', 'super-duper gadgetry', and 'astronautical', he also went beyond simply describing the programme as science fiction. Indeed, the other generic elements he used to describe the show were 'soap opera' and 'psychodrama'. Both soap opera and psychodrama link to drama as subgenres, and their presence in the review on *Star Trek* meant a

[410] Gould, J. (1966, September 16). TV: Spies, Space and the Stagestruck: "Jericho," "Star Trek" and "That Girl" Begin. *The New York Times*, p. 56.

great deal for the production's (lack of) value. As Ellen Seister notes, 'psychodrama is the driving force of the soap opera narrative,' which usually links to the melodramatic and female audience targeting.[411] This negatively impacted the perception of the broadcast's legitimacy, as cultural commentators found it as one of the more delegitimate television genres.[412] Here, the writer used soap to lessen the value of a science fiction programme, revealing somewhat the cultural hierarchy in place regarding these two genres. With the article having a sarcastic tone, it indicated that the reviewer did not see *Star Trek* as valuable. However, while Catherine Johnson maintains the recognition of generic hybridity usually equates to a sense of quality,[413] at least this will be the case of television in TV II, *Star Trek's* connection to another genre potentially delegitimated, because both soap operas and science fiction reflected negative legitimating value. Instead of generic hybridity legitimating the show, Gould used it to critique it.

The western genre also played a role in discourses of the programme. This may be down to Gene Roddenberry, creator of the series, likening it to a western.[414] Roddenberry used the label because of industrial and economic facts, as an adult science fiction series would have been a difficult sell for the networks at the time.[415] Journalists also noticed elements from the two genres in *Star Trek.* In a *Los Angeles Times* article by H.H, the journalist described the case study in

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[411] Seiter, Ellen, 'Men, Sex and Money in Recent Family Melodramas', *Journal of the University Film and Video Association*, 35 (1983), pp.17–27 (20).
[412] Williams, Raymond, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form* (New York: Schocken B, 2003), p. 61.
[413] Johnson, "Quality/Cult Television," 61;
Thompson, Television's Second Golden Age, 15.
[414] Whitfeild, S. E., & Roddenberry, G. (1968). *The Making of "Star Trek."* New York: Ballantine Books, 23.
[415] Ibid.

the following fashion; 'Here we go again, kiddies, into the wild blue yonder where hardly a man roams who doesn't wear a ray-gun, and the girls are pretty, but dangerous…'[416] H.H. recognised common generic tropes associated with westerns also existed in *Star Trek*. The 'into the wild blue yonder' gave a sense of heroically exploring the mysterious, much like cowboys searching their way through the wild west. The grandiose hero of the western, as described by David Marc, explored pastures unknown and protecting those they care for.[417] The phrase 'into the wild blue yonder's origin most likely stems from a military song,[418] which also matches *Star Trek's* setting, as the crew of the fictional USS Enterprise on the programme show similar qualities to that of a naval ship. Although the article avoided the use of the label 'western', it still had that sense of exploration within its description. The notion of a man who 'roams' these new areas, and that everyone wears a 'ray-*gun*' similarly linked to a western motif. Jane Tompkins details how the word 'roam' invokes the western genre, as it was not uncommon to see a man roaming the open western plains or roaming into a new town with a new problem.[419] Correspondingly, the western was a place where men would wear a weapon, probably in a holster carried on their side. Unlike Roddenberry who used the term as an industrial label in order to sell his programme, the journalistic use provided delegitimacy, showing how different stakeholders value generic labels contrarily.

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[416] H, H. (1966, September 9). Stars Take a Trek Into a Real Mess. *The Los Angeles Times*, p. C15.
[417] Marc, David, *Demographic Vistas: Television in American Culture* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), p. 70.
[418] The song, created for the specific use of the USA Air Force can be found here: Smith, S. (2017). The Air Force Song - Full Lyrics: By Robert Crawford, Courtesy USAF Heritage Of America Band. Retrieved April 30, 2017, from https://www.thebalance.com/the-air-force-song-full-lyrics-4055890.
[419] Tompkins, Jane. (1992). *West of everything: the Inner Life of Westerns*. New York: Oxford University Press, 11.

In terms of the show's legitimacy, *Star Trek's* association with the western linked it to the 'vast wasteland' of television.[420] [1] In Minow's infamous 'vast wasteland' speech he decrees westerns as one of the problematic genres on television at the time, especially in regard to its violent portrayals. There were other legitimating issues related with the labelling of a programme as a western, as both science fiction and westerns carried connotations of delegitimacy during the period. H.H's quote in the previous paragraph demonstrated this. Despite *Star Trek's* status as a relatively new programme when the writer authored it, the statement 'here we go again' links to the unoriginality of the western genre at the time, with there being many western shows already on the medium such as *Bonanza* (NBC, 1959-1973) and *Gunsmoke* (CBS, 1955-1975). The term 'kiddies', used here to address the audience of the article, also became a delegitimating factor. The article referring to 'kiddies' demeaned the product, framing it as children's television (or at least for the immature) and not worthy of serious or adult viewers (which was the most likely audience of the publication itself, hence H.H telling readership that the series was childish). This would not be the only issue created for *Star Trek* by its link to children's TV.

An early advertisement in *The Los Angeles Times* stated that *Star Trek* was 'TV's first adult science fiction series!'[421] The very nature of this quote, where the writer explicitly stated the programme as suitable for adult audiences, reflected the inherent audience spectators associated with science fiction at the time, children. Since this is promotion for a programme was not aimed primarily at children, the writer of this article distinguishes the show from children's

[420] Minow.

[421] Display Ad 509 -- No Title. (1966, September 11). *The Los Angeles Times*, p. M42.

television even though it was science fiction, while many other writers struggled to do the same.[422] Due to the proliferation of science fiction, comic books and early morning TV programmes targeted at children during TV I,[423] some saw science fiction as a childish genre.[424] R. S Harmetz, a writer for *The Los Angeles Times*, pointed out this prejudice regarding *Star Trek*:

> Once science-fiction movies were long on crawling, plastic outer space monsters and short on budget and stars. They were aimed at kiddie matinees and overlooked by serious reviewers.
>
> The taste of anyone who liked science-fiction was open to suspicion. But "2001" cost $11 million and "Planet of the Apes" starred Charlton Heston. Both films should join the list of all time moneymakers […]
>
> While the science-fiction writers were busy in speeches and panel discussions deploring the low quality and gimmickry of Star Trek's scripts, bidding was especially active over items from that TV series, donated by producer Gene Roddenberry to help cover FUNCON's expenses.[425]

The extract served as much as a comment on science fiction film as it does on *Star Trek.* Harmetz found that science fiction film increased its legitimacy, moving away from a children's genre to an adult one. The quote, taken from an

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[422] Jancovich, Mark, and Derek Johnston, 'Film and Television, the 1950s', in *The Routledge Companion to Science Fiction*, ed. by Mark Bould, A Butler, Adam Roberts, and Et All (New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 71–79 (74).
[423] Particularly animated programmes with science fiction elements like *Birdman and the Galaxy Trio* (NBC, 1967-1968). *Captain Scarlet and the Mysterons* (ATV, 1968-1969), and *The Fantastic Voyage* (ABC, 1968-1969).
[424] Jancovich and Johnston, p. 74.
[425] Harmetz, R. S. (1968, July 29). Producers Zero In on Science-Fiction. *The Los Angeles Times*, p. G17.

article about a science fiction convention, places *Star Trek* as the butt of a joke, and portrayed the most delegitimate of science fiction topics at the event for the writers choosing the topic of the convention and this journalist. The article also points to the developing fan audience that would soon come to be synonymous with the show (as discussed at the beginning of this chapter).

Star Trek's inability to match film's level of science fiction aesthetic became a problem for the show's legitimacy and leads into discussions of *Star Trek's* textual elements (as seen in the coming section). Trau in a *Variety* review of the first episode of *Star Trek* titled 'The Man Trap' stated:

> "Star Trek" obviously solicits all out suspension of disbelief, but it won't work. Even within its sci-fi frame of reference it was an incredible and dreary mess of confusion and complexities at the kickoff. The interplanetary spaceship trudged on for a long hour with hardly any relief from violence, killings, hypnotic stuff and distasteful ugly monster. Moreover, this Norway Productions Desilu-NBC offering lacks the virtue of at least providing an illusion of the wide open (upper) spaces and had a crude made-in-studio look, whether lensed exterior or interior.
>
> By a generous stretch of the imagination, it could lure a small coterie of the small fry, though not happily time slotted in that direction. It's better suited to the Saturday morning kidvid bloc.[426]

Trau had difficulty disassociating *Star Trek's* other textual elements from its genre and its perceived audience. The reviewer found the story convoluted and uninteresting, with aspects such as violence and monsters worsening the overall

[426] Trau. (1966, September 14). Star Trek. *Variety*, p. 36.

experience of the case study. Moreover, Trau draws attention to the low production values of television production value and special effects, an area that lacked the pristine of other media, like film, at the time. This resulted in the presentation of the programme as cheap and even perceived as less legitimate in comparison.[427] Once again, Trau noted that *Star Trek* served better as a children's programme, even going as far as saying it suited Saturday mornings (the conventional time for children's television[428]), rather than its current evening slot.

Despite these issues in *Star Trek*'s quality for its genre by reviewers, by the time the show was up for syndication fans of the genre still wanted the programme. The press reflected this point, where an ad for its syndication described it as, 'A space breakthrough in the audience response barrier. Acclaimed by over ten million science-fiction oriented fans. Star Trek seventy-nine episodes of constant quality. Now being seen in over sixty-five countries around the world'.[429] This displayed that although *Star Trek* may have had issues with its cultural value for reviewers because of its genre, fans of the genre embraced the production, even shortly after its cancellation.

Journalists associated *Star Trek* with its genre; this link had consequences for the perception of the programme's legitimacy. Delegitimacy for the show

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[427] J.P Telotte notes how early science fiction television budgets could not compete with that of film, and struggled with these constraints the in the special effects department. Telotte, J.P., 'Introduction: The Trajectory of Science Fiction Television', in *The Essential Science Fiction Television Reader*, ed. by J.P. Telotte (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2008), pp. 1–36 [5].

[428] In the USA, Saturday mornings have long been designated as a timeslot for children's programming. Singer, Dorothy G., and Jerome L. Singer, 'The Economic Structure of the Commercial Electronic Children's Media Industries', in *Handbook of Children and the Media*, ed. by Dorothy G. Singer and Jerome L. Singer (London: Sage, 2001), pp. 477–94 (482).

[429] Take Off With Star Trek. (1969, March 24). *Broadcasting*, p. 87.

not only came from the science fiction label, but also from further associations to genres such as westerns and the soap operas. However, as discussed earlier, *Star Trek's* genre influenced other legitimating factors.

Textual Elements

Reviewers of *Star Trek* found a similar problem as they did with *The Twilight Zone* regarding textual elements, disappointing writing. However, the reasons for their dissatisfaction differed to Serling's show, as they had issues with basic elements rather than having a lofty backlog of an author's work to compare to. Yet, journalists praised qualities such as the acting and production design. The section shows that the reason Roddenberry's programme experienced difficulty impressing journalists with its writing was because of the production's genre.

While the writing of *Star Trek* became an issue for reviewers, other aspects such as the production value garnered praise. This was not surprising considering the reports on the effort and detail those behind it went to make the programme scientifically plausible and believable. Although previously this thesis showed journalists dictating how science fiction components delegitimated the show, the following behind the scenes interview does the opposite. Don Page, a journalist for *The Los Angeles Times*, found that these production elements related to science fiction made *Star Trek* impressive:

> 'Star Trek is Costly Sci Fi Epic. In the semi-darkness of a massive sound stage on the Desilu-Gower lot, strange creatures dart around through web covered catacombs…

> This is the set of NBC's Star Trek, one of the most expensive and elaborate productions in the history of television. […]
>
> Walking through the spectacular set, Roddenberry pointed some significant advances in production techniques, including a plastic spray machine that can formulate a tremendous stone in minutes. Or mountains caverns in a few hours. Heretofore it would take days to build similar structures.[430]

The excerpt described the overall importance placed on set design and visual aesthetic for the show. *Star Trek's* ability to present costly and visually impressive qualities added to the perception of its legitimacy. For the time, journalists found that the ability to produce a glossy and well-made production that resembled science fiction film increased its legitimacy.[431] Studies from later decades mirror these interpretations of quality within television, Simon Firth noting how a show's visually exceptionalism connotes 'quality' television.[432] However, Page's article was not a review of the case study, but a behind-the-scenes piece from a journalist given access to the set, which may explain why Page was so ready to praise the programme, less he never be provided exclusive admission again. This represented an issue with the legitimacy constructed within the article due to this potential bias, making the discourse more promotionally than critical. While this link to *Star Trek's* genre raised its cultural value, other aspects of its genre delegitimated.

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[430] Don Page, 'Star Trek Is Costly Sci Fi Epic', *The Los Angeles Times*, 21 September 1966, p. 21.
[431] Other texts offering insight on these qualities include: Humphrey, Hal, 'Star Trek's Upward Flight', *The Los Angeles Times,* 13 August 1967, p. a39c. and Page, Don, 'Enterprising Star Trek Taps TV's Potential', *The Los Angeles Times*, 13 August 1968, p. 1.
[432] Frith, p, 41.

Though Page praised *Star Trek's* production value and visual aspects, some journalists did not favour other facets of its textual elements. The following quote from journalist Pit demonstrated the difficulty the show found in finding reviewers sympathetic towards the science fiction programme: 'Futuristic spaceships doings, ed by William Shatner. An hour-long series replete with the usual gadgetry, mysterious events, etc., etc. The most imaginative use of fantasy evident here is the dreams of the sponsor. I was underwhelmed.'[433] The article proved the strong link between generic elements displayed in the broadcast and judgments of *Star Trek*'s textual quality. The journalist pointed out that components such as gadgetry, mysterious events, and fantasy facets lacked imagination and originality. They did not comment upon the show's character development, social commentary, or different factors of the text, nor did it any other legitimating textual discourses, like those that legitimated the 'golden age' of television in decades prior, such as performance, writing, directing, etc.[434] The only element the journalist found commendable related to the programme's potential to garner a large audience sponsors would enjoy, situating the cultural product as a purely financial one.

The following piece by Variety's Pit of the first episode of season two, titled 'Amok Time', mirrored aspects of genre influencing discourses of its textual elements discussed above. The article collected different one line or so reviews of *Star Trek* from other publications, each stating something of the show's textual value:

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[433] David Loffert, 'Capsule TV Reviews', *Back Stage*, 23 September 1966, p. 19.
[434] Sterling, Christopher H, and John Michael Kittross, *Stay Tuned: A History of American Broadcasting*, 3rd edn (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2002), p. 402.

> ‘The NBC sophomore delivers as much character interest as it does sci-fi gimmickry, and the savvy balance should see it through another semester [..]
>
> A complicated plot that at the finale had him in supposedly mortal combat […]
>
> The Theodore Sturgeon script was a videoland tear jerk in the best suds fashion (which may be most praise), and this Nimoy writhed his way through it with some pretty convincing moments of mental anguish etc […]
>
> Production values, per usual, were fine.[435]

The first review once again linked generic elements and the programme’s textual elements, but it also mentioned *Star Trek*’s character driven stories. The reviewer saw the combination of this aspect, character driven stories, as well as the science fiction genre, should generate the ability to allow the show to continue without cancellation. The next mini review pointed out the plot’s complexity, which the journalist found unfortunately ended in a slightly ridiculous fashion. When referencing the ‘complex’ nature of *Star Trek*’s plot, it is difficult to dissect in what sense Pit thought the plot (the episode was about the alien, Vulcan, character Spock going to his home planet in order to complete a compulsory mating ritual for his race) complicated, or at least for whom. As seen earlier, the general consensus identified science fiction as a genre for children (as described in greater detail later in this chapter). This means that when reviews stated they found the plot complex; it could be that it was too

[435] Pit, ‘Star Trek (Review)’, *Variety*, 20 September 1967, p. 40.

complicated for a young audience rather than intricate in a sense of sophistication. Without the details, specifically for the quote above, it is hard to tell which the reviewer means to indicate. However, throughout all the extracts was a theme of unoriginality and unsophistication. This was visible in the extract through the use of the 'supposedly' before the finale mortal combat of the episode's climax. This term presented the predictability of the programme, its unoriginality for the journalist. Characters engaging in a fight to the death displayed naivety, as the main characters were not likely to die. The following review snippet lauded the production on several elements and is overall quite positive. Firstly, although the journalist noted how the script compared to a soap opera, they praised the case study and considered it well done. In terms of the perception of *Star Trek*'s value, while comparing it to a soap opera might delegitimate the programme (as seen in the section on genre), being the best soap opera raises it somewhat, at least in regards to the soap opera genre. Here, the journalist also lauded Leonard Nimoy's acting, as they found he portrayed both the character and the character's situation well.

The usefulness of the excerpt above is in its ability to display many opinions of *Star Trek's* textual value at the time. However, regarding legitimacy, the show gained little from such reviews. Evidently, the case study's inseparability from its genre resulted in reviewers using it as an example of delegitimacy. Because of its labelling as science fiction, discussions of its textual elements focussed on production rather than categories such as writing, directing, etc. When journalists analysed these other facets, their thoughts often delegitimated the programme, leaving the show with a reputation of a children's show which looked good on the screen but offered not much else. The

delegitimacy resulting from the relationship between programme and genre also presented itself on discourses regarding its cultural commentary.

Cultural Commentary

Unlike *The Twilight Zone*, where Rod Serling refused to comment on his show's presentation of social commentary, articles on *Star Trek*, especially those interviewing its creator Gene Roddenberry, had no problems pointing out the case study's social commentary. Roddenberry seemed genuinely proud of the programme's ability to touch on sensitive cultural and social problems happening during the time the series aired, which becomes evident in the articles presented throughout this section of the thesis.

For Gene Roddenberry, the ability of *Star Trek* to create a commentary on social issues was one of its most important selling points. In the following interview with Roddenberry by *The Washington Post's* Don Page, the topic of social commentary came to the forefront:

> "We did shows last year about sex. Bigotry. Unionism, racism and religion," [Roddenberry] said. "We even did one on Vietnam—disguised, of course." By now, you are justifiably surmising that we were talking with the producer of an educational or closed-circuit TV project, or an experimental lab in some small university.
>
> Wrong. It may startle you to know that the producer was discussing stories he released over normally gutless, non-committal, play-it-safe, fun and games commercial television.

> […] Rodenberry created "Star Trek" with two goals in mind: To construct a quality science-fiction or dramatic odyssey and to make an intelligent statement in the aforementioned areas.
>
> By making these statements in another time and another place, several thousand years from now. Roddenberry was able to elude the today taboos of Madison Avenue. He feels he reached the audience he was seeking, but it was a difficult journey, as perilous at times as any trip undertaken by "Star Trek's" spaceship USS Enterprise. [436]

Here, Roddenberry explicitly stated how *Star Trek* presented several programmes based on controversial themes and inferred how he could hide social commentary within a science fiction, showing a distinct understanding of how science fiction could be used to comment on contemporary society. Page claimed the ability to make such observations on commercial TV does not belong to a usual television drama, but more commonly associated with an 'educational or closed-circuit TV project, or an experimental lab in some small university.' This educational aspect added value to the perceptions of the case study's cultural value,[437] with the journalist directly comparing the production's value to an educational institution. Patrick Parrinder notes science fiction literature's connection to science fact and how its association with explainable science legitimates the genre.[438] Indeed, such discourses create an association to socio-cultural verisimilitude, creating a connection to the real world of the audience. This relationship with realism and its legitimating value is discussed

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[436] Don Page, '"Star Trek" Is Still on Course', *The Washington Post*, 14 August 1968, p. D15.
[437] Monaco, Paul, *Understanding Society, Culture, and Television* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Co, 1998), p. 103.
[438] Parrinder, p. 32.

in Chapter 2 of this thesis. Page made a contrast between the other programmes on TV, those shows of the least objectionable programming nature that do not present any kind of larger social issue, and *Star Trek.* Due to its ability to display these issues (which Roddenberry also seemed greatly aware of), Page seemed to have found the case study of greater value than the rest of commercial television.[439] The journalist, going against many of the prescribed ideas of science fiction during this period (especially its link to children's TV discussed throughout this chapter), legitimated the presentation because of its ability to present social commentary, whose possibility only existed down to science fiction.

Humphrey's article emphasised how rare and strange it was to have a production that made social commentary on network television. He even referenced Roddenberry's ideology when creating the show, to make both a quality science fiction (or dramatic odyssey, another example of drama construction attempting to move a telefantasy away from the more delegitimate label of science fiction) as well as making intelligent statements on social issues. The notion that Roddenberry had such ideologies behind the creation of *Star Trek* not only raised his image as artist and TV author (discussed further in the authorship section), it also impacted the programme's legitimacy, as rather than being a broadcast for mere entertainment, it was understood to present serious and important discussions on social issues, constructed through the discourse presented above. Quoting Leora Hadas, 'the text reflects its author's identity as

[439] It is worth taking Don Page's review with a pinch of salt. Considering he was the journalist invited to take a view of the set, as seen in the above, it is possible that his bias could continue to other articles he created about the programme.

the source of its artistic value',[440] and Humphrey here attempts to do that by asserting that the cultural commentary behind the show comes from the mind of Roddenberry. Finally, the article's writer recognised the show's ability to use its science fiction elements to make critical claims about contemporary society. He claimed this generic facet of the production allowed it to avoid the censorship of 'Madison Avenue' or, in other words, the advertising agencies and their clients. Once again, this influenced the perception of the case study's value, as it appeared to not only displayed social commentary but to do so by going against a body that would censor such commentary. Danilo Kis notes how a creator's fight against censorship provides a sense of a heroic artist,[441] producing an observation value for their artwork, considering their valiant fight for it. Such an image is one Roddenberry shares, as the journalist likens his fight for his creation to reach its audience to the perilous journey his characters on his show go through.

Also, important for *Star Trek*, especially in the eyes of its creator Gene Roddenberry, was the status of its scientific accuracy. If the show needed to lean on scientific elements to tell stories about its contemporary society, then the former required great levels of accuracy. Hal Humphrey in *The Los Angeles Times* focused his attention on the programme's scientific accuracy in another interview with Roddenberry:

> "Science-fiction," says Rodenberry, "must be an extrapolation of something possible. Hollywood has turned too much of science-fiction into gimmicks and one-eyed monsters and left audiences

[440] Hadas-Dattner, p. 209.
[441] Kis, Danilo, 'Censorship/Self Censorship', *Index on Censorship,* 1 (1986), 43–45.

> confused and corrupted." On the USS Enterprise with its staff and crew of 400, Roddenberry tries to avoid gimmickry, or at least subordinate it to his cast. For example, instead of resorting to some highly imaginary costumes for his space adventures, Rodenberry contacted the national aeronautics and space administration and was given sketches of the type clothing to be worn by our own astronauts when they board 10 to 15-men spacecrafts for trips to the moon.
>
> Caltech and one of its art designers came up with the out-of-this-world conception of the USS Enterprise, which apparently is not as far out as the casual viewer might believe.
>
> "I've told our designers not to streamline a table that's not going anywhere or toss in things just for looks. There's a reason for each instrument you see on the USS Enterprise," Roddenberry maintains very seriously. [442]

Here, Roddenberry promoted the difference between his show and the known idea of science fiction from the movies. He talked about how *Star Trek* avoided science fiction 'gimmickry', or in other words special effects or spectacle, to tell its stories. Instead, *Star Trek* presented its science as comparable to knowledge and technology at the time. This included pragmaticism behind the sets, as the journalist says, Caltech university examining the interior design. Any relationship with a prestigious university raised the perception of the programme's cultural value because of its ties to academia.[443] There was also a sense of realism, at least in relation to science fiction, as the broadcast connected

[442] Hal Humphrey, 'A Flight Plan for Star Trek', *The Los Angeles Times*, 2 October 1966, p. A2.
[443] Baumann, 2007, p. 66.

to legitimacy discussions linked in the presentation of the real. The connection to realism is what some scholars, like Paul Kerr,[444] would later relate to as a key aspect of 'quality' television. Roddenberry shares this sentiment, as he states that in the design of the programme's sets nothing is for show, everything has a pragmatic use, just as technology does in real life. However, it is difficult to note if its genre would have disavowed this discourse of quality, as the later chapters display. Although promotion on Roddenberry's part, the journalistic space the interview took place in combined with the integrity of its publication and its writer meant that there was still the opportunity to increase the programme's cultural value with society through this discussion.

Alongside the general stories presented, *Star Trek* made socio-cultural commentary in other ways too. One way, which *The Los Angeles Times* reported, happened through including a Russian character into the show's second season:

> A Russian newspaper's criticism of NBC's Star Trek has resulted in the addition of a new member, Ens Chekov, to the regular cast.
>
> Gene Roddenberry, creator and executive producer of the science fiction series, learned that the Russian newspaper Pravda reviewed an episode which was seen by their critic in Germany. The critic reportedly was upset by the fact that the series depicts a space crew made up of people from many different nations and planets—but he couldn't spot a single Russian aboard.
>
> "He wrote that since Russia was first into space that country should at least be represented on the show," said Roddenberry. "He's dead right!... I was wrong to leave Russia out of that projection … So I

[444] Feuer, Kerr, and Vahimagi, eds., p. 148.

> decided to follow that writer's advice and add a Russian to the crew of our spaceship." [445]

Presenting a Russian character within the show, at the height of the Cold War no less, demonstrated how those behind the programme knew of the current social-political climate and changed the production to reflect this. As Jon Cook maintains, the relationship between taste and cultural commentary has been continuing in other media, such as literature starting from the 18th century,[446] as commentators find value in reflections of contemporary cultural discourses in art. Like *Star Trek*, these texts used their medium to commentate on current issues, and cultural commentators valued them because of it. Here, the producers of *Star Trek* continued these ideas in television, as they, through their character design, present a comment on contemporary society, altering the perception of the programme's value,[447] done so with similar power dynamics as the previous quotation, where the promotional aspect of what Roddenberry is doing takes place within the journalistic space.

Star Trek looked to further disrupt the cultural climate with an on-screen kiss between actors William Shatner and Nichelle Nichols. At the time, the act of an interracial kiss on television presented a challenge, a sentiment found in the following article by *Variety's* Daku:

> They almost blew the south, not to mention certain other sectors, on "Star Trek." Late in the running of a rather bad show, William

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[445] 'Star Trek Adds Soviet Crewman', *The Los Angeles Times*, 30 September 1967, p. B3.
[446] Cook, Jon, 'Culture, Class and Taste', in *Cultural Studies and the Working Class*, ed. by Sally R. Munt (London: Cassell, 2000), p. 97.
[447] Cardwell, Sarah, 'Is Quality Television Any Good? Generic Distinctions, Evaluations and the Troubling Matter of Critical Judgment', in *Quality TV*, ed. by Janet McCabe and Kim Akass (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007), pp. 19–34 (21).

> Shatner kisses Nichelle Nichols. Kisses aren't new to TV, but bussing of a Negro doll by a white man is.[448]

Here, Daku referenced the controversial nature of the action in the programme. While he also noted that he finds the production of not very high quality, the show demonstrated its ability to make social commentary, even if it risked the case study's popularity in some regions. Daku's statements mirrored discourses in more legitimate media regarding controversial subjects, such as literature. Lise Jallient finds critics had issues of being unable to commend works that pushed boundaries despite liking them because of a possible backlash from readership.[449] However, Daku also referenced a problem with the way the scriptwriters of the case study presented this moment:

> Before the bigots rush in to damn or the liberals to praise, it should be pointed out there was quite a cop-out in the Meyer Donlinsky script. As the starship commander, Shatner most reluctantly smooches Miss Nichols, a beautiful femme, and only because he is compelled to by the villain's evil powers. This neat little compromise acquits Shatner of crossing the line, because he has no control of his senses, the scripter is saying, in effect. Nor is Miss Nichols to be blamed, because she, too, is under the spell of the diabolical heavy. They both struggle valiantly against it in what is an intentionally hilarious scene. But they lose out to the script.

Evidently, Daku found how the story behind the kiss unfolded undermines the social commentary the kiss between the two actors makes. At least for this

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[448] Daku, 'Plato's Stepchildren (Star Trek)', *Variety*, 25 November 1968, p. 14.
[449] Jaillant, Lise, *Modernism, Middlebrow, and the Literary Canon* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014), p. 79.

reviewer, by depoliticising the kiss the social action or commentary that could have taken place here potentially delegitimates the perception of the programme rather than legitimating it. While telefantasy had the potential to push what was acceptable in terms of social commentary, sometimes even the cloak of science fiction was not enough to not upset the popular hegemony due to the era programming was produced and aired. In a time of least objectionable programming, television producers were unlikely to produce content that risked upsetting large members of their audience, especially in the south of the USA. That Daku thought the show did not go all the way with the statement it was trying to make shows his disappointment in a medium stuck in a period of 'least objectionable programming'.

Journalists and Roddenberry were not the only ones that appreciated *Star Trek's* cultural commentary and its scientific accuracy. The fans of the case study also cherished it. Although a fan's letter and not a journalistic article is discussed below, it is included in this study because of its inclusion in the publications reaching the elite television audience. In a letter to *The Los Angeles Times,* a fan disclosed:

> NBC has seen fit to again place Star Trek in jeopardy. This is becoming a habit with them. I would like to protest the action. Star Trek is a fine show and should be continued. The show goes deeper than just entertainment. Most episodes have a deeper meaning which can be applied to life. Please urge your readers to write to NBC and Paramount Pictures. Star Trek is a very good show and has proven this over the years it has been on.' [450]

[450] Linda Sebly, 'Letter to the Editor 2', *The Los Angeles Times*, 10 November 1968, p. Q55.

The editor Linda Selby responded with a vote of support for the programme, stating: '*Star Trek hasn't been getting the highest ratings in its new 10p.m. Friday timeslot. So all together, Star Trek fans, take up those placards—and MARCH!'* This kind of fan behaviour (examined in greater detail in the audience section) demonstrated how the show had a passionate and knowledgeable following. The fans of the product understood the social commentary presented in the case study and valued it. But for the purposes of this section, it displays that Roddenberry, the fans, and journalists recognised *Star Trek* for its cultural commentary. In terms of the perception of *Star Trek's* legitimacy, the letter represented how the case study's social commentary, over any other facets (such as quality of writing, production, etc.), provided the public defence of the show by one of its fans. Although the power of this piece to legitimate was limited, because it came from a fan rather than a journalist, it space within the publication allowed the discourse to reach members of the television elite. Moreover, it represents an example of the discursive nature of legitimacy as the fan's comments mirrored the journalistic discourses of cultural value discussed throughout the chapter.

For *Star Trek,* judgements on the programme's social commentary influenced its perceived value. Repeatedly, the case study's ability to present contemporary cultural commentary through the guises of science fiction provided an aspect of it that people really seemed to see as one of the product's highlights. Evidently, discourses on *Star Trek,* unlike *The Twilight Zone,* placed significant importance on its ability to make social commentary. Although Serling tried to deny his show's ability to discuss cultural issues, this was, as

shown by this section, a key feature of telefantasy,[451] even in TV I. The next section finally looks at how audiences affected the legitimacy of the programme.

Comparison

Once again, genre played a crucial role in discourses surrounding comparisons relating to *Star Trek*. Generic elements in the programme like starships, futuristic noises, and non-verisimilitudes plot points made the programme synonyms with its genre, to the extent journalists used the show as a point of reference for it. Likewise, cultural commentators could not differentiate the show from other of its genre, showing a disregard for each individual programme. *Star Trek's* genre became the point of emphasis for comparison to the programme, overshadowing more specific elements from the show.

The *Washington Posts'* Dean Grysel provided an example of an inability to differentiate *Star Trek* from other products of its genre, as he talked about the upcoming science fiction broadcasts on television for the 1966 season:

> There are three new science fiction series and please allow for a small margin of error as I try to differentiate. […]
>
> ABC's "Time Tunnel" has two scientists projected back into time, though not as far as the stone age, and traveling back and forth through history. "Star Trek" on NBC also has characters traversing through time, only on a 400 man space ship.

[451] Catherine Johnson, *Telefantasy* (London: bfi Publishing, 2005), p. 15.

> These would not be confused with "Lost In Space," the returning CBS yarn about a Swiss Family Robinson in outer space. [452]

Evident in the article was that there were a number of science fiction on the air (at least for this journalist) during the period and that the journalist cared not to pay attention and differentiate them from each other. The other science fiction programming released during this period listed above appears to have undermined the show's value, as *Star Trek* blended together with other productions instead of being discussed as its own entity. The lack of individuality displayed towards *Star Trek* potentially delegitimates its perception, because of the role originality plays in understandings of legitimacy.[453] *Star Trek* was but one of five mentioned in the piece, such was the unimportance placed on the case study programme. The show lacked a sense of artistic novelty within the article, emphasised when the journalist misidentifies the general plot of the show. The journalists noted how the product was about time travel rather than space travel. Once again, this lowered the case study's value as the journalist could not get the basics of *Star Trek* correct, disregarding its significance and comparing it to other science fiction television programmes. In effect, *Star Trek* became constructed as delegitimate simply because it was science fiction, being compared to other shows of the same genre.

As a result of *Star Trek*'s association with the science fiction genre, journalists made comparisons of it to different media that also used the genre,

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[452] Dean Gysel, 'TV Industry Shows Incredible Stolidity', *The Washington Post*, 18 July 1966, p. C8.

[453] Robin Nelson notes the importance of 'originality' of 'quality' television programmes like *The Sopranos* (HBO, 1999-2007). Nelson, Robin, '"Quality Television": 'The Sopranos Is the Best Television Drama Ever ... in My Humble Opinion', *Critical Studies in Television: The International Journal of Television Studies*, 1 (2006), pp. 57–71 (64).

like comics. Take, for example, the following quotation from Anne Baxter in an article from *The Los Angeles Times* where she said:

> "Most TV shows." Miss Baxter smiled, singling out Star Trek as an example, "are like a comic strip. No! Make that six or seven comic strips rolled into one. You've got combinations of everything from Flash Gordon to Prince Valiant."[454]

For Baxter, *Star Trek,* and other science fiction shows, suited comic strips rather than the television screens, resulting in her position to avoid acting roles in this genre. Conceivably, the comparison made here is toward the genre of the programme. It was possible that she found *Star Trek* comparable to a comic strip in terms of genre, as many science fiction comic strips populated newsstands at the time, and the science fiction genre in other media closely associated with them.[455] She noted the analogy in tone and format to television. It stands to reason that she could have been commenting on how many programmes have continuing plots and large amounts of melodrama, which David A. Zimmerman observes comic books also had.[456] However, *Star Trek,* like a comic strip, had action mixed with comedic elements. Yet, regarding legitimacy, the comparison lowers the programme to the value of the comic strip. A decade earlier, during the 1950s, the comic book industry experienced a lot of bad publicity. Many believed comic books corrupted and distorted the minds of children.[457] As such, the government held hearings to introduce rating systems to comic books, and

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[454] Paul Henniger, 'Anne Baxter: Back at Work', *The Los Angeles Times*, 16 July 1967, p. A39F.
[455] Lincoln Geraghty, *American Science Fiction Film and Television* (Oxford: Berg, 2009) p, 109.
[456] Zimmerman, David A., 'Comic Book Character: Unleashing the Hero in Us All', *Inter Varsity Press* (Illinois, 1964), p. 70-1.
[457] Fredric Wertham, *Seduction of the Innocent*, 2nd edn (Toronto: Rinehart & Company, Inc, 1954).

in general, comics became overall less violent. The relation of *Star Trek* to comic books/strips does not aid the show's legitimacy but served to delegitimise.

The trend of comparing *Star Trek* to other science fiction spread to those running TV networks. In a June 1969 edition of *Variety,*[458] just as *Star Trek's* run on the air was coming to its end, a journalist reported the action of the BBC in scheduling the production. The journalist found: '"Star Trek," the NBC-TV space series, has been bought by the BBC to replace its children's TV serial, "Dr. Who."' The excerpt demonstrated the ability to interchange one science fiction programme with another. However, the language used in the article speaks more to discussions of legitimacy than at first apparent. To compare the genres, the reader must first know that *Doctor Who* (1963-1989, BBC)[459] was a science fiction series. This was because the journalist described the show as a 'children's TV serial'. The choice of words here once again brought up a link between *Star Trek,* science fiction, and children's television, as the BBC scheduled the broadcast to replace a 'children's TV serial'. The tagging of both productions as 'children' once again brand the programmes with certain understandings with the text's audience. As discussed before, the link to *Star Trek* and children's TV existed as an ongoing connection and was detrimental to the case study's legitimacy. Since *Star Trek* can replace a 'children's tv serial' it must also be suitable for those who watch children's television, hence, making *Star Trek* a 'children's tv serial' by proxy.

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458 'BBC Slots "Star Trek"', *Variety,* 11 June 1969, p. 67.

459 *Dr Who* (BBC, 1963-) shows the adventures of an ever changing alien's (called The Doctor) journey through space and time with a number of sometimes human companions.

When journalists used *Star Trek* as a correlation, whether to television or other media it was mainly to draw attention to its similarity to contemporary science fiction. Evidently, *The Twilight Zone* and *Star Trek* had different connections in terms of comparison, with the former being legitimised through association to literature, and the latter being delegitimised through connection to comic strips. Despite these differences, there still exists a link that joins the two. Journalists found that telefantasy programmes clearly labelled as a specific genre, especially science fiction, influenced these programme's legitimacy harmfully. Similarly, integration also leaned heavily on generic values.

Integration

When integrating *Star Trek* into journalistic pieces not focused on television, writers would focus on the basest components of the show's genre. Take for example, further explored below, a spaceship said to come from *Star Trek.* The programme becomes a representational and identifiable proxy for the science fiction genre, especially regarding television. This had an influence on the discourses relating to the perception of the case study's cultural value.

As seen in this section, and coupled with the previous section on comparison, journalists linked *Star Trek* to its most basic generic elements. This meant science fiction related objects resulted in direct insinuation with the broadcast. The most humorous example of this was a boat shaped like a flying saucer which bears little resemblance to anything on *Star Trek* but the journalist makes an analogy to it nonetheless.



The caption beneath the picture read: 'Star Trek? – The flying saucer-shaped Top Secret is almost as much a mystery as it was a year ago when it first was seen in Newport Harbor waters.'[460] While the saucer presented here bears little resemblance to the ships in *Star Trek,* the journalist still compared it, suggesting that Star Trek became a reference point for elements of its science fiction genre. Though such a use of the show indicated the programme's popularity, these examples did not aid the perception of its legitimacy. The reason for this was because of the overall jokey inflection of the article. In terms of the case study's legitimacy, although such integration proved audiences knew it well enough to understand the reference, the tone of the article undermines the show, displaying that not all references to the broadcast confer legitimacy upon it.

Star Trek's identifiability in coordination with its genre spilled into scientific book reviews. *The Los Angeles Times'* Theodore Kruglak found that science fiction fans already had *Star Trek* to watch to get their science fiction needs, so there was no desperate need for a book on space probes for this audience:

[460] Bold from original. Gordon Grant, 'Who's Your Leader?: Mystery Shrouds Unique Craft on Its Annual Visit', *The Los Angeles Times*, 21 August 1969, p. OC A1.

> Another book on space probes is scarcely what the reading public has been panting for. The scientist has his NASA reports, the science fiction buff a plethora of paperbacks on the subject, and the non-reader has TV's Lost in Space, Star Trek and a host of carnations on the theme.[461]

Once again, the show integrated into culture because of its generic elements rather than any other aspect. Also, Kruglak emphasized *Star Trek* as a cultural product for 'non-readers', potentially negatively influencing the perception of the case study's cultural value by association. This was a result of a consensus that cultural elites look down upon those who do not read.[462] Equally, the quote shows a differentiation between literary science fiction fans and *Star Trek* ones, with the former described as 'buffs' while the other 'non-reader'. Considering 'buff' relates to intellectualisation, opposing those who do not read (so not buffs), the writer distinguished one over the other in regard to legitimacy, finding those who read legitimate and those who do not delegitimate (and by proxy, television, and a show like *Star Trek,* as less legitimate then print media).

A similar delegitimation by association occurred in the extract below, where *The Los Angeles Times'* Leonard Feathers described a music performance at UCLA:

> Scattered through most of the pieces were all manner of pips, squeaks, booms, blips, howls, quacks, Morse code and other sounds of the type one would expect to find (but doesn't) as background

[461] Theodore Kruglak, 'Emphasis on Humor Puts Space Age in Perspective', *The Los Angeles Times,* 22 June 1967, p. D7.
[462] Adoni, Hanna, 'Literacy and Reading in a Multimedia Environment', *Journal of Communication*, 45 (2006), 152–74.

> music for "Star Trek." Dig, Tommy Vig! Here is your missing sound of the 70s![463]

Here, the journalist examined the audience's expectations for what should be science fiction and a part of *Star Trek,* and what could be classified as music. The reason for the journalist's assumption was because these noises link to generic elements of science fiction, seemingly as high-tech computerized noises. On the other hand, Feathers made clear no such noises were present in *Star Trek.* The result, at least in terms of sound, was how *Star Trek* does not obey expected generic conventions according to this journalist. Instead of using the usual noises associated with the science fiction genre, here the journalist understood it sidestepped generic expectations and did not use them. In relation to the perception of the programme's artistic value, this was yet another example of its integration relating to its genre. However, unlike the two cases preceding, Feathers discussed generic expectations do not relate to the reality of *Star Trek*, displaying that in some way *Star Trek's* sound design was original.

The lack of *Star Trek's* integration to other parts of media, at least in comparison to *The Twilight Zone,* showed the programme's lesser popularity, with the general reading audience of these publications.[464] *Star Trek*'s more recognisable association to science fiction (although considering that this was an age dominated by the space race, it was surprising not to find more examples of integration) meant journalists continually compared the two, with the connotations of the genre's value influencing *Star Trek's*. As a result, *Star Trek*

[463] Leonard Feathers, 'Electronic Quartet Performs at UCLA', *The Los Angeles Times,* 2 April 1968, p. D15.
[464] As shown through the constant threat of cancelation for *Star Trek* while *The Twilight Zone* lasted for 5 seasons.

did not gain much legitimacy through its integration. These discourses would eventually change and evolve, with *Star Trek* becoming a widely recognised television programme (aided in this regard to the plethora of cultural products released within the franchise). With these changes came an evolution in the programme's cultural value, but that is for another study.

Legitimating Institutions

Several institutions recognised *Star Trek* with awards and honours during its initial run. However, unlike *The Twilight Zone*, much of this recognition came from outside the television industry. The show did not have a reputation of a famously talented, prolific live-teleplay script writer to bring attention to the product's writing and other qualities within the awarding institutions of its medium, at least not enough to gain victories. While all nominations to awards from the time aided in altering the perception of the programme's cultural value, the more technical and production nominations did not have the same influence as other more impressive ones, such as those for outstanding dramatic series. One need only look at the various newspaper articles to find which award categories journalists preferred and found worthy of discussion[465] This meant these nominations did little to alter the understanding of its value, as publications wrote about the programming that won the awards.[466]

[465] For an example, Frank Beermainn, 'Television Reviews: "Don"t Publicize Losers; Walters Sez at ABC Daytime Emmy Show', *Variety*, 21 May 1975, p. 48. And 'The Complete Emmy List', *Broadcasting*, 8 May 1967, pp. 82–83. Who focus on categories emphasizing best drama and actors, and listing the others.
[466] Ibid.

Regarding Emmy awards, *Star Trek* received nominations for a few categories but failed to win. *Star Trek's* nominations came mostly in the form of technical awards, such as those in mechanical special effects, photographic special effects, and sound and editing to name a few, rather than based on writing like the ones Rod Serling won. Overall, these nominations did not make much headway into the searched primary research publications other than including them in lists of all the various nominations for awards.[467] This was even true of *Star Trek's* nominations for a more prestigious category, where in 1967 and 1968 the show had nominations in the 'Outstanding Dramatic Series' category. In terms of recognition from journalists for an award nomination, the production had to win its respective category to receive attention, and as such, journalists did not write too much about nominations for *Star Trek*. Those behind the Emmy Awards also nominated a member of the cast, Leonard Nimoy, for a supporting actor Emmy every season it aired.[468] The only impression that these Emmy nominations seemed to make on journalists was the idea that the show got nominations even though it was being cancelled and would not be returning.[469] While the nominations for Emmys were a legitimator in themselves, without the recognition by journalists, as seen in the fanfare made for *The Twilight Zone's* nominations, the awards lose some of their power to legitimate in this sense.

The Emmys were not the only body that gave awards for textual areas within television, like writing. In 1968, *Star Trek* won an award for 'Best Written Dramatic Episode' for 'City on the Edge of Forever' from The Writers Guild of

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[467] Hal Humphrey, 'Leaders: Mission Impossible, Laugh In: Emmy Award Nominees Announced', *The Los Angeles Times*, 17 April 1968, p. D1.
[468] 'Leonard Nimoy Awards', *IMDB*, 2017 <http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0000559/awards>.
[469] Joyce Haber, 'Emmy Winners - Losers in the Fall', *The Los Angeles Times*, 10 June 1969, p. C10.

America. However, while this seemed to be a great accolade for the programme, journalists did not seem to share this opinion. It appears journalists did not particularly care, or at least they did not write about award nominations and winners from The Writers Guild of America. The articles mentioning this institution were rather short and factual, simply stating where the awards were held and when, and then listing all the nominations.[470] While recognition from The Writers Guild of America meant an increase in prestige for *Star Trek* within the industry itself, without the recognition of the press it remained rather esoteric, serving to only change *Star Trek's* value within the industry or those who paid close attention to these awards.

As stated in the introduction of this section, many awards for *Star Trek* came from areas other than the television industry. Like *The Twilight Zone*, The Hugo Awards also recognised *Star Trek* for its work in the science fiction genre. An episode of *Star Trek* won the 'Best Dramatic Presentation' award in 1967 and 1968. *Star Trek* dominated this award category despite its short run on the air. In 1967, different episodes of *Star Trek* filled three of the five nomination slots for this award, and in 1968, *Star Trek* episodes took all five nomination slots. While the industry chose not to award the programme, The World Science Fiction Society, that awarded the Hugos, found the show deserving, enough so to dominate the awards. In a generic sense then, *Star Trek* was successful and represented the height of prestige for a science fiction TV show in the Hugo's. Unfortunately, the success gained from these nominations did not translate to social circles outside of science fiction fans, especially the elite television

[470] As an example, Hal Humphrey, 'Nominees Announced in Annual Race for Emmys: Nominees for Emmy Awards', *The Los Angeles Times*, 2 May 1967, p. D1.

audience discussed as the basis of this thesis (considering the lack of their discussion in the primary sources). This is because print media had very little interest in the awards. Articles on *Star Trek's* victories based themselves on simple fact, stating they had won the award and were around 50 words long.[471] For journalists used in this thesis, the Hugo seemed to be an award with little importance or an award their readership had no interest in, at least if one judges this by word count or space in the publications. This meant that while *Star Trek* gained value within the science fiction community, this legitimacy did not spread out to other areas of society.

Star Trek also received recognition from institutions not directly linked with television or storytelling. The NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) took special notice of the programme and rewarded it for its representation of race on TV.[472] *Star Trek* presented one of the first female African American cast members, Nichelle Nichols who played Lieutenant Uhura, the chief communications officer on the Starship Enterprise. She was not only a key part of the show, but her role in the fictional story world was significant in terms of her military rank. Because of this role, the NAACP found the production worthy of bestowing it an award for its representation of race. Journalists at the time regarded this noteworthy, as they wrote several articles on the subject.[473] Concerning the case study's value, the ability to

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[471] 'Hugo Award to Star Trek Script', *The Los Angeles Times,* 10 October 1967, p. C19.

[472] The NAACP's aim is 'to ensure the political, educational, social, and economic equality of rights of all persons and to eliminate racial hatred and racial discrimination'; 'NAACP Memphis: About Us', 2017 http://www.naacpmemphis.org/aboutus.php [accessed 22 July 2019].

[473] For example, 'NAACP Will Present Nine Image Awards', *The Los Angeles Times,* 7 August 1967, p. D29. And 'Awards Fete Given by Negro BPW', *The Los Angeles Times*, 8 May 1969, p. F15.

present commentary on social values discussed earlier in the chapter, legitimates the programme. However, acknowledgement by such institutions could also raise the perception of *Star Trek*'s legitimacy, at least to these audience members who shared the value that African Americans should have more representation on television.

Awarding institutions were not the only kind to alter the understanding of *Star Trek's* cultural value. The Smithsonian Museum also bestowed some legitimacy on *Star Trek*, according to creator Gene Roddenberry. Roddenberry stated that the museum requested a print copy of the programme for the museum's archive in 1967, the first ever television show the museum archived according to the author.[474] Here, the discourse within the newspaper of the print's acceptance into a museum, a legitimating institution to Bourdieu,[475] altered the view of legitimacy for the production, especially regarding its generic and scientific value (as the principal reason they supposedly took the print of the show was because it demonstrated what could become of human technology in the future). Gene Roddenberry continued in other ways to point out its scientific value to those in the press. He explained in articles that teachers often displayed *Star Trek* in high school science classes and that teachers bestowed credits for students who watched the product.[476] Roddenberry's statements are difficult to verify, but, in terms of the case study's perceived value it legitimated the programme, much like the print given to the Smithsonian did, as educational institutions are also legitimating institutions.[477] The significance here is not

[474] 'Smithsonian Seeks TV Pilot', *The Los Angeles Times*, 13 June 1967, p. C19.
[475] Bourdieu, 1996, *Distinction*, p. 31.
[476] Hal Humphrey, 'Students Spending Less Viewing Time', *The Los Angeles Times*, 28 May 1968, p. C16.
[477] Bourdieu (1996), 69.

regarding Roddenberry's honesty, but rather the legitimacy provided from publishing his words, be they fact or fiction.

As discussed in the introduction of this thesis, academia as a legitimating factor mainly began in TV II. This does not mean that there was no evidence of telefantasy's growing visibility within this institution, as the below demonstrates. However, because of it coming a few years after the broadcast's removal from television and lack of journalistic attention, academia will not have its own section within the chapter. 1972's *Social Themes and Human Values Contained in the Science Fiction Television Program Series Star Trek*[478] represented the first dissertation (MA), and possibly the first academic project based on the programme, at least according to *WorldCat*.[479] Although not technically created when the show ran, its research and the very idea that it was a possibility to use *Star Trek* as a topic started when the product was still on the air. Moreover, it was a thesis that examined the content of it thematically. Although an MA thesis was not exactly big news, it provided an example of the slow change that would come to telefantasy and TV in general in terms of the medium's place in academia.

Star Trek's recognition in legitimating institutions mainly came outside of the television industry and outside of the press studied in this thesis. *Star Trek's* value to legitimating institutions varied greatly to that of *The Twilight Zone* which, as seen in the previous chapter, won many awards and received recognition from the television industry, usually in categories such as writing.

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[478] Herald Louis Saltzer, 'Social Themes and Human Values Contained in the Science Fiction Television Program Series Star Trek' (Boston University, 1972).
[479] 'WorldCat: Star Trek Search', *WorldCat* <https://www.worldcat.org/title/social-themes-and-human-values-contained-in-the-science-fiction-television-program-series-star-trek/oclc/4181014&referer=brief_results>.

Yet, while gaining these plaudits from various institutions (and legitimated because of their presence in the journalistic discourses described above, meaning they reach the audience of television elites this thesis studies), it is worth pointing out once more how journalists attempted to disassociate *The Twilight Zone* from labels such as science fiction and horror (again discussed in the previous chapter). The result of the non-identification of the product with science fiction resulted in institutions bestowing more legitimacy on *The Twilight Zone.* Judging from the reception of telefantasy like *Star Trek,* it is possible to believe that the recognition for *The Twilight Zone* was but an anomaly, created from the fame of its author. To sum up, any institution that praised *Star Trek* did so for the programme's. This is in direct contrast to *The Twilight Zone,* which journalists and institutions recognised for the writing talent of its author. As such, the type of institution that awarded *Star Trek* was usually one that specialised in science fiction, and these recognitions received little attention from the publications studied in this thesis. It appears that telefantasy, without the distinguished author, did not fare well in terms of legitimating institutions for the social group of this thesis. The next section looks at how authorship discussions affected conversations about Star Trek's legitimacy.

Authorship

Compared to discussions about Rod Serling before *The Twilight Zone's* debut, journalists' writing about Gene Roddenberry and *Star Trek* prior to its initial airing did not have the same gravitas or even length. This is to be expected, with Roddenberry being relatively unknown before the creation of *Star Trek*

compared to Serling's position on television before making his production. Roddenberry would become the programme's author figure only after the show began airing. Roddenberry's previous TV work was creating various scripts for a few programmes as a freelance scriptwriter. He then eventually produced *The Lieutenant* (1963-1964, NBC) which only ran for a single season. Discussions by cultural commentators on *Star Trek* before its release were rather brief and with little excitement. The general points found in such articles were simple statements on the cast or announcements that the production was on schedule and informing a general release time.[480] Without the name of a known author, *Star Trek* did not gain a boost in its legitimacy before its release. Lacking the identifier or label of the creator, journalists once more identified the show through the aspect that stood out most to them, its genre.

However, it was not that journalists never interviewed Roddenberry in relation to the product, it was just that these interviews were rare.[481] Despite the infrequency of articles that place him as an authorship figure, Roddenberry had some attributes associated with the creator role. In an early interview with *The Los Angeles Times*, the writer of the article, Don Page, who appears to be touring the set, stated 'Rodenberry had the idea for the series six years ago, but as he explains it, "At that time television had no interest in science fiction." Gene's main obstacle was being slightly ahead of his time.'[482] What this quote shows was despite Rodenberry being a relatively new figure in TV, he still had some appearance of a creator and author. Page further added to the idea of

[480] For an example of this, look at Kaufman, Dave, 'Sweeping Changes in New Season Pilots; 15 of 26 Are Touched Up', *Variety*, 3 August 1966, p. 30.
[481] Which is why the quote below is also used earlier in the chapter.
[482] Page, Don, 'Star Trek Is Costly Sci Fi Epic', *The Los Angeles Times*, 21 September 1966, p. 21.

Roddenberry as the creator by stating that he envisioned *Star Trek* a certain way, coming 'ahead of his time'. In terms of the recognition of the programme's legitimacy, this supplemented the construction of Roddenberry as author of the series, because value discussions within the arts often reference the legitimising nature of visionaries.[483] However, once again, these discussions related to its genre, as the journalist described Roddenberry not as a visionary for the medium as a whole, but for putting science fiction on television, a distinction that lessens the perception of the show's value.[484] Throughout this article, Don Page placed Roddenberry in a way befitting a producer-author, rather than a writer-author like Serling. This was clear through the discussions of sets and scientific accuracy, in place of writing and plot within the article. In the article, Roddenberry stated the role of scripting goes to the best '*Hollywood science fiction'* writers. This statement, while promotional in its declaration of the value of the writers, excluded Rodenberry from being a writer creator (since his role was producer), but once again solidified the case study's tie to its genre. The writers coming from *Hollywood* also contributes a value discussion. Shyon Baumann notes how during the 1960s, Hollywood film was experiencing a change in its own legitimacy, with the industry trying to become more culturally valuable.[485] This means that having these kinds of writers work on a television broadcast has a legitimating result. However, since Page did not interview these writers and Roddenberry did not name them, they were clearly not identified as authors. In terms of legitimacy, this means *Star Trek* did not have the same perception of value as a show like *The Twilight Zone*, due to Roddenberry's

[483] Newcomb, p. 9.
[484] Page, 1966, p. 21.
[485] Baumann, 2007.

authorship role not being that of a writer,[486] and the heavy insinuation of the show distinctly tying into its genre, as evidenced by the discourses presented.

As Gene Roddenberry did not fulfil the author role, because of his lack of profile at the time and/or his role as producer rather than writer (as Roddenberry only received credit for 6 scripts of the series,[487] a paltry amount compared to an author such as Serling who had 92 episodes of *The Twilight Zone* accredited to him[488]), the media targeted others to fill this part. The actors, in the press at least, took up some of this authorial position while also being stars of the programme. In various articles, their names become as associated with the broadcast as, or if not more so, than Gene Roddenberry. There were examples, especially in relation to Shatner, of the show being synonymous with this actor similarly to how journalists associated Serling with *The Twilight Zone.*[489] This, coupled with the often-brief nature of the articles themselves, meant that words were spared in articles about the programme. An example is in an *LA Times* article that described the upcoming *Star Trek* in four words, 'science-fiction, William Shatner'.[490]

Leonard Nimoy, due to his acting background, added a sense of legitimacy to the programme. As an actor, Nimoy's formal training and teaching provided gravitas to the show. The press then reported on how he used what he learned through his acting and teaching in his role on *Star Trek.* An interview in

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[486] Bourdieu, p. 283.
[487] Okuda, Michael, and Denise Okuda, *The Star Trek Encyclopaedia*, 3rd edn (New York: Pocket Books, 1999).
[488] Thompson, Dave, *The Twilight Zone FAQ: All That's Left to Know about the Fifth Dimension and Beyond* (Applause: Theatre & Cinema Books, 2015).
[489] Thomas, Kevin, 'Shatner Bucks Movie Trend with Films of Social Criticism', *The Los Angeles Times*, 2 February 1966, p. D10.
[490] Smith, Bob, 'Networks Roll Out Hopefuls for Fall', *The Los Angeles Times*, 4 March 1966, p. 23

The New York Times displayed an example of Nimoy's acting training. Here, Nimoy was taking a somewhat authorship role for his character and for the series more broadly (rather than simply being a star of the show), as he admitted creating elaborate backstories, not only for his own character but also for his character's race on *Star Trek* (Mr. Spock was a part of an alien race known as 'Vulcans'). Digby Dihel noted Nimoy's acting skill, as he found; '[b]ehind the success is Nimoy's intelligence as an actor.'[491] Evidently, it appeared Nimoy was taking somewhat of an authorship role for his character. The article served to legitimate both Nimoy and *Star Trek,* as it maintained an artistic actor using his acting techniques on the show. Without a clear author and because of Nimoy's previous work, the media touted him as an actor able to bring a level of artistic merit to the programme. What resulted was the actor changing the perception of the case study's value as a journalist wrote about his role in *Star Trek.*

The reason for the actors becoming the public face of *Star Trek* was down to them being much more well-known than Gene Roddenberry. Shatner had a history of Shakespearean acting, with several roles in the theatre,[492] while Nimoy had a vast number of television appearances.[493] This meant the show did not initially have the same kind of authorship discussions as seen in relation to the *Twilight Zone* (although Roddenberry would become the authorship figure

[491] Diehl, Digby, 'Girls All Want to Touch the Ears', *The New York Times,* 25 August 1968, p. 17
[492] Editors, Biography.com, 'William Shatner Biography', *Biography.Com,* 2014 <https://www.biography.com/actor/william-shatner> [accessed 13 July 2019].
[493] Nimoy's acting work on television dates back to the 1950s. 'Leonard Nimoy Filmography', *IMDb* <https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0000559/> [accessed 28 November 2019].

for the *Star Trek* franchise as a whole[494]). The significance of Shatner and Nimoy for the programme was apparent in promotional work for *Star Trek*, with the two leads being the focal point in early promotional material for *Star Trek*.



[495]

Here, in an advertisement for the show in *Variety*, the faces of the two leads stand out frontmost in the picture. Surrounding them, other cast members and elements associated with the science fiction genre, such as computer consoles, futuristic landscapes, and of course the USS Enterprise (the spaceship the majority of the product was set in), filled in the rest. As Catherine Johnson states in her book *Telefantasy,* also discussing the advertising above,

> The sketch of Kirk [William Shatner], emphasising his youthful attractiveness, dominates the page, while Spock's [Leonard Nimoy]

[494] As evidenced through Roddenberry's continued presence in discourses about the programme in the press and his continued presence in future franchise projects like *Star Trek: The Motion Picture* and later *Star Trek: The Next Generation.*
[495] 'Star Trek Advertisement', *The Los Angeles Times*, 8 September 1966.

> unusual features are much less prominent in the background. The advertisement signals the series' unusual elements which associate *Star Trek* with science fiction – a spaceship, an alien co-star, interplanetary travel – but relegates them to the background, allowing the character of the youthful human hero to dominate.[496]

So, in a promotional sense, Shatner and Nimoy also became the authorial/star image of *Star Trek*, similar to the way journalists discussed them. The two stars served as the public face of the programme, since spectators did not know Roddenberry well. The actors playing the role of authors in *Star Trek* differed from the authorship role of Rod Serling in *The Twilight Zone.* While it is possible for an episodic series to make the actors the primary spokesmen since audience members see these cast members every episode, it's not for an anthology where the cast change week to week. It was not surprising, therefore, that Serling had to be the public face for *The Twilight Zone* because he was the link that joined the episodes together, although the actors could complete this role for *Star Trek* in place of Roddenberry.

Authorship, especially the writer author, was key to discussions of a programme's legitimacy during TV I. While cultural commentators had issue identifying an author during *Star Trek's* initial season, Gene Roddenberry would soon take up the role. Starting with the second season, articles discussed Roddenberry with more of an authorship role. An interview in *The Los Angeles Times* with Don Page, once again, proves this changing role perfectly. At the start of the interview, Page described Roddenberry thusly:

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[496] Johnson (2005), 77-78

> Slouching in his chair, he welcomed the interruption. He spoke with understandable pride as he began recounting some of the central themes of his television series.[497]

The piece revealed the pride Roddenberry felt for the programme, stressing the relationship between him as a creator and the show as his artistic construction. While Roddenberry emphasised the 'we' in the case study's creation, the journalist very much stresses the ownership of the series on Roddenberry, referring to *Star Trek* as 'his.' The journalist connects details of the product's writing to its creator. Roddenberry, like many modern showrunners, oversaw the overall direction of the series rather than being positioned as author of individual episodes. Page acknowledged that although commercial and economic factors pushed the creation of the broadcast, there were also more artistic goals behind the show. This comes in the form of genre, themes, and cultural commentary, all of which Roddenberry is promoted to have authored. Although at this time television was considered more of a producer's medium than a writers' medium[498] many of the writers on *Star Trek* were fairly well known. Established science fiction writers, such as Harlan Ellison,[499] created scripts for *Star Trek*, intruding on the authorship space Roddenberry would have had if he worked on writing the show alongside his other duties. Such writers took the place of 'best Hollywood science fiction script writers' which before played a role in not

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[497] Page, Don, 'Enterprising Star Trek Taps TV's Potential', *The Los Angeles Times*, 13 August 1968, p. 1.
[498] See Newcomb, Horace, and Robert S. Alley, *The Producer's Medium: Conversations with Creators of American TV* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985) for an example.
[499] Ellison wrote the *Star Trek* episode 'City on the Edge of Forever' and also previously co-wrote *The Oscar* (Russel Rouse, Embassy Pictures 1966). Phipps, Keith, 'Harlan Ellison Wrote Star Trek's Greatest Episode. He Hated It.', *Vox*, 2018 <https://www.vox.com/culture/2018/6/29/17518928/harlan-ellison-star-trek-grudge-science-fiction-rip> [accessed 5 July 2019].

allowing Roddenberry to become the one and only author.[500] The article placed Roddenberry as not only the head of his show but also its fan community, at least in the eyes of the network, as Page continued by saying:

> "Naturally," Gene smiled, "NBC accused me of soliciting and encouraging these groups to protest but I had nothing to do with it. The network got over 100,000 pieces of mail, over 1 million signatures—and many signatures NBC could not disregard."[501]

Here, Roddenberry believed the networks saw him to be the one asking *Star Trek* fans all to write in and protest *Star Trek's* cancellation.[502] While, this does not necessarily place Roddenberry at the head of the show's fandom, it displays that there was an awareness between the case study's fandom and the show's creator. At the same time, because of his troubles with the network, he became a creator struggling against a force of oppression. Here, the article positions him against the television network driving to cancel his production, an even more noble effort since Roddenberry strove to tell stories of cultural commentary,[503] adding to the construction of Roddenberry as author. As proven throughout the interview above, there was a change in the recognition of Gene Roddenberry. He went from the science fiction television producer to the artistic creator, attempting to recount stories interlaced with cultural commentary, going against the economically safe notions of least objectionable programming of network TV. [504] Such discourses, being presented within a journalistic space (the

[500] Page, Don, 'Star Trek Is Costly Sci Fi Epic', *The Los Angeles Times*, 21 September 1966, p. 21.
[501] Ibid
[502] *Star Trek* faced continuing threat of cancelation since its first season. Pearson and Davies, p. 44.
[503] Boddy, 1990, p. 73.
[504] Baumann (2007), 175.

publication) and voice (the interviewer), not only change the construction of the perception of *Star Trek's* value over time, but also Roddenberry's.

As demonstrated from *Star Trek* and *The Twilight Zone*, there was a link between authorship and television programmes. This section has shown these authorship discussions taking place in TV I long before their solidification in 'quality' television discourses of TV II, even if actors had to play a surrogated authorship role at times. This goes against arguments placing showrunners as something occurring in the 1980s and 1990s as this section,[505] and the mirrored section in the previous chapter, displays how rampant the factor of audience was in discourses of television, even if academics had yet to study the medium. Although later case studies from TV II share similar associations between the author and their creation, this legitimating factor seemed to have had a prominent place in telefantasy programming in the TV I era. The prevalence of discussions of authorship during this time leads to the suggestion that it was a dominant criterion of value for television during this period. Another factor of legitimacy that lacked the same influence was that of audiences.

Audience

Star Trek fandom is one of the show's most well-known features. This is especially true in academia, where several publications, for example, John Tulloch and Henry Jenkin's work *Science Fiction Audiences*, Michael Jindra's 'Star Trek Fandom as a Religious Phenomenon' and Camille Bacon-Smith's

[505] Blakey, Elizabeth, 'Showrunner as Auteur: Bridging the Culture/Economy Binary in Digital Hollywood', *Open Cultural Studies*, 1 (2017), pp. 321–32 (322).

Enterprising Women compare the fandom to a religious phenomenon.[506] However, much of this viewership came about after the production's cancellation, as more and more fans first discovered it after it went into syndication after 1969.[507] While this was the case for most Trekkies or Trekkers (some popular names that *Star Trek* fans used to describe themselves or that others used to describe them), there were also a number of fans who felt just as passionately during its original airing. Journalists noticed this fanbase and found some of their activities, especially their role in keeping it on televisions when it faced cancellation season after season, fascinating. As a result, these fans also influenced certain discourses on the case study and the perception of its cultural value.

During its initial run, *Star Trek's* future appeared always in jeopardy. Without the required Nielsen ratings in the era when networks required a large audience to keep a show on the air, the show faced the threat of cancellation. This was the case for every season the programme ran. One of the most well-documented discussions of *Star Trek* fandom held at the time was the protests held by Caltech students to stop its cancellation in 1968. In an article in *The Los Angeles Times,* Don Page described his feelings towards this group protesting the cancellation of the production:

> When news of the rumored cancellation of NBC's Star Trek reached the hinterlands, it started the biggest rumble since Tony Galento fought Max Baer. On the surface it appears that the series has more

[506] John Tulloch and Henry Jenkins, *Science Fiction Audiences: Watching 'Doctor Who' and 'Star Trek'* (London: Routledge, 1995). And Michael Jindra, 'Star Trek Fandom as a Religious Phenomenon', *Sociology of Religion*, 55.1 (1994), 27–51; Jindra; Bacon-Smith, Camille, *Enterprising Women: Television Fandom and the Creation of Popular Myth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992).
[507] Tulloch and Jenkins, p. 11.

> fans than Lawrence Welk. The network is under heavy bombardment from angry viewers and they are threatening to seek out and destroy the NBC peacock. Even a large assemblage of Caltech students will protest, with a planned torch-light parade over the weekend […]
>
> A demonstration by Caltech students over the possible loss of a television program should not only be flattering to Star Trek's producers, but must be considered a blow for democracy, as well. Instead of burning draft cards, they're going to put a torch to television. Marvellous!
>
> It is equally inspiring to note that this segment of the intellectual community is as concerned about Capt. Kirk and Dr. Spok and the USS Enterprise as it is of getting a rocket to Saturn. On second thought, do you suppose Caltech is stealing ideas from the series? Is William Shatner really Wernher von Braun is Nielsen nuts?[508]

Evident throughout the quote was a kind of condescending nature the journalist had towards the programme's supporters. The article stated that he believed the show had more fans [not the same thing as a broader audience] than Lawrence Welk. Welk had a production titled *The Lawrence Welk Show* (1951-1971, KTLA, ABC) that was one of the most popular in the USA.[509] The writer said fans would destroy NBC's peacock ident, in a way poking fun at this group getting worked up over the case study's cancellation. He then discussed the

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[508] Don Page, 'Rumors Galore: Have You Heard About Star Trek?', *The Los Angeles Times*, 5 January 1968, p. 14.

[509] Johnson, Victoria E., 'Citizen Welk: Bubbles, Blue Hair, and Middle America', in *The Revolution Wasn't Televised: Sixties Television and Social Conflict*, ed. by Lynn Spigel and Michael Curtin (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 265–86 (267).

protests held by the Caltech students, by both stating the product's producers should be flattered from their attention and dedication, while demeaning these fans for the very act of protesting the potential cancellation of a television product. Page goes as far as to state that the fans' refusal to accept the show's cancellation represented a lack of belief in the spirit of democracy, coupling it together with the idea that these students are draft dodgers.

These accusations made towards the Caltech students during the height of the Cold and Vietnam Wars do not, at least as it appeared in the eyes of this journalist, place the fans in a favourable light. In terms of the product's value, this article did not help with the perception of its legitimacy. While it was much more in the spirit of making a comment on the fanbase rather than the product itself, no doubt there was a negative connotation moved from one to the other. What results was that *Star Trek*, despite having an audience of intellectuals who attended an academic institution such as Caltech, which under different circumstances would be a legitimating factor, actually delegitimated the perception of the show's value. Indeed, as Newman and Levine discuss, such educated viewers would eventually become the spectator segment more legitimate and 'quality' television shows hoped to attract.[510] The reason for Page's negative opinion of the group resulted from the delegitimate nature of the medium during TV I, or indeed the case study's genre, as time spent towards it was seen as time wasted (especially when they were protesting something he saw as trivial during a time the US were at war),[511] or its audience being primarily children.

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[510] Newman and Levine, p. 29.
[511] Brantlinger, Patrick, *Bread and Circuses: Theories of Mass Culture as Social Decay* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), p. 40.

It was not only the Caltech students who tried to keep the product on the air, as other viewers bombarded NBC with letters, hoping to stave the network cancelling the show. See, for example, this letter published in *The Los Angeles Times*:

> Odds Bodkins! The Bright guys in the executive offices schedule Star Trek for viewing at 10p.m. on a Friday and then blandly state that the ratings aren't high enough to retain the series. Working around these dums-dums then, what would it take to get Star Trek back in the fall schedule?
>
> M. B.,
>
> Los Angeles
>
> *The protests over the cancellation of Star Trek have set one of the highest ratings in the We Get Letters dept., if that's of any consolation. Chances of a renewal next season are practically nil.*[512]

Despite protests by such audience members, who found the actions of the executives to not be the wisest, the editor answering the letter remarked that the chances of a *Star Trek* renewal unlikely. Other publications also commented on the circulation of letters protesting the show's cancellation. See the snippet below from an article in *Broadcasting*:

> Somehow word was circulated that *Star Trek* might be off the schedule next season, […] and meanwhile the network has had 115.000 letters from viewers, including two governors, several mayors and corporation executives, pleading for its return.[513]

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[512] L;F C; E A; M B; et al La Habra, A, 'We Get Letters', *The Los Angeles Times*, 6 April 1969, p. O47.
[513] 'NBC-TV Aims at the Young', *Broadcasting*, 4 March 1968, p. 28.

Star Trek made strong impressions on many people, and journalists acknowledged this feeling as something unique. These letters were less delegitimating than Page's article on the protesting fan group, as the response to the letters is not made with an air of sarcasm or condemnation. The fans writing their concerns to these publications appear to receive some sympathy from the periodicals, but with little hope their endeavours would prove fruitful. What these letters do, at the very least, was allow the view of the show's value to improve, as publishing the thoughts of well learned and influential fans of the programme serves to legitimate if taken at face value, as it shows readers of the publication the programme is worth caring about. Furthermore, the publication of these letters provided a representation of the discursive construction of the programme's cultural value, as readers of these letters printed within the publications space allows a space for representation and insight.

Journalists noted that educated kids and adults watch episodes of *Star Trek*.[514] Letters sent to magazines further demonstrated the sophisticated nature of the fans, which Roddenberry promoted:

> "The attached 21-page document is filled with astronomical maps and diagrams and such statements as, "It has a diameter of 1.93 x 104 kilometres and a volume of 1473 x 104 *km*2".
>
> "That's the great thing about this show," says executive producer Gene Roddenberry. "We seem to appeal to everybody, from the kids through the science-fiction buffs to the top scientists in the country. Dr. William H. Pickering, director of the Jet Propulsion Lab at Cal

[514] Hal Humphrey, 'Spelling It out on Mod Squad', *The Los Angeles Times*, 29 September 1968, p. L39B.

> Tech, is one of our fans, and I get an amazing number of letters from principals of high schools. In fact, at first our mail was so damned literate it scared us."[515]

Here, Roddenberry talked about a different member of *Star Trek's* fan base. This time, the journalist writing the article mentioned scientists and academics in a positive tone. The extract provided evince of fans in high and legitimate places, from the navy to doctors, and once again emphasising the case study's legitimate and respected viewership. Despite the previous discourses relating *Star Trek* children's television, Roddenberry used these letters as a representation of a development in the science fiction audience. Science fiction literature, which was later identified as popular with the educated middle class[516] (rather than with a childish audience), explains the production's popularity in these circles. Once again, this represents Roddenberry attempting to use journalistic power in the discourse of cultural value to legitimate his programme, albeit for promotional purposes. The coming chapters on TV II will show if the negative connotations of the science fiction label will evolve to match that of literature.

Star Trek's passionate audience would be one of the key legitimating factors if this chapter examined discourses of legitimacy beyond the series' initial broadcast.[517] Yet, for its time, the show's passionate fanbase did not have the same influence. Although journalists acknowledged this viewership as highly educated, they also found their devotion to a programme in this manner comical. This era of television was one created to entice a mass audience, and

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[515] Leslie Raddatz, '"Star Trek" Wins the Ricky Schwarz Award', *TV Guide*, 16 November 1967, pp. 25–27.
[516] Aldiss and Wingrove, p. 175.
[517] Newman and Levine, p 58.

no matter how intelligent a product was or how passionate the fans were, it would not be enough to keep a show on the air. Unfortunately, products like *Star Trek*, a science fiction made for adults in an era people considered the genre for kids, would always struggle to get a large audience valued commercially by the industry during TV I. In later periods of the medium, broadcasts with a small but highbrow viewership would find a place on networks and would become a point of emphasis on discussions of legitimate television, during the era of highest ratings to survive this was simply not possible. The perception of its value too faltered because of its fans. Journalists found their picketing and letter writing either strange or inconsequential, and it did little to increase the programmes value, at least for the television elite studied in this thesis.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the legitimating discourses about *Star Trek* and how it has influenced the perception of the programme's legitimacy. It has revealed the nature of genre's effect on the understanding and construction of cultural value, along with how the legitimating factors changed these beliefs. The programme's genre affected a number of the other legitimating factors, with it being largely delegitimating. The reason for this was because of science fiction's association with children. The show's textual elements, for example, were scrutinised for only being worth its production, rather than areas such as writing, directing, acting, etc. Awarding institutions related to the television industry also found little value in its textual value (yet institutions focussed on genre awarded the programme). When integrated into other areas of society, it would only do

so because of its genre, based upon its most generic elements (like spaceships or futuristic sounds). Similar thoughts spread to comparisons, which revolved around the relationship with various programming of the same genre airing at the time. The one area that the show's genre provided some cultural value was its ability to discuss contemporary issues in the show. This factor was often discussed by the programme's author Gene Roddenberry, who used the media to promote the programme and his place as author for the show. However, since he had no history from previous programming, like Serling's work with live tele-plays before *The Twilight Zone,* his legitimating value was limited. So too were the show's fandom, who cultural commentators found rather strange. Not all legitimating factors discussed in Chapter 1 were prevalent in this era. It is also pertinent to note how the academic study of telefantasies, or television in general, had yet to make its way into these discourses. In all, *Star Trek* did not appear to have a high cultural value, despite the best efforts of Gene Roddenberry. As the chapter has displayed, genre has a key influence in the discourses of legitimacy for both productions, with many legitimating factors linking to this area. Rodenberry likewise had a part in the show's legitimacy, just not the same role Serling had. They had two distinct roles of authorship, with Roddenberry more of a promoter and Serling as attempting to legitimate his decision to work on recorded television. Each affected the perception of value for their respective programmes just in different ways. The ways journalists talked about spectators were also vastly difference, with little attention paid to *The Twilight Zone's* audiences compared to *Star Trek's.* The growing importance of fans is but one legitimating factor that continues to grow into TV II. In all, telefantasy in TV I appeared to have issues regarding cultural value. A show's genre, especially

science fiction, labelled the programme with delegitimacy. A powerful legitimating value, like a well-known and artistically respected author offered some cultural value, yet this factor risked the author overshadowing their programme (which was certainly the case for *The Twilight Zone*). Will TV II show evidence of development for the perception of telefantasy's value?

Chapter 5: TV II, A Context

TV II, which can be roughly place between the mid-1980s to the early 2000s, represents the multichannel era of United States television. As discussed throughout the previous three chapters, TV I was the network age where the oligopoly of the big three networks, ABC, CBS, and NBC, dominated the airwaves and the industry. Because of the lack of competition, the three networks wrestled against each other using a mass appeal strategy, careful to avoid upsetting large audience groups which may have resulted in the loss of viewership. TV II, on the other hand, depicts the industrial changes that diminished the oligopoly's hold upon television. Various industrial innovations occurring at the end of TV I and into TV II disturbed the oligopoly, allowing more network and cable channels to threaten ABC, CBS, and NBC's dominant market share. As a result of increased competition, with more viewing options for spectators that once had a choice of only three networks, the once mass audience fragmented. With this came an adjustment in how the television industry saw its viewers, as they attempted to cater to certain members of the demographic within the disjointed viewership. They would use their perception of these audience members' lifestyles and tastes to create programming specially for them. This change eventually led to what academic's label as 'quality' television, created to cater to the whims of a highbrow demographic the industry sought from the end of TV I and well into TV II.[518]

Dissecting television history into the labels of TV I and TV II is treacherous because of the lack of true linearity (as discussed in the introduction

[518] Pearson and Davies, p. 21-22.

of this thesis). Such periodisations, however, provide a useful way to differentiate developments within the industry, but it must be understood that aspects of television history between what is designated as TV I and TV II overlap. That said, it would not be possible to describe TV II without TV I, as many of the factors that made TV II were industrial changes that occurred during TV I. This chapter argues that evolution within the industry in the transition from TV I to TV II influenced discourses of legitimacy surrounding the medium and telefantasy, as well as briefly detailing the development of non-verisimilitudes genres' value outside of television. As such, this chapter analyses the various industrial advancements that caused the movement from TV I to TV II. It reveals that these industrial elements leading to the creation of 'quality' television altered telefantasy and the medium's perceptive legitimacy. It evaluates the development in the strategy of the networks, changing from pursuing the largest audience to a focus on niche demographics. This plan explored further niches within these demographics resulting in the conclusion that fandoms are a desirable audience, which impacted the legitimating connotations around such groups. However, the most desirable viewer for the industry were highbrow urban viewers. Furthermore, it explores how the discourses of the legitimacy of television changed because of the industry's changing strategy, in correlation with the emergence and use of legitimating factors found within 'quality television', as discussed in Chapter 1.

Changing from TV I to TV II

Several legislative changes contributed to the emergence of the TV II period. The first of these was the introduction of the Financial Interest and Syndication Rules (henceforth referred to as Fin-Syn) in 1970. Fin-Syn was an attempt by the FCC to weaken the stranglehold ABC, CBS, and NBC had on the television industry. Before Fin-Syn, the three networks had complete syndication rights and had almost complete financial rule over the industry with a 98% market share.[519] With complete reliance on the networks to provide stations with primetime programming, other production companies experienced difficulties producing content. It was the FCC's hope that these new rules would, as described by Mark Jankovich and James Lyons, 'increase diversity in productions and prevent the three networks from dominating the market through their control of the airways'. The initial way the FCC would restrict the oligopoly was by 'prohibit[ing] the networks from having an ownership stake in their prime-time programming and severely restrict[ing] their participation in syndication, considerably eroding the network's authority over their own industry.'[520]

Along with Fin-Syn, the FCC also introduced the Prime-Time Access Rule in the same year. This new legislation attempted to force stations in the top-50 markets of the United States to stop taking network feed for the first hour of primetime. The inability to provide stations with content even further disrupted the control of the oligopoly, as before the Prime-Time Access Rule

[519] Jancovich and Lyons p. 14.
[520] Ibid.

stations depended on network programming for ratings.[521] No longer allowed to rely on the networks, the stations needed to find programmes from other sources. The stations themselves could create these shows or by independent production companies.[522] Yet, the oligopoly's loss of authority would only have happened if the stations and networks adhered to the rules placed by the FCC. This did not ensue as the networks and stations continually challenged and disobeyed the new rules by appealing them in court hearings. It would not be until 1980 that they lost their hearings and the FCC forced them to adhere to the guidelines.[523]

A further double blow to the networks came when change within the government brought about a further loss of control. Along with the set of legislation that aimed to reign in the power that the networks had, particularly around production, deregulation also enabled conglomeration and consolidation. Indeed, it was during Ronald Regan's era of United States presidency, which spanned from 1981 to 1989, that the television industry, like many other industries, succumbed to the president's *Laissez-faire* doctrine. Less government restriction and involvement led to much innovation within television. The appointment of Mark Fowler by this government as FCC chair initiated the movement that foreshadowed the end of anti-monopoly regulations. Deregulation of the industry meant that the huge media conglomerates once kept out of the industry[524] by government legislation could join the lucrative business, eventually leading to the conglomerate takeovers of ABC, CBS, and NBC.[525]

[521] Hilmes, 2007, p. 225.
[522] Ibid.
[523] Ibid.
[524] For fear they would monopolise the medium; Hilmes, 2007, p.296.
[525] Johnson, 2005, p. 98.

While these changes in legislation theoretically would have allowed both Hollywood and independent production studios greater access to the industry, in practice, it mostly only aided the former. Although some independent production studios, such as MTM (which, as seen later, was a key production company regarding the creation of what has come to be known academically as 'quality' television), got a financial boost, it was mainly the Hollywood companies, with their ability to draw upon their wealth of resources, that benefited from the changes in the industry and allowed them further entry into the lucrative television market.[526]

As a component of Fin-Syn the FCC ensured cable became a more viable and appealing option for the United States population. They did this in part by making sure the major local channels featured on cable. This meant many local stations, often struggling with the lack of visibility on a crowded UHF (Ultra High Frequency) band,[527] would be viewable by a much bigger viewership, as they were now available right next to the larger and more popular challengers on cable. Cable also allowed a better picture and sound quality than channels on UHF, another incentive for both audience members and channels to make sure they were available on cable. These stations eventually morphed into new competition for the big three networks throughout the late 1980s and 1990s with Fox, United Paramount Network (UPN) and Warner Bros (WB) all evolving from this source.[528] Although the rise of cable and these new networks may not

[526] Jancovich and Lyons, p.15.
[527] It was so crowded because stations wished to air on this frequency because not all television sets could pick up the alternate VHF (Very High Frequency) band; Sterling, Christopher H, and John Michael Kittross, *Stay Tuned: A History of American Broadcasting*, 3rd edn (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2002), p. 330.
[528] Hilmes, Michele, *The Television History Book* (London: BFI, 2003), p. 62.

directly correlate, rather both just happening during the same period, Amanda Lotz argues that the development and changes of the industry influenced the kinds of programmes created.[529] These factors added up to the big three networks losing their grip on the industry.[530]

Around the same time as Fin-Syn the networks began using a more niche approach to the way they pursued their audiences. Instead of fighting over the masses which had been the tactic since the expansion of television into most of the United States and directly led to the creation of least objectionable programming, the networks started to focus their efforts on attracting specific groups to their shows from the mid-1960s onwards.[531] They then aimed to sell commercial space to advertisers whose products fitted the same demographic as the programme targeted. Paul Klein, NBC's vice president at the time, spearheaded this strategy. Klein led the belief that age and location were the key factors in determining how lucrative advertising space should be for a programme.[532] However, it would not be until later that networks truly adopted a niche audience strategy. The first indication of this change in focus by the networks might come from *Hill Street Blues* (NBC, 1981-1987). Paul Kerr finds that high ratings in terms of sheer numbers were not the overwhelming factor

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[529] Lotz, Amanda D., *We Now Disrupt This Broadcast: How Cable Transformed Television and the Internet Revolutionized It All* (London: The MIT Press, 2018), p.1.
[530] Jancovich and Lyons, p. 16.
[531] Initially used as a tactic for NBC to make up for them being the overall lowest in ratings but claimed that they had the highest 'quality' audience, educated higher income young adults. However, it is said that such use of demographics had little influence on what programmes stayed on the air. Yet, in 1967 this slightly changed, *as Star Trek* was bought back for a second season despite low overall ratings for it had success in this 'quality' demographic. Pearson and Davies, p. 66.
[532] Nielsen could also perform market research counting specific demographics as well as simply counting overall ratings. They then used its demographic findings to help networks match advertising for programming to a specific audience group. Feuer, Kerr, and Vahimagi, eds., p.3.

that kept the show on the air; rather, it was its critical success and high ratings with key demographics.[533] The broadcast appealed to a valuable demographic, with it leading all programmes in prime-time in attracting men in the 18-49 age demographic. They also noticed that much of this audience came from urban areas.

Researchers at the time found that younger urban viewers, aged 18-49 had the highest potential for consuming the products advertised on television.[534] The older viewers of 'heartland' America that made up most of the mass market approach did not have the same disposable capital as these young urban spectators and were hence unlikely to buy the goods advertisers wished to sell on commercial space. Furthermore, networks desired urban audiences as these geographical areas had the greatest market penetration for pay-television services (cable and satellite), which grew during the 1970s and 1980s.[535] With competition from these new pay-television services, as well as other rivals such as new networks, it was no wonder networks desperately wanted to attract this audience. The networks were not the only ones to go from mass targeting to niche demographics, as this method spread through the industry. While networks adopted the strategy, leading to what would be the most legitimate model of TV during TV II (discussed further below) in 'quality' television, cable entirely relied on sustainability through targeting specific audience members. As the following paragraphs evidence, new networks joining the big three also

[533] Kerr, Paul, 'Drama at MTM: Lou Grant and Hill Street Blues', in *MTM Quality Television*, ed. by Jane Feuer, Paul Kerr, and Tise Vahimagi (London: BFI Publishing, 1984), pp. 132–65 (157).
[534] Feuer, Kerr, Vahimagi, p.3.
[535] Johnson (2005), p. 96.

successfully used such targeting to gain their place next to the established oligopoly, eventually resulting in its demise.

New broadcast networks and cable channels strived to air programming to draw particular members of the television audience.[536] Initially, these targets were fairly broad, for example CNN targeted those interested in news, ESPN sports fans, and MTV hoped to attain a youth culture demographic. However, as the number of channels grew, so did their attempt to lure more specific audiences. For instance, channels like Lifetime or Oxygen aimed at women of a certain age and background (mostly stay at-home mothers).[537] In turn, this allowed such channels to produce content with themes and stories that appealed more to their targeted spectators. So, while these new networks aimed to get much smaller pieces of the overall viewership, their specificity meant that they created programming that would have otherwise never have existed, enabling these fledgling networks to target their advertising at these audience members.[538]

The television's niche targeting strategy also led to the creation and success of the case studies in this thesis, *The X-Files* (Fox, 1993-) and *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (The WB, 1997-2001, UPN, 2001-2003), as well as their respective networks Fox and The WB. Fox, spearheaded by Australian born media mogul Rupert Murdoch, became the fourth network in the US,[539] breaking the oligopoly long held by ABC, CBS, and NBC.[540] Murdoch would use the

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[536] Lotz, Amanda D., *The Television Will Be Revolutionized* (New York: New York University Press, 2014), p. 27.
[537] While cable channels such as Lifetime or Oxygen, which had a much smaller install base because of cable's smaller percentage of the United States television audience, netlets such as Fox had to appeal to a wider base. Ibid.
[538] Ibid.
[539] Not counting PBS, who although founded as a network in 1969, its role as a non-profit public broadcaster meant it could not be direct competition to the other networks.
[540] Gomery, p. 201.

newly deregulated industry to buy himself into the market. He began in 1985 by purchasing 50 percent of TCF, a production and distribution television studio, through his News Corporation, in a clear example of the conglomeration that became exploited in a deregulated industry.[541] Murdoch then purchased independent TV stations in some bigger markets across the United States, including stations in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Washington, Dallas, Boston and Houston. This provided Murdoch and Fox with the infrastructure needed to launch a new network.[542]

Although it was risky to create a new network when networks in general were losing their grip on their once dominant market share to cable, Michele Hilmes points out the four reasons why Fox was successful in this endeavour:

> First, independent studios had become more viable than ever, thanks to cable and the newly invigorated syndication market. Second, Murdoch envisioned a sort of mini-network, a cross between a traditional over-the-air operation and a cable channel, that combined something of the national reach of a broadcast net but with the niche appeal of a cable caster. Third, Murdoch was able to use his influence in Washington not only to get around foreign ownership rules – though he did have to become a United States citizen – but to attain exemptions from Fin-Syn restrictions. And finally, the public recognition and glamour of the Fox name promised to fulfil the cross-promotional and production synergies that Hollywood had always sought in an alliance with the television network business, only to

[541] Ibid, p. 303.
[542] Ibid.

> be balked in the past by regulatory barriers set up to protect big broadcasters.[543]

Murdoch and his Fox network, as those behind The WB do later, found a way to access the once impenetrable network television market. However, Fox did not enter the industry directly emulating the established three networks. The new network's approach was reserved and gradual, with Fox initially only offering a few hours of prime-time content per day and targeting demographics that the other networks did not really cater to,[544] like African American and teen audiences.[545] Fox also targeted the lucrative and highly desired urban viewers. To achieve this, they created programmes such as *The Simpsons* (Fox, 1989-) and *Married… With Children* (Fox, 1987-1997). Despite their endeavours, Fox had financial losses of $136 million during its formative years, but the network had hopes to turn this around by using the key demographic of 18-34 urbanites. By the time the shows mentioned above were on the air for a few seasons, Fox had set themselves as the leader for this audience demographic within the networks. As Gary R. Edgerton states: 'By the early 1990s, Fox established a younger, edgier, and more multicultural identity than the other three broadcast networks'.[546] Fox used the development of niche targeting to great financial success, as the network eventually turned a profit in 1990-1991 and continued to expand its programming schedule, cementing themselves as a fourth network.[547] Without the change of the industry's focus to a more niche targeting

[543] Hilmes (2003) p. 64.
[544] Targeting specific audience demographics become a significant strategy for United States television in the transition from TV I to TV II which will be discussed later.
[545] Hilmes, 2007, p. 347.
[546] Edgerton, p. 304.
[547] Ibid.

system and the deregulation of the industry, it is possible that Fox would never have developed as a network.

With Fox displaying that a new network could exist along with the once dominant oligopoly, it was not long before others wished to join them. In 1993, Paramount and Warner Bros. announced their interest in creating their own network channels.[548] The two companies used the example set by Fox in building their networks. Resembling Fox, they utilised studio-owned broadcast stations to buy themselves into network television.[549] The WB focussed on specific audience demographics rather than attempting to go for the mass market, mirroring Fox's tactics a few years earlier. Also like Murdoch's network, they began by only offering a few hours of content per week and expanding later.[550] Like Fox, the new network attempted to gain the ever elusive teen demographic, airing teen shows such as *Dawson's Creek* (The WB, 1998-2003), *Gilmore Girls* (The WB, 2000-2007), and *Buffy the Vampire Slayer,* in the hope to attract this audience demographic.[551] Yet, Paramount and their channel, UPN, also hoped to engage with teens. This resulted in each channel cannibalising the others' viewers. Warner Bros. and Paramount, seeing that they were not about to profit or get a foothold that Fox did in network television, eventually joined with CBS to merge and create The CW network in 2006, ending UPN's and The WB's individual network ventures.

With the niche audience targeting strategy proving successful, the industry turned their eyes to a valuable subset within these spectators, fans. *The X-Files*

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[548] Hilmes (2003), p. 65.
[549] Curtin, Michael, and Jane Shattuc, *The American Television Industry* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan on the behalf of the British Film Institute, 2009), p. 26.
[550] Ibid.
[551] Hilmes (2003), p. 65.

eventually became a hit with both a fan audience and a mainstream one. The show's broader and more specialised audience's influences the discussions around the programming, impacting the legitimacy of the programme, will be examined in further detail in the next chapter, but Johnson sums ups Fox's and the era's design providing a basis for understanding fandom's place within TV II:

> Within this new era of niche television, the fan audience emerged as an attractive audience segment. Fans are loyal viewers who watch and rewatch episodes of their favourite programmes (as the success of *Star Trek* [(NBC, 1966-1969)] in syndication demonstrated). Fans are also consumers of ancillary products associated with their favourite shows. The new networks such as Fox and WB were owned by media conglomerates with a number of holdings in different media companies. A successful show that appealed to a fan audience could generate additional income for the conglomerate through the sale of ancillary merchandise produced by the conglomerate's other media holdings.[552]

This change in the relationship between the industry and fandom influenced the notions of legitimacy regarding fans as well. During the early years of television, fandoms were not visible with most of society. The press paid little attention to these groups, arguably until the acts of *Star Trek* fans in the late 1960s, as discussed in the previous chapter. When the press acknowledged fandoms they rarely did so positively. Perhaps one of the best examples of the lack of

[552] Johnson, Catherine, 'Cult TV and the Television Industry', in *The Cult TV Book*, ed. by Stacey Abbott (I.B. Tauris, 2010), pp. 135–54 (142); Jenkins, Henry, *Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

legitimacy of fandoms during the formative days of TV II (although maybe the mindset is that of TV I) is a *Saturday Night Live* (NBC,1975-) sketch presented by William Shatner in 1986. In the sketch Shatner, hosting a question and answer session for a *Star Trek* convention, is approached by various fans and after becoming frustrated by their attention tells them to 'get a life'.[553] This is just a sample of the delegitimacy that fandoms have during this era, as the stereotypes of being weird, socially awkward, living in a fantasy world, teenage boys, etc. plagued them.

However, the change in technology during TV II influence the discourses on fans (and by proxy, the programmes they were fans of). The development of the internet and it becoming commonplace in the US home during the early to mid-1990s allowed these groups a much easier way to connect rather than having to wait for a few times a year to get together at conventions and other such events. While initial adopters of this technology delegitimated both fandoms and the text they were fans for (as seen in the following chapter), the normalisation of the internet within the home weakened the connotations between the internet and delegitimacy.[554] Arguably, the familiarisation of US society to the internet led to the acceptance of fan cultures, as the media saw this subset of individuals as less strange because of their exposed presence online.

While not always the case, fandoms, thanks to the change in perception brought about by the industry, serve as a legitimating factor during the latter part of TV II.[555] Although *Star Trek's* is perhaps the most well-known fandom, other

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[553] Abott, Stacey, *The Cult TV Book* (London: I.B. Tauris), p. 1.
[554] While this text touches upon internet use, it is not until TV III and the convergence era that the use of the technology really becomes a legitimating factor. Newman and Levine, p. 146.
[555] Newman and Levine argue that it is the very status as anti-mainstream that allows fandoms to form on a programme and that legitimates it. Ibid, p. 28-9.

programmes, including those outside of telefantasy, have also drawn a following as fandom became normalised during TV II and onwards. Products like *Sex and the City* (HBO, 1998-2004),[556] *The Sopranos* (HBO, 1999-2007)[557] and *Seinfeld* (NBC, 1989-1998)[558] have loyal fanbases who use the internet to follow and comment on their favourite shows and even follow actors to conventions, and provide further evidence of the normalisation into the dominant hegemony of these groups of people.

Though academic research is separate from both the media and industries, it influenced both television and specific programmes' legitimacy. And just like the industry in general, during the transition from TV I to TV II the way academics discuss the medium and telefantasy changes and affects the legitimacy of both. Although some journalists in the press use academic deliberations to bolster their own pieces on a specific topic in TV, I base the effect the institution has on the study of television because of the establishment of academic institutions as taste makers. Historically, academia's acceptance of a medium increased its legitimacy. Theatre and film serve as examples, as the study and intellectualisation of media from academic institutions assigns legitimating values to the elite television audience.[559]

While television has had a place in academia almost since the medium's inception, with texts such as *Television and the Child*[560] and *Techniques of*

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[556] *Sex and the City* fan forum powered by fans: 'Sex and the City Fan Forum', *Fan Forum*, 2018 <http://www.fanforum.com/f199/> [accessed 16 June 2018].
[557] Various actors are still followed to conventions for their role in this programme: 'The Sopranos - Convention Scene', *Convention Scene*, 2018 http://www.conventionscene.com/tag/the-sopranos/ [accessed 16 June 2018].
[558] A *Seinfeld* fan site: 'Seinfeld Scripts', *SeinfeldScripts*, 2018 http://www.seinfeldscripts.com/ [accessed 16 June 2018].
[559] Baumann, Shyon, 'Intellectualization and Art World Development: Film in the United States', *American Sociological Review*, 66 (2001), 404–26.
[560] Himmelweit.

Television Production[561] often used to discuss the various thoughts on the expanding medium, it was not until the mid-1970s that this academic study led to a shift in the perception of TV's legitimacy[562] (although works like *The Eighth Art: Twenty-Three Views Of Television Today*[563] considered TV as a possible artistic medium). These studies, rather than focusing on television as a communications medium, instead focussed on the medium and its contents as a text. To quote Hal Himmelstein, a trendsetting television academic,[564] 'In the early 1970s […] a group of young scholars, most of whom had done their graduate work within English departments, began to take TV seriously as an art form with unique aesthetic properties and cultural meanings.'[565] As such works on the medium developed, so did the gradual institutionalisation of television studies and its place next to film and English departments throughout universities, further cementing themselves as an academic branch by the mid-1990s.[566]

Academia was not the only area that changed the legitimating construction of telefantasy during this era, as non-verisimilitudes genres in film experienced a change in connotations, if not legitimacy. Once associated with the B-movie and pulp magazines, and never quite gaining the artistic legitimacy in connection to Hollywood's highbrow era, genres such as science fiction,

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[561] Bretz, R, *Techniques of Television Production* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1953)
[562] Newman and Levine, p. 156.
[563] Shayon, Robert Lewis Et Al., *The Eighth Art: Twenty-Three Views Of Television Today* (New York: Rinehart and Wins, 1962).
[564] Hamelstein was a 'professor of television and radio and director of the Centre for the Study of World Television' at Brooklyn College: 'Hal Himmelstein: Professor Emeritus', *Brooklyn College*, 2018 http://www.brooklyn.cuny.edu/web/academics/schools/mediaarts/undergraduate/televisionradio/faculty/halhimmelstein.php [accessed 22 July 2019].
[565] Himmelstein, Hal, *On the Small Screen: New Approaches in Television and Video Criticism* (New York: Praeger, 1981), p. 87.
[566] Newman and Levine, p. 159.

fantasy, and horror soon became associated with a popular and not overly legitimate form of film, the blockbuster.[567] Yet, overall its value would still improve. Films such as *Star Wars* (Lucasfilm, 1977), *The Shining* (Warner Bros, 1980), *E.T* (Universal Studios, 1982) and *Back to the Future* (Universal Pictures, 1985), proved majorly profitable for cinemas and production companies, and even provided some critical acclaim. This provided audiences with a demonstration that these genres could be constructed with more legitimate connotations, even if it would take until 2003 for film's most legitimate honour, an Oscar for best picture, to be bestowed upon a non-verisimilitudes film, *The Lord of the Rings: The Return of the King* (New Line Cinema, 2003). However, even this award comes with an asterisk since the film is also a literary adaptation (as is the critically acclaimed *The Shining*). These discourses oddly mirror that of telefantasy's (as discussed in the introduction with *Game of Thrones'* Emmy Award), coming several years later.

While telefantasy was not studied during TV I, as demonstrated by the previous case studies, the next two chapters display academia's new interest in this television genre. One reason, perhaps, why university scholars started studying TV as an artform was a result from a canon of programming created with their highbrow sensibilities in mind, 'quality' television.

'Quality' Television

As stated earlier, one of the key changes in television from TV I to TV II was the movement from a mass audience and a least objectionable strategy to

[567] Baumann, 2007, p. 109.

demographic targeting and creating programming to cater to a niche viewership. During the 1970s and 1980s, the industry tried to draw an urban demographic in place of sheer mass spectators, as the networks considered this audience group highly lucrative. Without the various innovations in regulation described throughout such as Fin-Syn and deregulation, it would be unlikely the studios like MTM would be able to produce *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* (CBS, 1970-1977), *Rhoda* (CBS, 1974-1978), *Hill Street Blues* (NBC, 1981-1987), and *St. Elsewhere* (NBC, 1982-1988), programmes considered as those that started 'quality' television.[568] These shows used key textual elements of legitimating criteria such as authorship, textual elements, genre, and cultural commentary in an effort to attract their desired demographic. As discussed in Chapter 1, the deliberations of certain legitimating criteria adjusted the perceptions of value for productions. It is unsurprising then that to gain a legitimate audience of TV elites, those in the industry altered their strategy and produced content with these criteria in mind. Academia deemed the resulting product as 'quality' television. Within this slightly tautological relationship of creation, programmes such as *The X-files* and *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* presented examples of the relationship between 'quality' television, telefantasy, and discourses of value during the period.

Jane Feuer, Paul Kerr and Tise Vahimagi point out that because of the changes in those behind network television's thinking, MTM studios produced an innovative type of TV drama using, what this thesis has pointed out as, legitimating criteria to target highbrow viewers. The use of these legitimating criteria resulted in the creation of 'quality' television. Similar to the 1950s and

[568] Thompson, 1997, p. 11.

the era of 'golden age' TV and its live teleplays, the networks attempted to gain an upscale, educated, urban audience. However, rather than this being a necessity as it was during the 1950s, because television sets were only available in densely populated urban areas by those with the economic ability to own this new technology, they did this out of choice. TV executives hoped to appeal to an upscale market who were more likely to spend money on the items advertised during a programme's airing. As a result, the broadcasts created for this viewership presented aesthetic values that these audience members would find pleasing, matching already established notions of legitimating criteria. And this is exactly what CBS did using MTM's productions. As Johnson states:

> In commissioning and promoting these programmes, CBS drew on traditional criteria of aesthetic value, such as authorship, artistic freedom and creativity, formal and narrative experimentation, complex character and sophisticated writing, to attract what was perceived as a discerning 'quality' audience that was ambivalent towards the aesthetic and cultural value of television as a medium.[569]

To move beyond the connection to regular TV or, in other words, to legitimate itself in contrast to the rest of delegitimate television, Feuer et al. argues that these early 'quality' features produced by MTM had to break and innovate the usual rules of the medium using criteria established as legitimate.[570] They claim that these 'quality' programmes exhibited several specific values separating them from other products. The values listed in the quotation above relate to the legitimating factors discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis. A member of the

[569] Johnson (2005), p. 96.
[570] Feuer, Kerr, Vahimagi, p. 4-6.

production staff, identified as the author, provided the narrative and artistic vision of these 'quality' programmes.[571] The shows had plots that referenced current cultural events and society or were political.[572] Each product was distinct in terms of tone and mise-en-scene.[573] The productions bestowed elements of intertextuality and were self-reflective.[574] The genres were loose and often hybrid, and they especially valued adherence to the known verisimilitude,[575] with fantasy and genre television not valued in comparison to programmes that conformed to the conventions of realism.[576] Many of these aspects formed the groundwork for later and contemporary studies on 'quality' television. These deliberations of 'quality' television, usually created with certain legitimating factors in mind, unsurprisingly influenced discourses of legitimacy. Though slightly tautological, this point evidenced how changes within the industry's production, with the focused production of 'quality' television using particular legitimating criteria, in turn determined the press's and elite television viewers' perception of programming's value.

While 'quality' television represented an influential change in the discussions of TV, it does not mean that all 'quality' television was 'good' or of high value. Roberta Pearson questions the very nature of 'quality' television, stating that it is 'inherently founded upon arbitrary taste judgments.'[577] She argues that although the industry or the media may use the phrase 'quality'

[571] Ibid, p. 33.
[572] Ibid, p. 56. Ibid, p. 37.
[573] Ibid, p. 32-33.
[574] Ibid, p. 44.
[575] Ibid, p. 186.
[576] Ibid, p. 147.
[577] Pearson, Roberta, 'Observations on Cult Television', in *The Cult TV Book*, ed. by Stacey Abott (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), pp. 7–18 (14-15)

television as a broad descriptor, academia requires a stricter definition.[578] Pearson notes that for a programme to fall under the label of 'quality' television it must exhibit a few specific traits. She finds that networks produced 'quality' television for audiences with the educational capital needed to appreciate its aesthetics coupled with the economic capital required to purchase the products advertised during these shows (in other words, the television elite audience discussed in this thesis).[579] She reasons that these viewers form a connection to their 'quality' programmes similar to the fandoms discussed previously. The fans of 'quality' television position themselves outside of the mainstream, and often need to fight to keep their lower rated broadcasts from cancellation, especially before the industry fully embraced niche demographics.[580] The industry behind 'quality' television introduced HBO's 'It's not TV, it's HBO'[581] and Bravo's 'It's too good for TV' promotion, during the 1990s, showing a clear understanding regarding the legitimacy of 'quality' television over the rest of the medium.[582] They do this by recognising the lack of legitimacy television had overall, and then basing their advertising campaign on the differentiation of their 'quality' product (by calling it not television or too good for TV) compared to the rest of the medium.

Academics also have difficulty determining the quality of 'quality' television and its legitimacy. Robert Thompson creates criteria for what he

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[578] Ibid.
[579] Ibid.
[580] Mirroring the discussions of fandoms found earlier in the chapter.
[581] Although it is arguable that programmes on HBO like *The Sopranos* provided HBO the ability to make such a claim because certain features of the programme, like character or writing, did not resemble the rest of television. Smith, Anthony N., 'TV or Not TV? The Sopranos and Contemporary Episode Architecture in US Network and Premium Cable Drama', *Critical Studies in Television: The International Journal of Television Studies*, 6 (2012), 36–51.
[582] Ibid.

considers ‘quality’ television within what he calls a ‘second golden age’ of TV.[583] However, while he maintains that these programmes are superior to other works on the medium, he finds their status as inherently ‘good’, or legitimate, problematic just because they fall under this criterion. He concludes:

> I can find a lot of shows on the air that exhibit all 12 characteristics [of ‘quality’ TV] but in the end, aren’t really all that good. Also, I can find some spectacularly innovative programming – the first season of Survivor, for example – that aggressively resists the category of ‘quality TV’.[584]

Here, Thompson discovers greater innovation within television that he would normally deem delegitimate, reality programming. This notion of ‘quality’ developed into more of a genre than a signifier of the show’s worth; with the legitimating values discussed above, such as having an authorship figure, becoming a staple of ‘quality’ television as genre rather than only indicating value, much like seeing a spaceship in a science fiction or a warlock in a fantasy.[585]

Whether the quality in ‘quality’ television signifies actual value or simply a genre, it is undeniable that since its inception ‘quality’ television has been the most legitimate TV type. Newman and Levine provide a discourse into the relationship between quality and legitimacy. They do this in their analysis of *Hill Street Blues*, a police drama on CBS marked as one founder for

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[583] He has a total of 12, building off the work done by Feuer et al. They too exhibit notions of pre-existing notions of legitimating criteria. They are: the programme being unlike other television, it has pedigree and authorship, its audience is highbrow, it struggles to make a profit, it has a large ensemble cast, it has memory in the sense that each episode of a programme builds upon what has happened previously, it displays generic hybridity, it is literary and writer based, it is self-conscious, its story often stems into the realms of controversy, it is award winning. Thompson, 1997, p. 180-181.
[584] Thompson, Robert J, ‘Preface’, in *Quality TV*, ed. by Janet McCabe and Kim Akass (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007), pp. xvii–xx (xx).
[585] Thompson, 1996, p. 16.

examinations of both 'quality' television and the medium's legitimation. They find that journalists of the time led the discussions for the production's legitimation. Newman and Levine found these sources in 50 reviews from the press commenting on the programme's quality. In one review they deliberate from *The Washington Post,* Newman and Levine make the following distinction:

> "Is there room on television for a program that is truly in a league by itself?" Pollan's 1983 assessment was quite astute about the economics of the program's [*Hill Street Blues*'] existence, yet it also participated in the very legitimation that secured the show's capital. Praising the program's style above all else […]
>
> 50 other takes on the show were at least as effusive, although – like much of the praise of today's culturally elevated TV - they often neglected to address the industry logic that made the show's Quality [capital in original] as much a calculated business decision as an artistic triumph.[586]

Here, Newman and Levine express how their various sources found *Hill Street Blues* to be a legitimate programme. These resources praised the product for its 'qualities' but disregarded that these qualities provided a perception of legitimacy. The producers created and aired the broadcast to cater to this more intellectual viewership, like the very writers of *The Washington Post.* So, the networks achieved their goal of appealing to a highbrow audience, creating a production using certain legitimating criteria which in turn legitimates the programme as people who can influence cultural value discuss it. Pollan's review in particular even disregards the economic gain in mind when producing

[586] Neman and Levine, p. 25.

the show. Newman and Levine further build upon the connected discourse between 'quality' and legitimacy:

> in 1985, novelist Joyce Carol Oates took to the pages of *TV Guide* to declare the series [*Hill Street Blues*] "one of the few television programs watched by a fair percentage of [her] Princeton colleagues" because it was "as intellectually and emotionally provocative as a good book," a judgment she demonstrated with analysis of the program's themes, plotting, and characterizations.[587]

Here, once again, the textual legitimating criteria, presented by the producers of the *Hill Street Blues*, allow those deliberating the programme to further legitimate it. Oates, as a Princeton professor, raised the show's cultural value because her social status gives weight to her opinion. She further comments on the production's success in aesthetic terms, praising the high standards of its 'themes, plotting, and characterizations'. Finally, she displays an example of comparison, legitimating the feature by comparing it to literature, a more legitimate medium. Within their text, Newman and Levine pull from journalistic discourses to try and understand the development of legitimacy within television, similar to this study. They manifest the relationship between 'quality' and legitimacy and display the process of legitimation through the use of the press as proof. However, their analysis lacks the intricacies examined in this thesis. As while they present evidence of legitimation by the media (as seen above) at the time of a programme's release, they do not divulge into a systematic investigation of how the show (or others like it) perceptive value altered throughout the history of the medium.

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[587] Ibid.

Into the 1990s as 'quality' television programming became more visible on TV, its legitimacy began to influence the medium. During this period, certain elite cultural commentators, such as Charles McGrath editor of the *Times Book Review*, made his point clear on the stance of this new age of television. He writes a piece in *The New York Times* titled 'The Triumph of the Prime-Time Novel'[588] (even in its title using the comparison to literature to elevate primetime television), trying to persuade readers that TV has something to offer the readers of the highbrow paper. To borrow from Newman and Levine:

> McGrath proceeded to use his piece as a means of persuasion, aiming to convince the TV-averse to give the medium a try. It would be well worth their while, McGrath promised, declaring that "TV is actually enjoying a sort of golden age - it has become a medium you can consistently rely on not just for distraction but for enlightenment." While he quickly distinguishes between kinds of TV, dismissing talk shows, sitcoms, prime time soaps, even PBS programs in favour of the networks' weekly dramatic series, he makes claims about "television" itself and thus participates in a discursive shift that legitimates particular kinds of television in the name of the medium as a whole.[589]

McGrath celebrates the writer as the centre of programmes' artistic production, similar to the journalists of the 1950s (and to a certain extent the 1960s as seen in chapters 3 and 4). He even compares the writer of television to that of the theatre, film, and literature. Indeed, as Newman and Levine point out, McGrath uses 'quality' television's rise in legitimacy to make a broader case for the

[588] McGrath, Charles, 'The Triumph of the Prime-Time Novel', *The New York Times,* 22 October 1995, p. SM 52-56.
[589] Newman and Levine, p. 29.

legitimation of TV as a medium, despite stating that particular programming, such as sitcoms and talk shows, lack the same level of legitimacy as 'quality' television.

The discourses surrounding 'quality' television through time shows a fluid constructability, like any genre or conception in television. Indeed, as the below will demonstrate through telefantasy programming, the use of the term and the criteria needed to be considered a 'quality' television programme evolved and changed throughout time as a result of discourse, coming from 'technology, industrial change, multi-channelling and the fragmentation of the [television] audience'.[590] The evolution of the criteria of 'quality' television did not lesson its power of altering cultural value, as it remained the most legitimating of television,[591] even if certain elements of its criteria changed. One example being the decreased strictness of realism as a distinguishing feature of 'quality' allowing non-verisimilitudes genres to also fit into the label (although, as the following two chapters will show, there was still a divide between 'quality' television based on realism and those that were not). This changed the way telefantasy's legitimacy was constructed and perceived during TV II.

Telefantasy's Relationship with 'Quality' Television

As maintained throughout the thesis, non-realism based genres such as horror, science fiction, and fantasy that make up telefantasy are often considered

[590] Nelson, 2007.
[591] This can be seen through its continued relevance in academia and its discourse of value; Newman and Levine, p. 5.

inferior to genres such as drama that uses the conventions of realism. To quote Stephen Neale:

> The predominance of ideologies of realism in our culture tends to mean that, unless marked as high art, many avowedly non-realist genres are viewed as frivolously escapist, as 'mere fantasy', and thus as suitable only for children or for 'mindless', 'irresponsible' adults.[592]

What this thesis showed in the previous two chapters was how influential genre was as a legitimating criterion for telefantasy, and it continued to be so from TV I, to its transition to TV II, and TV II itself. Genre also influenced other legitimating factors (as the following two chapters will present). However, while accepted as the case for most telefantasy until its entrance into 'quality' (see below), the often overlooked telefantasy programmes of the latter part of TV I represent a dynamic variety of cultural value and taste.

Broadcasts released after *Star Trek,* from the end of TV I to the beginning of TV II, such as *Kolchak: The Night Stalker* (ABC, 1974-1975), *The Twilight Zone* remake (CBS, 1985-1987, First-run syndication, 1988-1989), and *The Incredible Hulk* (CBS, 1977-1982),[593] did not gain acceptance into the canon of 'quality' television. Journalists found the programmes to be delegitimate because of their lack of realism or telefantasy qualities. Reviews of *Kolchak: The Night Stalker* delegitimated it because of its fantastical generic elements; for example, *The New York Times* John J. O'Conner described it as 'a lumpy

[592] Neale, 2000, p. 31.

[593] While the use of three programmes to represent a two-decade period be problematic but these case studies offer a window into this era of telefantasy history. Although these programmes are not considered as unique, or exceptional or unusual, they nevertheless offer a varied look at the discussions surrounding telefantasy during this period. Although it is not the remit of this study to analyse this particular era of telefantasy history and its legitimacy in detail, such a study could yield interesting results.

mixture of nutty farce and ominous terror'.[594] A piece by the same journalist on the remake of *The Twilight Zone* noted the show was 'technically far superior than anything that could be done on television 25 years ago,' as he praised the product for its innovation. However, while generally flattering the broadcast, O'Conner does not discuss the generic qualities of *The Twilight Zone*, connecting not only to previous reviews of the original *Twilight Zone* (as Serling avoided labels such as science fiction as seen in Chapter 3) but also the delegitimacy of telefantasy shown above.[595] The point of the above is to show how discourses on telefantasy broadcasted before TV II continued as delegitimate because of their genre. The below provides an example.

The producers of *The Incredible Hulk* too attempted to distance their programme from its generic elements (like the fantastical transformation of its main character for example) as well as its connection to its medium of origin, the comic book, to connect to a prime time audience.[596] Indeed, such was the point Lee Margulies made in an interview with the show's creator and lead actor, Kenneth Johnson and Bill Bixby respectively. Margulies told the reader that:

> If you haven't watched "The Incredible Hulk" because the title indicates it's probably nothing more than another silly TV version of a comic book

[594] O'Connor, John J., 'TV: "PLanet of the Apes," "Kodiak" and "Chic and the Man" Bow', *The New York Times*, 13 September 1974, p. 73.
[595] O'Connor, John J., 'Premieres of "Twilight Zone" and "MacGyver"', *The New York Times*, 27 September 1985, p. C30.
[596] The show originally aired at 9pm on CBS. However, that it was on a Friday certainly did not help ratings, as the younger/teenage audience that presumably would also watch the show would be out (a similar case also happened with *Star Trek*, Pearson and Davies, p. 48). The Friday night timeslot has since been labelled the 'Friday night death slot', but the same logic could apply to this period, with the networks having little faith in the programme's ability to draw ratings. (Cochran, Tanya R., 'Paratextual Mediation Fox, Fandom and Death-Slot Fridays', in *The Multiple Worlds of Fringe: Essays on the J.J. Abrams Science Fiction Series*, ed. by Tanya R. Cochran, Sherry Ginn, and Paul Zinder (Jefferson: Mcfarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2014), pp. 225–42 (225).

> […] star Bill Bixby and executive producer Kenneth Johnson will understand. The thought of such a series turned them off at first too.[597]

The rest of the article continued with the two attempting to legitimate the programme by comparing it to works of gothic literature such as *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* and *Frankenstein: Or the Modern Prometheus* and distancing themselves from other comic book television broadcasts such as *Wonder Woman* (ABC, 1975-1976, CBS, 1977-1979). Quite aware of how the elite television audience saw their show was delegitimate, the writer further noted:

> "The Incredible Hulk" has taken its critical lumps, mainly because of its source, which makes it part of the comic book trend on TV that reinforces the image of the entire tube being aimed at a comic book mentality. Bixby, a respected actor […] is irked at the criticism and believes it's a form of what he labels "pseudo-intellectual snobbery" by people who've never seen the show.
>
> "I'm proud of the show and it makes me angry that I have to keep apologizing for it," Bixby declared. "We are not making a childish show; we are making an adult show that children are allowed to watch. There's a big difference."[598]

While this was just one actor pouring out his frustrations at his show not being taken seriously, he nonetheless made several valid points regarding the state of telefantasy at the time. The exclusion of Bixby's programme from the discussions of 'quality' television displayed his understanding regarding the broadcast's lack of legitimacy as valid. His comments revealed that although the

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[597] Margulies, Lee, 'Putting "The Incredible Hulk" In Perspective', *The Los Angeles Times*, 11 June 1978, p. S2.
[598] Ibid

deliberations of 'quality' television in academia begin with Geuer, Kerr and Vahimagi's examination of MTM productions, there might have been a sense of 'quality' television before this within the industry. However, he stated that the product catered for both adults and children, providing an indication that perhaps the networks did not target the audience base of 'quality' television, which reasons to be why legitimating discourses did not talk about the show. Realising this, Bixby attacked those who he found to be the taste makers (or legitimators) of TV, the television elites, displaying a discernment of how taste cultures work.[599] The writer of the article also pointed out that the delegitimacy of the programme delegitimates the whole medium, the opposite to what McGrath states 'quality' television does as seen above. The connection to a 'comic book mentality' represented the juvenility of the medium's viewers, referencing the delegitimacy of both TV and its audience. It is possible to understand Bixby's anger regarding the feature's legitimacy considering his status as a 'respected actor' (at least in the eyes of this journalist) might disappear because of the product's delegitimacy. Despite the best efforts of those on the programme and behind the scenes, despite its comparisons to literature, despite having 'respected actors', despite making the show a fantasy-drama, and despite the broadcast sparking ethical and theoretical discussions,[600] it stayed delegitimate, excluded from discourses of 'quality' television, because of its being telefantasy.

However, a shift occurred in the late 1980s and early 1990s that made telefantasy acceptable as primetime content, changing the legitimating

[599] At least in the sense of Pierre Bourdieu and his notions of Distinction as discussed in the first chapter. Bourdieu, 1996, *Distinction*.
[600] Cohen, Richard, 'Is the Incredible Hulk Smashing Our Morality?', *The Washington Post*, 2 September 1979, p. B1.

deliberations surrounding the genre, also reflecting the change in criteria for 'quality' television. As Johnson says, 'although telefantasy remained a part of network programming over the 1970s and 1980s, in the early 1990s, it emerged as a dominant form of primetime series drama on the United States networks.'[601] Keith Booker agrees in reference to science fiction, although his point applies to telefantasy as a whole as:

> [s]cience fiction television as a whole experienced an unprecedented period of richness and innovation in the 1990s. Much of this phenomenon can be attributed to material considerations such as the growth of cable television channels […] [but it] could not have occurred without a ground-breaking predecessor like TNG, which did so much to reinvigorate the genre, proving that SFTV [science fiction television] still had both ideas and audience appeal.[602]

Star Trek: The Next Generation was key in the evolution of the perception of telefantasy's value beyond the early academic discussions of 'quality' television. As seen in the next chapter, the programme made headway into legitimating institutions such as the Peabody award,[603] the first telefantasy to do so. There existed a distinct contrast between the legitimating discourses between *Star Trek: The Next Generation* and *Star Trek*. Earlier in this thesis, journalists criticised the original series for its science fiction properties, resulting in comparisons to children's television, while its scripts likened to soap operas. On the other hand, reviewers praised, and legitimating institutions awarded the newer series for its

[601] Johnson, 2005, p. 95.
[602] Booker, M. Keith, *Science Fiction Television: A History* (Westport: Praeger, 2004), p. 108-109.
[603] Details of this award is provided in the next chapter.

science fiction elements, especially regarding the ability to create such a set on UPN, and they praised the stories for its textual components, a clear representation on the way perceptions and the construction of value changes over time. This programme become a precursor to the legitimating deliberations analysed in the following two chapters. It just so happens that the evolution in reviews between *Star Trek: The Next Generation* and *The Incredible Hulk* also coincides with the various events leading to the change in TV history from TV I to TV II, which itself represents an alteration in the criteria of 'quality' television. Was this a coincidence, or was it producers in TV II using factors known to be legitimate when creating their show to draw a more highbrow audience and a more refined journalist discourse?

Key to the adjustment of the perception of telefantasy's value was the acceptance of certain telefantasy programmes into the examinations of 'quality' television, changing the very criteria of this television type. This happened, according to Thompson, because as the 'quality' television formula began to lose its novelty for audience members the networks decided that it needed to 'look for something *more* different and *more* unexpected'.[604] Telefantasy products seemed to fit this description, as they use generic elements to provide an audience accustomed to 'quality' predicated upon realism with something 'different' and 'unexpected'. This reflects Mittell's constructions of genre, as the connotations of 'quality' evolved as discourses changed through time.[605] However, while Thompson uses this as an opening to discuss *Twin Peaks* (ABC,

[604] Thompson, 1996 p. 152.

[605] Nelson, 2007.

1990-1991), he ultimately determines that the programme exaggerated certain mystical components and mysteries that ultimately left the production outside of the realm of 'quality' television.[606] Telefantasy shows such as *Moonlighting* (ABC, 1985-1989), *Quantum Leap* (NBC, 1989-1993) and *Star Trek: The Next Generation* (First run syndication, 1987-1994) could also be said to have previously crossed into the realm of 'quality' telefantasy.[607] Indeed, the three broadcasts and *Twin Peaks* represent the adjustment in the rhetoric of telefantasy in terms of its legitimacy (not to mention the changes in 'quality' television itself), which will be further explored in the two chapters using two programmes that are firmly cemented in the period of TV II. What these examples, as well as the following two chapters, show is that the legitimating discourses about telefantasies changed from TV I and TV II, and they do so because of the evolution of the industry between the two periods.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter argued that developments within the industry in the transition from TV I to TV II influenced discourses of legitimacy regarding the medium and telefantasy. It also claimed that these industrial elements that led to the construction of 'quality' television altered the perception of TV's legitimacy, and how the changes in the industry's plan transformed the discourses from TV

[606] Ibid, p. 159.
[607] Robert J. Thompson includes *Moonlighting* (113) and *Star Trek: The Next Generation* (180) in his discourse of 'quality' television shows in his second 'golden age'. John Thorton Caldwell discusses *Quantum Leap's* superiority over other programmes due to its textual factors.
Caldwell, John Thorton, *Televisuality: Style, Crisis, and Authority in American Television* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1995)

I to TV II. To support these contentions, this chapter has provided an understanding of TV II and the events that created it. It described the loss of the oligopoly and the shift to the multichannel era of United States television. It deliberated the evolution of the strategy of the medium, moving from an attempt to gain the largest audience to a focus on niche groups, eventually developing into even further niches and the legitimation of fandom as desirable. With the industry's niche approach came the creation of 'quality' television for a highbrow viewership using known legitimating criteria which modified the discussions surrounding the medium and its legitimacy. One section of this highbrow audience were academics, who began to study TV in a more literary manner, analysing programmes as texts with underlying meanings and textual choices, as television gradually became a legitimate field of study. The following two chapters discuss how telefantasy's legitimacy was constructed and perceived in an era of vast changes for television's value.

Chapter 6: *The X-Files*

While certain legitimating factors found in TV I continue to influence discourses of value in TV II, others are unique to this era. The following chapter on *The X-Files* details how in the discussions of telefantasy's legitimacy some legitimating factors stayed the same, others developed, and new ones surfaced. *The X-Files'* significance for the Fox network and US television is best described by Catherine Johnson, as she finds that the programme was key in 'securing Fox's position as the fourth major network in American television broadcasting and reinvigorating the science fiction genre during the 1990s.'[608] As analysed in the previous chapter, Fox built its status as the fourth major USA network by targeting specific audience demographics. *The X-Files* became a vital component of this strategy, as the network used it to target highbrow 18-49 viewers. In a period where productions for this audience, referred to as 'quality' television (as seen previously), usually included realistic dramas, Fox created a programme about two FBI agents solving paranormal mysteries based on government cover-ups known as the X-files. Although this strategy took time to work, with the show only having a small dedicated audience following its first few seasons, it eventually became a hit with broader audiences too, including the television elite examined in this thesis.

This chapter will analyse the perceived cultural value of *The X-Files* using the legitimating factors determined in Chapter 1 as well as specific legitimating criteria that developed during this period in its construction of

[608] Johnson, Catherine, 'Science Fiction: *The X-Files'*, in *The Television Genre Book*, ed. by Glen Creeber, Toby Miller, and John Tulloch, 3rd edn (London: Palgrave, 2015), p. 66.

value, precisely the discourse regarding ‘quality’ television. Like the other case studies in this thesis, each legitimating factor splits into its own section, but, as the chapter will highlight, certain legitimating factors dominate journalistic publications and spill over into various factors. As a part of a continuing trend within the thesis, genre influenced the perceptual cultural value of this telefantasy programme and has an interrelationship with other factors such as cultural commentary, textual elements, and comparison. The chapter will also display how Chris Carter, creator and author of the series, proved to effect discourses pertaining to the construction and understanding of the show’s value as authorship continued to be a prevalent legitimating factor. One legitimating factor that saw more attention and development in this era was how journalists discussed the show’s audience, particularly fans. This chapter will also discuss how small but vocal audience segment influenced the programme’s supposed cultural value. Although various comparisons appear in connection to *The X-Files,* these are often in conjunction with other areas of cultural value, as such, I will discuss them in conjuncture with the other legitimating factor where relevant. As a result, the section on comparison in this chapter is small and discusses one item the show is compared to, *The Twilight Zone*. Likewise, the show’s integration becomes evident in other criteria and to avoid repetition it does not have a section of its own. Academia’s study of *The X-Files* and its placement into the institution impacted the show’s perceptive cultural value. This legitimating factor was underdeveloped during TV I, as it evolved during the periods between TV I to TV II. An ever-present legitimating factor is legitimating institutions. The difference that this chapter will highlight is the type of awards *The X-Files* won compared to its TV I counterparts. This chapter

will compare and contrast the similarities and differences of the legitimating factors found in TV I to TV II, while also addressing the industrial changes between the two eras that influenced these discussions.

Genre

As explained briefly above, *The X-Files'* success for Fox, and its subsequent acceptance into the canon of 'quality' television, was surprising considering it was not a typical 'quality' television show.[609] Rather than a realistic drama it was a telefantasy hybrid, including but not limited to, displaying generic elements from horror, crime, fantasy and science fiction. This resulted in journalists finding fault with the programme because of its genre, as they were used to the more usual aspects of 'quality' television. However, these thoughts were not universal, as others began to find value in its generic elements, although they too, as seen in the chapter on *The Twilight Zone,* avoided the use of certain genre labels in favour of those with more inherent cultural value. In TV II, discourses around a programme's genre appeared to still carry some of the baggage from TV I, yet there were signs of change.

Bill Carter, a writer for *The New York Times* who wrote about the show soon after its first episode aired in 1993, articulated the issues resulting from the programme's genre:

> A goofy premise that is strangely fascinating in execution. Two F.B.I. agents examine unexplained cases, with one expecting a

[609] As discussed in the previous chapter, some would consider 'quality' television to be limited to more realistic programmes such as E.R. or Hill Street Blues: Feuer, 1984, p.36.

> scientific explanation for everything, the other leaning toward the paranormal. The tone is properly eerie, but it's hard to imagine an endless supply of strong plots.[610]

The comments about the 'goofy[ness]' of the show's premise directly resulted from the programme's science fiction elements. He found that the product's premise of special agents investigating cases with characteristics of science fiction and horror was not only 'goofy' but also limited the creators' storytelling possibilities. Evidently, in early reviews of the show,[611] the generic discussions of telefantasy factored in delegitimating the broadcast, just as it did in discourses found in TV I as discussed in the previous chapter. Charlotte E. Howell, who analyses the relationship between science fiction TV of the 1990s and its acceptance into the criteria of 'quality' television, comments on the delegitimacy of telefantasy. She finds that 'science fiction, fantasy and horror genres are generally categorised as low genres because they are removed from realist conventions.'[612] Indeed, Stephen Neale, who examines the cultural value of films that go beyond accepted notions of reality, found that if a legitimator within society does not label a cultural product as a form of high art such works become disavowed.[613]

Certain examinations of *The X-Files* in print media provided the audience with descriptions on elements of the show's genre to set it apart from

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[610] Carter, Bill, 'Television', *The New York Times*, 12 September 1993, p. 121.
[611] Other publications that disparage the show because of its genre include: Tomashoff, Craig, 'Where Have the Confident, Happy Heroes Gone?', *The New York Times*, 5 December 1995, p. AR37; Goldberg, Robert, 'A Decade in Front of the Tube', *The Wall Street Journal*, 22 April 1996, p. A20.
[612] Howell, p. 39.
[613] Neale, 2000, p. 35.

the rest of television, in essence to legitimate. Take, for example, the following statement from *The New York Times'* Jeff MacGregor:

> [the programme that] stands poised on the lip of the abyss is "The X-Files." Not so much quirk as it is downright strange, this genuinely good show may survive its current popularity because it makes no effort to integrate itself with an audience. Unlike some other shows in this sad PC-in-Prime-Time age, it doesn't beg likability with the borrowed 12-step-platitude-passage-for-dialogue that is the video vogue.[614]

MacGregor's assessments of the programme and its generic elements contrasted with that of Bill Carter's. Rather than being delegitimated because of its generic elements, the journalists praised it because of them. This change in the discourse of cultural value presented itself in the use of language when describing the show. In both this and Bill Carter's review above, the writers used certain words to characterise the generic elements within the broadcast. Bill Carter used the word 'goofy' to label the show's science fiction-based premise while MacGregor opted for 'quirky' or 'strange'. Similar variations on the labelling of generic elements also appeared in the previous two case studies and seem to continue into the discourses of TV II. For example, Rod Serling, rather than labelling *The Twilight Zone* as a science fiction, called it 'pure fantasy' to avoid the negative connotations that came with that label.[615] Here, MacGregor did the

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[614] MacGregor, Jeff, 'The Importance of Being Quirky (at All Costs): A Surfeit of Quirks', *The New York Times*, 19 February 1995, p. H34. Other reviews that discusses the show's quality include: O'Connor, John J., 'Sci-Fi From the 60's For a New Generation', *The New York Times*, 24 March 1995, p. B17; Tomashoff, Craig, 'Television/Radio: Too Good (Or At Least Different) For Their Own Good', *The New York Times*, 1 December 2002, p. A13.

[615] As discussed throughout, science fiction had connotations to a delegitimate children audience. Fantasy did not have the same connections.

same, as he used ‘quirky’ or ‘strange’ to indicate the generic elements of the broadcast. Evidently, this change in rhetoric, at least according to MacGregor, came from a shift in the legitimacy of both this programme and the genre. Rather than finding *The X-Files’* narrative potential limited because of its generic elements, as Bill Carter did, MacGregor believed the aspects beyond the known verisimilitude elevated the show above other programming. He found that the very reason the broadcast became so popular with its audience resulted from the trust that they understood more complex plot points relating to the product’s supernatural genre. The show expected its audience to keep up with the events presented in the programme; viewers thinking critically about a show factored in descriptions of ‘quality’ television.[616] However, the fact they did not acknowledge its genre directly suggests that there might still be legitimation problems with telefantasy.

As discussed in the previous chapter, a key change from TV I to TVII was how networks attempted to draw a highbrow, urban audience, because of their lucratively, hence they would create programming with certain legitimating factors appealing to them. While MacGregor did not directly state that such facets make *The X-Files* a part of ‘quality’ television, and legitimate it further, he mentioned the programme as what he described as a part of ‘quirky’ TV, as he differentiates it and other programming, from the rest of the medium. In the article, MacGregor used ‘quirk’ comparably to ‘quality’, utilising it to emphasise the elements of a broadcast that separated it from the rest of the shows on television. The case for this comparison becomes even stronger when looking at the other shows he described in the same article as ‘quirky’, *Hill Street Blues,*

[616] Mccabe and Akass, eds. p. 110.

L.A. Law, and *St. Elsewhere*. *Hill Street Blues'* influence on the examination of 'quality' television previously detailed in the earlier chapter[617] and 'quality' television discourses extend to the two programmes.[618] Here, the writer appeared to be creating 'quirk' as a type of genre, a collection of television texts unlike others on the medium. His article represents the 'productive role in constituting genres through the circulation of generic discourses',[619] with the discourse connecting the programmes together relating to their dissimilarity to other television programmes and their 'quality'. The writer, including *The X-Files* in a discussion of 'quirky' or 'quality' programming on TV during this time, legitimated the broadcast because of its comparison to other shows with high cultural value, connecting them through their sense of 'quality' or 'quirk', rather than focussing on the way they differ generically, and especially avoiding delegitimating labels such as science fiction.

Certain components of telefantasy were used as legitimating factors. In another *New York Times* article, Michiko Kakutani talked about the show's connection to a different subgenre of telefantasy, the gothic:

> Why has the "X-Files" become a hit television show? No doubt part of the appeal of the Gothic is that it provides a reassuring framework for controlling free-floating anxieties (both millennial anxieties and more everyday anxieties about crime, illness and economic security) by converting them into suspense. The Gothic thrives […] in a world in which "those in authority – the supposed exemplars of the good – are under suspicion," a world in which cynicism ("the conviction that

[617] Feuer, Kerr, and Vahimagi, eds.
[618] Feuer, 1984.
[619] Mittell, p. 56.

> the worst truth that you can come up with about any person or event is the most consequential truth") is a given.[620]

The gothic genre, a subgenre of horror, usually has elements of the supernatural combined with horror, death, and romance. Literary works that fall into this genre include Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein: Or the Modern Prometheus* and the poetry of Edgar Allan Poe, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and Lord Byron.[621] Such comparisons to a literary genre changed the view of legitimacy for the programme (as explained in Chapter 1). However, making a comparison between the show and gothic literature legitimates less than a link to a more legitimate genre, such as realistic drama.[622] Evidently, the comparison to gothic literature was an aspect of generic evaluation for telefantasy works with horror-based features and one that did not evolve between TV I and TV II.[623] For example, journalists also compared Mary Shelley's text to *The Twilight Zone* (as seen in Chapter 3) as a legitimating factor back in TV I. While elements of other genres within telefantasy, such as science fiction, had conflicting notions of legitimacy throughout time, the gothic genre had a more stable legitimating value. Though comparisons to more legitimate genres of literature might raise the perception of *The X-Files*' cultural value further, such paralleling may not prevail because of the generic elements presented in the programme; for

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[620] Kakutani, Michiko, 'Why Do Americans Gorge on Gothic', *The New York Times,* 4 November 1997, p. E54.

[621] Kilgour, Maggie, *The Rise of the Gothic Novel* (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 3. Note, that some of these texts, like Shelley's, have been included in discussion in other genres (like science fiction or fantasy). Similar to the telefantasy texts discussed in this thesis, these literary works too had elements of generic hybridity, hence the multiple generic labels used to describe them.

[622] Parrinder, p. 51.

[623] Other sources that discuss the show in relation to the gothic genre are:
'All I Want for Christmas', *Newsweek*, 8 December 1997, p. 78; Byline, Brian Lowry, 'Nets Caught in Critical Bind: Innovate or Imitate', *Daily Variety*, 26 July 1995.

example, comparing *The X-Files* to a novel by Jane Austen would not work because of the lack of clear generic ties. Hence, in terms of literary correlations, a connection to gothic fiction is the best the show can have.

Generic elements such as gothic or horror influenced the legitimating discussions of the programme in alternate ways as well. The style of horror that *The X-Files* used apparently affected other cultural products during this era. Robert J. Thompson discussed this in an interview with Rick Lyman for *The New York Times* in 2001:

> "The horror movie is going to move away from the age of Godzilla, which personified this enormous threat of atomic power to destroy things, and it's going to move away from Michael Myers and fears about adolescents being messed up by the corruption in our culture," Mr Thompson said. "Instead, it's going to be much more on the 'X-Files' model, where the villain is elusive and perhaps conspiratorial.["][624]

Thompson pointed out the evolution of the horror genre with *The X-Files* serving as a model for a closer to audience's verisimilitude. Evidently, the generic element that *The X-Files* developed affected other cultural products related to the genre who hoped to emulate it. This changed the perception of the legitimacy of the programme, as the above quotations claims all works within the horror genre would inevitably compare to *The X-Files* model, their value derived from whether they had successfully matched it.[625] Though the above quote could equally fit into the academic section found below, its placement here results

[624] Lyman, Rick, 'Horrors! Time for an Attack of the Metaphors?: From Bug Movies to Bioterrorism', *The New York Times*, 23 October 2001.
[625] Geraghty, p. 30.

from the content's strong evidence of genre and its influence on legitimacy. What this extract displayed in terms of academia was the interest journalists found at the time for academic writing on television.

Demonstrated throughout this section is the legitimating value generic labels have in the construction of a show's value. If a show was to be legitimate, generic tabs such as 'science fiction' had to be replaced with established more valuable ones, like gothic, or be part of the construction of new labels, like quirky, that are yet to have an established cultural value (it is even better if it ties to 'quality tv'). Whatever the case, genre still played a role in other legitimating factors, like cultural commentary.

Cultural Commentary

Like in TV I, the ability for science fiction programmes to present their science in an accurate manner provided legitimacy. Likewise, non-verisimilitudes' genres ability to discuss cultural issues within a text was an aspect seen as culturally valuable, even if the genre itself was yet to be accepted as legitimate. So, as the articles discussed below stress, *The X-Files*' ability to comment on contemporary culture became a factor of its legitimacy. These discussions usually related back to politics, emphasising the distrust people felt toward political figures, reflected by the programme, as this aspect of the show integrated culture. However, whereas in TV I journalists did not fully explore these elements at times, usually because of a fear of political backlash (as discussed in Chapter 3), journalists from TV II had no such concern.

The show endeavoured to show themes related to the conspiracy cultural prevalent in the 1990s. The government coverup of the existence of UFOs proved a popular area of conspiracy, a point journalists found in the show.[626] *The New York Times'* Sam Roberts stated that:

> U.F.O sightings and cover-ups that supposedly percolated up from account by ordinary people and became collectively known as Roswell (The twisted plots-within-plots in television's "X-Files" produced this epiphany. The US military saw a good thing in 47 when the Roswell story broke. The more we deny it the more people believed it was true. Aliens had landed, a made-to-order cover story for generals looking to develop the national war chest.")' 'it's no surprise that the creator of "The X-Files" came of age during Watergate'.[627]

Roswell was one of the most famous conspiracies where the US government supposedly found and covered up an alien UFO in the late 1950s. The coverup's connection to *The X-Files* not only shows shared generic elements, in this case, aliens but also connected in terms of theme, conspiracy.

Roberts sees conspiracy as the central inspiration for Chris Carter' work. The 'Watergate scandal' described the phone tapping of President Richard Nixon's phone at the Watergate hotel in 1972. This event came to the forefront of conspiracy and mistrust, as it eventually led to Nixon terminating his presidency prematurely in 1974. The writer thought Carter internalised this

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[626] Other sources than the quote below that discuss the prevalence of conspiracy within the show include: Infusino, Divina, 'Paranoid About the Paranormal', *TV Guide*, 15 January 1994, pp. 20–21; Kenny, Glenn, 'Sci-Fi/Fantasy', *TV Guide*, 16 April 1994, p. 30.

[627] Roberts, Sam, 'Books of the Times: Americans Love a Conspiracy, But Why?', *The New York Times*, 18 December 2001, p. E7.

event in his youth and that these childhood memories influenced the creation of *The X-Files* in terms of its central theme. Indeed, one of the key elements presented throughout included disillusionment with government, which forms the basis of the X-Files that the show takes its title from. In terms of the legitimating value of such discussions, Roberts demonstrated how the programme captured a feeling ever-present in society at the time. The journalist's article provided an example of the evolution of cultural commentary between TV I and TV II. His work exemplified how in TV II, the ability to reflect what was happening served as a point of legitimacy for the show, rather than being something that needed hiding as in *The Twilight Zone* or something overtly pushed by its creator at an attempt to differentiate the broadcast like *Star Trek.*

However, not all shared this opinion of the value of *The X-Files'* cultural commentary. Others, such as reviewer Bernard Weinraub, found that *The X-Files'* cultural relevance did not permeate for many years (even though some found this not to be the case, with the example above coming two years after Weinraub's article). He talked about the programme in an article from 1998:

> The new pro-government trend is evident in one of television's most popular series, "The West Wing." About a decent and liberal president who serves as a sort of father figure to his staff members. It would not have been produced two decades ago when the trauma of Watergate and resignation of President Richard M. Nixon still echoed. The show is in some ways a pointed contrast to Fox's "X-Files," which began in 1993 and takes as its basic paranoid premise a shadowy world of dangerous aliens and scheming government

> forces. The view was epitomized by the "X-Files" character Cancer man, the unnamed cigarette-smoking high-level official, who died two seasons ago.[628]

Different here was that at the beginning of the new millennium and near the end of the broadcast's first run on the air conspiracy culture lacked relevancy.[629] Instead, new programmes such as *The West Wing* presented political themes differently, a reliable farther figure replacing hidden controversies. Here, the connection, or lack thereof in this case, to current cultural commentary allowed the writer to conclude that the show became dated in this regard. In terms of the product's worth, it was apparent that not all had the same thoughts regarding the programme's cultural commentary, as for Weinraub at least the show's relevancy weaned over time.

The cultural value of the above examples of commentary base their worth on relevancy and other legitimating factors. For instance, Hollywood B movies with science fiction elements have a long history of having social commentary, e.g. *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (1956). The film uses aliens taking over the bodies of everyday Americans to symbolise the contemporary fear of communism infiltrating US society. Though this factor itself may legitimate the film, the fact that it was a Hollywood B movie in the 1960s, with a lower budget and non-association with the more legitimate cinema being produced at the time meant that while this one aspect legitimates the film, in terms of its overall legitimacy it means very little.[630] So, as this thesis maintains,

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[628] Other sources that discuss *The X-Files'* loss of cultural relevance included:
Shaw, Russell, 'Useful, and Also Fun', *Broadcasting and Cable*, 11 December 2000, p. 54.

[629] Although it is quite interesting that the programme was remade in 2017, perhaps pointing to this opinion of the government becoming fashionable once again.

[630] Baumann, 2007, p. 124.

the perception and construction of legitimacy for a cultural product bases itself upon many factors, with each legitimating factor responsible in combination for cultural value. For *The X-Files,* though cultural commentary provided a factor of legitimation, it means little without the other factors described in the chapter.

While somewhat disputed, the programme's use of cultural commentary did became an example of how the show related to 'quality' television. Certain journalists, such as *The Wall Street Journal*'s Thomas E. Webber wrote about the mysterious elements of the broadcast.[631] Webber found that just like the tagline of *The X-Files,* which states that "the truth is out there", the mysteries within the product were there to be unlocked by those audiences diligent and intelligent enough to find them. He noted how the programme indirectly expressed commentary on culture, if not on the entire world, through the show's mysterious elements. His articles described the conversations that many exchanged regarding the weekly mysteries present in the show. This change within the narrative of television, to attract the viewer to watch intently rather than simply gaze at the TV, is one of the key facets of 'quality' television during the period. Thompson points out this aspect of 'quality' television in his text on *Twin Peaks,* as he found,

> each episode of the series was like catnip to well-educated, amateur semioticians who weren't used to TV that gave them so much to work with. Anyone who'd learned in college how to explicate a text

[631] Ventura, Michael, 'The Truth Is Out There', *The Los Angeles Times,* 10 September 1995, p. 22.
Other texts that discuss a similar topic also include: Thomas, Weber E., 'The Truth Is Out There, and so Are Some of These Fans' Theories', *The Wall Street Journal,* 23 May 1997, p. B1.1.

> could find a bonanza of raw material here. *Twin Peaks* sure looked like art […] And all those symbols![632]

For Thompson and Webber, an aspect of 'quality' TV comes from an audience's ability to find deeper meaning within a television text, similar to literary analysis. In terms of the perceptions of cultural value, such discourses displayed that the broadcast's complexity required its audience to use their mind when watching TV. The creation of programming using this aspect of legitimating criteria provided the show's network exactly what they wanted during this era. As discussed in the previous chapter, '[b]y the early 1990s, Fox established a younger, edgier […] identity than the other three broadcast networks',[633] and *The X-Files,* through its use of subtlety and artistry, helped the network accomplish its goal. The case study attracted these younger, more educated audiences because it, like various 'quality' television shows, provided entertainment not available in other programming. Due to this outlook and creation emphasis, they judged these programmes more legitimate than the rest of the medium.

It was not only generic themes impacting contemporary culture, as the characters of *The X-Files* also affected its audience. Gillian Anderson believed that her character differed from the typical TV female protagonist of the period. In a 1995 TV interview Brent Babury and Anderson discussed the influence of Scully on female audiences:

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[632] Thompson,1997, p. 159.
[633] Edgerton, p. 304.

> Babury: Scully is a complex character. She understands a lot of scientific theories [...] don't you think she is a great role model for young girls?
>
> Anderson: Absolutely. I think that it was pretty early on that young girls and actually girls of all ages were considering Scully as a role model. And I really enjoyed that. And I thought that it was probably one of the most wonderful things that could happen in that Scully is very intelligent. She went ahead with her education. She has a very moral mind frame, she's honest, she's in pursuit of justice. All these very positive elements, qualities in a female. So, I was very delighted to hear that women were responding to those attributes.[634]

This interview provided a chance for Anderson to promote her character and the show's value. Here, the actor uses the medium to construct the show's value because her character was a role model, especially for younger audiences. This served as a legitimating factor, as it provides a positive cultural and social representation of a female to the audience.[635] While discourses in the previous chapters have noted telefantasy's ability to present stories on/using marginalised members of society, *The X-Files*' presentation of women seemed to hint at a disturbing negative trend in

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[634] 'How Gillian Anderson Became X-Files' Agent Scully, 1995', *CBC via YouTube*, 1995 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RcKeJR34bvU> [accessed 7 September 2018].
Other discussions of Anderson's influence:
Elias, Justine, 'On "X-Files," Ms. Reason Amid the Unreal', *The New York Times*, 29 September 1996, p. H29.
Pitney, John, Jr, 'The Truth Is Out There: X-Files, C-Span Link Finally Revealed', *Roll Call*, 25 June 1998, p. 1.

[635] Fuller, Sean, and Catherine Driscoll, 'HBO's Girls: Gender, Generation, and Quality Television', *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies*, 29 (2015), pp. 253–62 (261).

television, with the underrepresentation of strong female characters. That *The X-Files* addressed this issue by having a character like Scully appeared to display the creators behind the programme's awareness of contemporary feminist debates, which this interview highlighted.

As in TV I, scientific accuracy was an important part in the construction of legitimacy for shows with science fiction elements. Similar to *Star Trek* before it, *The X-Files* aspired for scientific verisimilitude using experts who checked that their fiction was as close to plausibility as possible. Jerry A. Coyne examined this factor in his article on the show:

> It is this obsession with accuracy that led Anne Simon, a virologist at the University of Massachusetts, to sign on as science consultant to "The X-Files," which is among the most popular science fiction shows in the history of television. "the Real Science Behind the X-Files" chronicles her attempts to lend scientific verisimilitude to otherwise weird and disconcerting tales.'[636]

Coyne detailed that despite some episodes having scientifically outlandish elements such as 'Hungry', where the monster of the week discovers he has a taste for human flesh when a shark's tooth is imbedded in his head, and 'Thief' which features a voodoo man performing various hexes on their victims, the show kept a high level of scientific verisimilitude. Both storylines, non-verisimilitudes to the extreme, featured in the same year of production as the

[636] Coyne, Jerry A., 'The Truth Is Way Out There: The Science Consultant to "The X-Files" Explains Mutants and Aliens', *The New York Times*, 10 October 1999, p. BR332. Goldberg, Cait, 'The Real Science Behind the X Files: Microbes, Meteorites, and Mutants', *Science News*, 13 November 1999, p. 306; Cerone, Daniel Howard, '"X-Files" Captures Earthlings!: Television, Poltergeists, Space Aliens and Mutants Feed Show's Hold on Younger Audience', *The Los Angeles Times*, 28 October 1994, p. WB8.

article's publication. Although Simon's paper aimed to give some scientific verisimilitude to these strange tales, the producers of the programme hiring this consultant displayed the value they placed to create a scientifically believable broadcast, even if labelled science fiction. More importantly, the press found it legitimating. This was the production's attempt to ground non-verisimilitudes generic elements of the programme in reality, trying to differentiate the programme from the less legitimate elements of the generic label. Hiring experts in the sciences provided a sense of 'realism' to the product in its own narrative universe, and presumably, as this thesis suggests, legitimacy. Often, discussions of 'quality' television use concepts of 'realism' to discredit and delegitimate certain genre programmes that do not adhere to its principles, particularly science fiction. Coyne's concluding argument to raise the perception of legitimacy for the broadcast as having realism even in its non-verisimilitudes generic elements improves the programme's 'quality'.[637] Furthermore, such deliberations are similar to the ongoing legitimation of science fiction as a genre. As discussed in previous chapters, discourses regarding science fiction found those texts that were the most accurate scientifically as having the most value.[638] So, as was the case for *Star Trek* from TV II, scientific verisimilitude continued as a legitimating factor for telefantasy throughout television history. Coyne's article may have represented a shift in the argument regarding the programme's generic label, at least when a show was more scientifically accurate.

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[637] Brower, Sue, 'Fans as Tastemakers: Viewers for Quality Television', in *The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media*, ed. by Lisa A. Lewis (New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 163–84 (179). Other discourses that discuss this notion of scientific reality include: 'Cheers "N" Jeers', *TV Guide*, 18 June 1994, p. 6.

[638] Buckland, Warren, 'Between Science Fact and Science Fiction: Spielberg's Digital Dinosaurs, Possible Worlds, and the New Aesthetic Realisim', *Screen*, 40 (1999), 177–92, p. 182.

This section showed how journalist's discussions provided evidence of how cultural commentary perceptively legitimates a programme. This factor's legitimacy, because of the genres own increase in value from TV I, holds a more prevalent place in TV II for journalists and television elites. As presented throughout the thesis, genre plays a significant role in many legitimating criteria for telefantasy. If this legitimating factor itself has gained legitimacy, then others like cultural commentary and textual elements could follow.

Textual Elements

The X-Files' generic elements played a role in discussions of the show's textual elements. While aspects such as production was detailed earlier (in relation to scientific plausibility), this section shows how other areas of the text was legitimated at this time, even if the show possessed non-verisimilitudes qualities. The relationship between the two legitimating factors of textual elements and genre featured in as a prominent discourse in the intellectualisation of the programme, as the show's relevancy extended towards an even greater legitimating publication than has been discussed so far, *The New Yorker.*

In 1994, James Wolcott authored an article on *The X-Files* in *The New Yorker*. This is significant for the thesis, as it is the only case study to feature in one of the USA's most legitimate publications while the programme was airing.[639] The literary magazine has continued since its inception in 1925 to be among the most influential and legitimate publications, and would certainly

[639] Lynes, R. (1976) 'Highbrow, Lowbrow, Middlebrow', *The Wilson Quarterly*, 1(1), pp. 146–158.

appeal to social groups closely scrutinising television.[640] The reason this broadcast appealed to this publication relates directly to the deliberation regarding 'quality' television found in the last chapter. As discussed previously, TV II was an era where networks attempted to create programming that appealed to highbrow, younger urban audiences (as they found them as one of the most lucrative, willing to buy what advertisers were selling), rather than trying to gain the highest ratings overall. Fox's effort to gain a foothold as a television network based itself upon attracting these lucrative audiences, with the creation of shows like *The X-Files.* It makes sense that networks airing a programme to attract this audience type would be discussed in a publication that also caters to the same highbrow audience. The inclusion of *The X-Files* in an article for the magazine served not just the broadcast's perception of legitimation in and of itself, but the discussions within the piece reveal the significance of genre and textual elements in the show's exceptionalism and the reason it featured in *The New Yorker*. The article began:

> What's hard is giving shape to the shadows on the ceiling—creating horror not out of human meat but out of the unresolved business of the unconscious. "The X-Files" (Fox, Fridays), which is the work of Chris Carter, employs scare tactics—blood spitting from a face slapped by an invisible hand, a locust-like plague infesting a courtroom—but it doesn't let them upstage its speculative purpose.

[640] Lynes, Russel, 'Highbrow, Lowbrow, Middlebrow', *The Wilson Quarterly,* 1 (1976), 146–58, p. 158.

> Each episode is a mood piece—a queasy odyssey. It's television's first otherworldly procedural.[641]

Wolcott connected aesthetics to genre, namely horror. But, as the article pointed out, the types of horror presented featured 'the unresolved business of the unconscious' rather than 'human meat'. These kinds of descriptions indicated removal of the typical horror found in a human antagonist or other such monster and reemphasized the more cerebral model of horror *The X-Files'* popularity contributed to the era. The journalist also discussed the piece as 'otherworldly procedural', combining generic elements of the show, investigation and fantasy. The investigation genre provided more legitimacy than genres such as science fiction with its history of valuable programming like *Hill Street Blues.* Using the crime genre compared with the less valuable telefantasy one could have been the writer's attempt to legitimate the programme with a *New Yorker* audience more accustomed to 'quality' versions of the crime genre.

The description of the horror found in the show led the reader to infer that the broadcast existed on a more cerebral level, using the generic element to tap into the mind of the spectator. Hence, the article implied that the show exhibited narrative complexity and required its audience to follow the events of the broadcast. This changed the perception of legitimacy of *The X-Files* because of the connection to 'quality' television discussed previously, as the case study offered complex narrative and themes, which for those such as Jason Mittell represent the highest value in this era of TV.[642]

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[641] Wolcott, James, '"X" Factor', *The New Yorker*, 18 April 1994 https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1994/04/18/x-factor.
[642] Mittell, Jason, 'Narrative Complexity in Contemporary American Television', *The Velvet Light Trap*, 58 (2006), pp. 29–40 (29).

Furthermore, regarding *The X-Files'* textual elements and genre, Wolcott described the importance of hybridity, where programmes combine several generic elements into its identity.[643] The piece maintained that the show displayed a great amount of humour, in the case study's crime/investigative generic aspects, while its pacing (editing/directing) remained constantly intriguing. Such factors classed the broadcast as 'quality' television but also positively influenced the perception of its legitimacy.[644] He described this facet of the programme specifically in its comedic elements stating 'the show [has a] deadpan humor, as each eruption in the energy field is met with dry-ice understatement by Mulder or capped by an inspired sick joke.'

Wolcott took the time within the article to analyse the programme's textual qualities in relation to another example of telefantasy, *Twin Peaks*:

> What's distinctive about "The X-Files," apart from its ingenious story lines and gun-swivel camerawork, is its suffused atmosphere. Shot in Vancouver, the show's exteriors seem familiar yet anonymous—muted. David Lynch wrecked the trance of "Twin Peaks" when he abandoned all interest in even a quaint semblance of normality and began to strobe the screen in a fit of expressionism. (His feature film "Twin Peaks: Fire Walk with Me" was even trippier.) "The X-Files" doesn't make the mistake of elevating its

[643] Other texts that also take note of the show's hybrid genre include: 'David Duchovny. Gilian Anderson', *TV Guide*, 6 January 1996, p. 16; Nollinger, Mark, '20 Things You Need to Know About The X-Files', *TV Guide*, 6 April 1996; Sternsgold, '"X-Files" Stretches to Film', *The New York Times*, 21 September 1997, p. AR9.
[644] Newman and Levine, p. 26.

> sensibility at the expense of its subjects. It takes time to seep into its surroundings.[645]

Here, Wolcott examined the relationship between the programme's mise-en-scene and cinematography. He assessed the product as a critic, as others analyse an independent film. As seen in the previous chapter, the networks used legitimating criteria such as cinematography and setting to draw in the lucrative urban audience of 18-49 year olds. This moved the programme away from regular television fare normally covered by reviews and instead placed it in the domain of the critic.[646] The difference between reviews and criticisms comes from the rhetoric and writing used to study the text. While reviews simply state if a show was good in the most basic sense, a criticism offers deeper and longer critique.[647] The textual analysis covered by the article above is similarly explored by Jan Delasara in her academic study of *The X-Files.* Delasara examines the mood and tone of the broadcast, especially regarding its dark presentation.[648] Although Delasara, as an academic, went slightly further in examinations of the show's mise-en-scene, comparing it to American film noir and German expressionism, it offers similar thoughts to the journalistic article. What this displays was the diminishing gap between the two fields, journalism and academia, when discussing *The X-Files.* The result of the close of this gap

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[645] Other discussions of the show's textual qualities include: Sterngold, James, '"X-Files": Adventure for Directors: Stronger Roles Than Usual in the Shaping of a Series', *The New York Times,* 10 March 1998, p. E1; Meisler, Andy, 'A New Season and an Old Question: Do Familiar Faces Mean Success?', *The New York Times,* 10 September 1995, p. TE4.
[646] Smith, Barbara Herrnstein, *Contingencies of Value: Alternate Perspectives for Critical Theory* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 85.
[647] Baumann, p. 120.
[648] Delasara.

might alter the perception of the case study's legitimacy, because such discourses displayed the broadcast as complex and valuable.

The journalistic discussions found in this section show in-depth discussion of the programme in terms of mise-en-scene and cinematography contrasting the deliberations of textual elements found in TV I. In *The New Yorker*, there was much more detailed analysis of these aspects of the text. While discourses of textual elements in the previous two case studies existed vaguely, just in writing, directing, or acting, this article from TV II provided an evolved rhetoric to study this legitimating factor, including the dialogue of narrative and a show's cerebral qualities. In terms of legitimacy, this type of evaluation, usually reserved for more legitimate media such as film or literature, displayed a development of the concept of cultural value for both television and telefantasy between TV I and TV II.

Comparison

When journalists compared *The X-Files* to other cultural products it was usually to this thesis' first case study, *The Twilight Zone*.[649] They usually based these comparisons on both programmes' generic elements, as well as their textual components, especially regarding atmosphere. Harriet Winslow of *The Washington Post* pointed out the connection between the two shows in her discussion with the programme's creator Chris Carter. In

[649] Examples along with the quotation in the main text include: Kaplan, Michael, 'Invasion of the X-Philes', *TV Guide*, 20 January 1996; Jarvis, Jeff, 'The Couch Critic: The X-Files', *TV Guide*, 26 February 1994, p. 8.

the interview, she referenced these comparisons to Carter and received his thoughts on the subject:

> Perhaps the show appeals because it challenges our set notions, as did Rod Serling's "The Twilight Zone." But what is the goal of the show? To scare, amaze, mystify or simply raise a lot of pertinent questions? "All of the above," said Carter. "I think that comparison (with "The Twilight Zone") only goes so far."[650]

Winslow's and other journalists' comparison here to *The Twilight Zone,* a broadcast that became accepted as one of US television's best and most influential programmes,[651] reflected the perceived high value of *The X-Files.* However, while Carter acknowledges the comparison, he promoted that his programme does more than the show from TV I. He believed that his product examined themes and story points in a more in-depth way than *The Twilight Zone.* Carter found that because *The X-Files* better executed its generic elements, creating scares based on reality, as well as the programme's goal to push beyond the known verisimilitude, made the broadcast better than *The Twilight Zone.* His discourse appearing inside the publication provided the opportunity for him to promote his programme's cultural value to its readers.

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[650] Winslow, Harriet, '"The X-Files: Fox"s Frightening Friday Series', *The Washington Post*, 5 June 1994, p. Q6; Goldberg, Robert, 'Heavy-Hitting Shows for the Unwhacked', *The Wall Street Journal*, 20 June 1994, p. A11; Cerone, Daniel Howard, '"X-Files" Captures Earthlings!: Television, Poltergeists, Space Aliens and Mutants Feed Show's Hold on Younger Audience', *The Los Angeles Times*, 28 October 1994, p. WB8.

[651] A *Rolling Stone* article from 2016 lists *The Twilight Zone* as number 7 on a list of the 100 greatest programmes of all time: '100 Greatest Television Shows of All Time', *Rolling Stone*, 2016 <https://www.rollingstone.com/tv/tv-lists/100-greatest-tv-shows-of-all-time-105998/the-twilight-zone-102616/> [accessed 5 September 2018]. Further proof from the time of this study includes *The Los Angeles Times'* Randy Lewis writing about the show 'wasn't any mere TV series.'
Lewis, Randy, 'Key Episode in Rod Serling Series Is Really Good TV Show', *The Los Angeles Times*, 3 July 1990, p. 0CF2.

That journalists mainly compared *The X-Files* to another television programme, one deemed legitimate and as valuable within the medium, demonstrated the evolution of comparison as a legitimating factor, along with the development of the perception of telefantasy's value. No longer were comparisons to exceptionalism reserved for media other than television. In TV II, it was possible to compare perceived legitimate TV to legitimate television of the past, something not possible in TV I.[652]

Authorship

Like *Star Trek*, the studio and journalists placed Chris Carter in the role of the author for *The X-Files* only after the show began. This thesis has shown authorship as a prevalent legitimating factor throughout, and that is no different here. It can be stated that authorship had the least change in actual discourses from cultural commentators, as the authors' promotion of their respective television programme provided them power to alter the discourses of legitimacy using the value associated with these publications. The lack of an authorship figure, particularly before a programme airs, means that legitimacy from this factor stagnates until one is established. However, once an author is established, both praise and criticism are directed at them, more so than on any other individual working on the show. While journalists took time to determine Carter

[652] While this may be seen as a historical issue, as there was not as much television to compare to during TV I as there was in TV II, the two case studies come at a period when there was at least around a decade's worth of television to compare to, yet none came. Furthermore, this point demonstrates that the normalisation of a medium into society provides a factor in legitimacy. By the period of TV II, television had become normalised within the USA (one need only look at the number of television in homes per decade for that), Edgerton, p. 77.

as the author, other groups, like fans, did confirm his role, which was picked up on in the press. The establishment of an author, and discussions regarding this figure, worked toward the intellectualisation of the programme and telefantasy.

Carter role as sole creator of *The X-Files* took time to establish and was not initially clear. Take, for example, the following excerpt from Tom Shales at *The Washington Post* in 1993:

> Writer-producer Chris Carter and Director Robert Mandel should probably get credit for trying to bring something a little different to primetime [..] But "X-Files" is too iffy and inconclusive to be satisfying.[653]

Notice that in this early review of the programme, the writer expressed apprehension of the show's quality and cultural value. Instead of Carter credited as the lone author, the director Robert Mandel also received mention. However, since this text came out as a preview of the first season's initial episode, it was before Carter's establishment as author. Carter was relatively unknown in the industry before *The X-Files*, mirroring Roddenberry's relationship with the early days of *Star Trek.* Unlike, for example, Rod Serling and *The Twilight Zone*, the press did not have a ready-made authorship figure. This recognition, as the below shows, comes later once the show comes on the air. The result of a clear author meant the programme initially could not benefit from this legitimating factor. The resulting delegitimate nature of the show matched the lower cultural value the journalist believed its network had, at the time calling *The X-Files* a programme that 'does fit in with Fox's persistently tabloid tone.'[654]

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[653] Shales, Tom, 'For the Circular "Files"', *The Washington Post*, 10 September 1993, p. G7.
[654] Ibid.

As time passed, and the product established itself, so did Carter's role as author, something recognised by both print media and online fans. The case study's fandom in relation to Carter featured in another piece from Harriet Winslow of *The Washington Post*:

> The show has a burgeoning following, including a fan club based in New Hampshire and heavy traffic on the Internet computer network. Carter's assistant prints out messages for him – "instant feedback," he called it. Carter acknowledged that he listens to fan reaction to the episodes, but pays little attention to suggestions for stories. "we have a very clear vision of the show and what we want to do," he said. Which means no plans for romance between Scully and Mulder.[655]

The above not only placed Carter in the authorship role, as he promotes that it was ultimately up to him what stories they used in the programme and which were not, but also as an author that interacted with his audience. Whether the networks pushed this integration, as they wanted to appeal to the lucrative 'cult' audience, or if this was Carter's idea alone, it nevertheless implied that the authorship role belonged to Chris Carter. These interactions between audience and author appear similar to Roddenberry's interaction with his fans as discussed in Chapter 4. However, while the creator of *Star Trek* did not have the same immediate feedback due to the limited technology of letter writing, Carter could connect with his fans more directly through the internet. Although Carter stated he did not use fans' ideas for stories, he takes into consideration their feedback

[655] Powers, William F, '"X-Files": Signs of Intelligent Life: Cult Favorite Gains a Following Among the Masses', *The Washington Post1*, 17 September 1995, p. G1. Other early discourses that also failed to place Carter as the author include: Goldman, Kevin, 'News Corp.'s Fox to Add Six Hours of New Programs', *The Wall Street Journal*, 26 May 1993, p. B8; 'Users "Downloading Like Crazy"', *The New York Times*, 6 November 1994, p. H28.

in a limited capacity. Such disregard for suggestion regarding his work gives Carter the appearance of author, unwilling to bend to the will of his audience (even though the romance dismissed above eventually happens), creating his story in accord with his own artistic vision.

Wolcott in a 1997 *New Yorker* issue provided further insight into Chris Carter's role as author. Below, the writer discussed several different legitimating values to relay both the programme's and Carter's own cultural value. Rather than simply placing him as the creator, Wolcott connected authorship with textual elements within the show, tying the textual, cultural, and comparative qualities of the broadcast directly to its author. He described Carter's role on the programme below:

> Carter has carved out his own little neat department of metaphysical angst. The success of Carter's seduction technique lies in the queasy contrast between gruesome horrors and a lush, becalmed spirit of voyeurism so pure and intent that it borders on a trance state. Not since Michael Mann ("Miami Vice") and David Lynch ("Twin Peaks") has a single mind so altered the mood of TV. Carter's shows [referring to *The X-Files* and *Millennium* (Fox, 1996-1999)] have their own expressionistic climate. Both are shot in and around Vancouver, with low ceilings, low, damp skies, and a lingering fog that mildews and wilts the corners of every image.[656]

[656] Wolcott, James, 'Too Much Pulp', *The New Yorker*, 6 January 1997, p. 76.
Other articles that discuss Carter as the series' main author include: Schlosser, Joe, 'Twentieth Topples Warner', *Broadcasting and Cable*, 24 May 1999, p. 19; '"X-Files" Creator Eyes Feature', *Film Journal International*, 1 June 2000, p. 96.

Such an association between creator and creation provided an ongoing legitimating factor, as these discussions were similar to perceptions of Rod Serling and Gene Roddenberry's work on *The Twilight Zone* and *Star Trek* respectively (although discussions of their shows did not include as much textual detail). The writer compared Carter as an author to two other television/film authors, David Lynch and Michael Mann, a significant comparison in terms of Carter's own legitimacy as well as the show's. This comparison also impacted the discussion around the author's perceived legitimacy as while Lynch and Mann were known figures in TV and film at that time, Carter was not. His placement alongside two well-known filmmakers elevated the value of the programme, just by association. Wolcott made the comparison regarding the impact that Carter had on the television industry. Like Andrew Sarris, who finds that 'the auteur critic is obsessed with the wholeness of art and the artist',[657] Wolcott too demonstrated a determination to strengthen the connection between Carter and *The X-Files*.

While Wolcott found much to praise for Carter's work on the show as an author, he also did not shy away from criticising him for what he believes to be a loss in the quality in later seasons. Wolcott stated:

> What made "The X-Files" special when it debuted, in 1993, aside from its nifty premise (F.B.I. agents investigating paranormal activity), was its negative capability: its deadpan aplomb and willingness to enter into the weird spirit of each case study. So far this season, that playful-worried fascination is mostly gone.

[657] Sarris, Andrew, *The American Cinema: Directors and Directions, 1929-1968* (New York: Da Capo, 1968).

> Duchovny's Fox Mulder, once a worthy successor to Sherlock Holmes, a quirky bachelor entranced by his own brain, has become an action hero with a mean streak. The coarsening of his character is part of the general downgrading of the show. More and more, it exploits gratuitous killing to an unconscionable degree. "The X-Files" became a sleeper hit, accumulating its audience and escalating in its shock effects as it went along. But, with its success, Carter found himself in the predicament of having to top himself.[658]

Here, Wolcott described many legitimate facets that he found lost quality in his contemporary, and he blamed Carter directly for it. Mulder, for example, was stated as being an 'action hero' rather than 'a worthy successor to Sherlock Holmes.'[659] The writer used comparison to a literary figure to increase the perceived cultural value of the programme's past and now to indicate its decline by using one of the least legitimate film genres (and contrasting it to both a more legitimate genre in investigation as well as literature).[660] In the final sentence, Wolcott stated that Carter, who created the extraordinarily successful seasons of the show, now struggled to continue such success.

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[658] Wolcott, James, 'Too Much Pulp', *The New Yorker*, 6 January 1997, p. 76. Other articles that discuss the show's waning quality and its creator include: Rutenberg, Jim, 'Creator of "X-Files" Lifts His Profile: "X-Files" Creator Lifts His Profile for New Program', *The New York Times*, 5 March 2001, p. C1.

[659] Sherlock Holmes is a fictional literary character created by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, first published in *A Study in Scarlett* in 1887. 'Sherlock Holmes', *The Official Site of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle Literary Estate* <https://www.arthurconandoyle.com/sherlockholmes.html> [accessed 29 November 2019].

[660] While it is not in this project's remit to judge the value of any other media or genre, it is possible to understand, if only in part, the value of the action film in the 1990s. One only need look at the lack of action films in the Academy Award for best picture for this. 'Academy Award for Best Picture Winners (1990s)', *IMDb* <https://www.imdb.com/list/ls034700845/> [accessed 26 August 2018].

A strong author figure attracted both praise and blame. Although, such comments also spoke to the perils of TV series authorship, where economic demands to keep a show going can create pressure to maintain quality over time even when an author is out of ideas for the programme. However, even a negative review that established an author still changed the impressions of the show's legitimacy somewhat, as stated previously, an artwork needs an artist, even if sometimes their work is judged inadequate. And the development of 'quality' television during TV II created a greater space for the discussion of authorship figures in television. If a programme is to fit into this canon it must have an author, the role Carter eventually filled for *The X-Files.*

Audience

Many journalistic sources, as seen below, pointed out the programme's ability to draw a smaller 'cult' audience. Although academic discussions surrounding 'cult' audiences is something that this thesis hopes to avoid, what matters was how journalists discuss them and in what context. However, most simply, a cult audience is a small loyal fandom.[661] The reason needed for an explanation of this audience results from the influence on the perception of legitimacy such a viewership had. Such discourses relate to what was discussed in the previous chapter, with networks identifying these fan segments as lucrative and hence desirable.

[661] Gwenllian-Jones, Sara, and Roberta Pearson, *Cult Television* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), p. 1.

Although Roddenberry used these smaller fan audiences himself to legitimate his programme and keep it on the air, by the time TV II emerged the media had some awareness of these fanbases. Yet, as the below will show, not all journalists adopted the legitimating value of this group. The X-Philes was often the most common name to refer to the fans who followed the programme, much like the Trekkies that originated in the 1970s. However, this fan base emerged in a time where connectivity was available beyond just meeting and specially arranged conventions. Indeed, while generally the television industry did not present much interest in the internet until the convergence era or TV III,[662] it is undeniable that early internet users impacted *The X-Files* during TV II. Though YouTube comments or debates on Reddit are commonplace now, in the early and mid-1990s, much of the internet and its interactivity were alien to the general public. These fans, as well as this new medium they began to use, affected cultural commentators, swaying their evaluation of the perceived value of the programme and its legitimacy.[663]

The 1994 article by *The New York Times's* James Barron provides an example of the delegitimating influence of the product's online fanbase. Barron analysed what he calls a new kind of 'couch potato', a long time, delegitimate, name for those described as television addicts. The case study of his article happens to be an X-Phile:

> 'My user name is BAR1, and I'm an on-line addict': The terrible untold story of a generation hooked on the deadly combination of

[662] Although Fox did try to enter the online landscape, creating a website for their fans in 1995: Kenny, Glenn, 'The Truth Is Out There (and On-Line)', *TV Guide*, 8 July 1995.

[663] This point is explored by Henry Jenkins in; Jenkins, Henry, *Fans, Bloggers, and Gamers: Exploring Participatory Culture* (New york: New York University Press, 2006), p. 38.

> computers and TV.' 'Christopher Jusco watches his favourite television show from a chrome-legged swivel chair he bought at a yard sale. The moment a commercial comes on, he whirls around to his I.B.M compatible personal computer, dials up an on-line service and types out messages to other fans who are also turned in to "The X-Files," the Fox network's New Age answer to "The Twilight Zone" or "The Outer Limits."' … 'Never mind that spending hours in front of a computer screen yammering about television gives new meaning to the expression "get a life" – or, perhaps, the expression "decline and fall of the republic." Mr. Cheen insists that what is available online, from networks-issue star photos to bulletin boards where fans "chat" with one another, is different from television itself.'[664]

Rather than praising the fan's innovative use of technology, in 1994 when the internet was a relatively new item in the US household, the writer instead demeaned and ridiculed him. Barron's discussion of *The X-Files* itself was limited to simply calling it a new version of *The Twilight Zone* as he mainly talked about his interviewee.[665] He went as far as to state that this fan should "get a life",[666] reflecting the usual discourse related to fan behaviour, as it has

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[664] Barron, James, 'A New Species of Couch Potato Takes Root', *The New York Times*, 6 November 1994, p. H1. Other articles that include a negative perspective of online fans include: Thomas, Weber E., 'The Truth Is Out There, and so Are Some of These Fans' Theories', *The Wall Street Journal*, 23 May 1997, p. B1.1; Marin, Rick, and Gregory Beals, 'Decoding The X-Files', *Newsweek*, 22 June 1998, pp. 70–76.

[665] A *Rolling Stone* article from 2016 lists *The Twilight Zone* as number 7 on a list of the 100 greatest programmes of all time: '100 Greatest Television Shows of All Time', *Rolling Stone*, 2016 <https://www.rollingstone.com/tv/tv-lists/100-greatest-tv-shows-of-all-time-105998/the-twilight-zone-102616/> [accessed 5 September 2018].

[666] This quote is eerily similar to the William Shatner quote discussed in the previous chapter, mirroring a continuation of these discourses from TV I.

often been the case that fans, especially those of telefantasy, are usually stigmatised as 'un-cool', the bottom rung of popular culture.[667] Barron's article treated fans in the negative manner associated to TV I, as demonstrated by examples in Chapter 5. The difference here compared to other discussions of fandom was that the writer was not only ridiculing the fan for his obsession with a television programme, he also derided him because of the medium he interacted with.[668] This seemed to create a kind of double delegitimacy, both related to fandom and the adoption of a new medium. The internet in this case attracted some delegitimating discourse as a new medium, similar to the discussions TV I faced.[669] While in certain respects *The X-Files* had gained legitimacy, this example displayed that fans still appear to cause damage to its cultural value.

Though the delegitimacy of the fan above could mostly be blamed for his use of the internet, there was suggestion that The X-Philes caused the programme further issues of legitimacy. Peter Boyle, who won an Emmy for his role as a supporting cast member in the broadcast, provided an example. In a *Los Angeles Times* interview, Boyle stated that he was '" now a fan, but [..] too old to be that kind of fan […] -- "I don't get wrapped up in it."'[670] Evidently, fandom of the programme, at least according to Boyle, was based on age. While not blatantly delegitimating, it provided an explanation of how older generations

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[667] Howell, p. 39.

[668] New technology often causes fear and alienation with large portions of society: Mordini, Emilio, 'Technology and Fear: Is Wonder the Key?', *TRENDS in Biotechnology*, 25 (2007), pp. 544–46 (545).

[669] Levine discusses the emergence of a new delegitimate medium helping legitimate an older medium. Levine, 1988, p. 68.

[670] Braxton, Greg, and Susan King, 'It's NBC and Cable Guys', *The Los Angeles Times*, 1996 <http://articles.latimes.com/1996-09-09/entertainment/ca-42180_1_comedy-series/2> [accessed 17 July 2018].

viewed fandoms. For older generations they found participation in fandoms undesirable because of their age. They lacked the ability or desire to 'get wrapped up in it'. Although Boyle does not spell out this reason, it indicated that he lacked either the time, and/or the resources required to partake in a fandom for the programme, and/or interest in doing so. Placement in this social hierarchy apparently bases fans as younger people who had the knowledge and time to participate in fan activities. Although such leisure time indicated the ability to indulge in legitimating activities; for example, Bourdieu's theories on 'highbrow' individuals having the free time to indulge in artistic leisurely pursuit while lower classes are limited to activities of mere survival.[671] Boyle's words related much more closely to John Frow's work stating that such activities are no longer based on class.[672] Instead, Boyle made a distinction about fandom being something for younger generations to follow rather than those of his age or for those with limited amounts of free time.

However, there was at times a sense of a change in the construction of fans' legitimacy, even if it came with a level of scepticism within the press. Take, for example, the following article from *The New York Times* that described X-Philes somewhat positively:

> Its continuing cult appeal is evident on numerous Web sites, where plot developments are pursued like the Dead Sea Scrolls, and in the sales of books, T-shirts and memorabilia at fan conventions. Those elements keep "The X-Files" television show in the same league as

[671] Gartman, p. 440.
[672] Frow.

> "Star Trek," which blazed the path in converting characters created for television into a big box office movie franchise.[673]

The author accepted the idea that the fandom of the programme equalled *Star Trek's*, one of the longest and most famous television fandoms in existence. Here, rather than negative associations, fandom was something worth revering and enjoying, displaying the dedication that one had to this series.[674] This commitment took several forms, including the purchase of merchandise as well as the search for information on future developments of the series. As seen in the previous chapter, networks and show creators desired fans because of their ability to create extra income, with their purchasing of products based upon the show. This article indicated a turning point in the argument of legitimacy for the series, as fandom became more accepted and no longer served as a threat to a show's legitimacy.[675]

Indeed, a certain journalist began to discuss fans as somewhat of a legitimating factor, rather than a factor that clearly delegitimates. Take the following article from *The New York Times* by Carey Goldberg talking about the case study's fanbase:

> Around now, a certain segment of society, people who wear T-shirts reading "The Truth is Out There" and "Trust No One," will be

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[673] Carter, Bill, '"X-Files" Tries to Keep Its Murky Promise: "The X-Files" Tries to Keep Its Murky Promise', *The New York Times*, 7 November 1998, p. B7; Other texts that discussed fans in a more legitimate manner include: Kaplan, Michael, 'Invasion of the X-Philes', *TV Guide*, 20 January 1996; Garrett, Diane, 'Where Everybody's a Critic: On the Internet, TV Shows Create Endless Chatter About Everything From Characters to Plot. The Networks Say the Online Talk Doesn't Result in Program Changes, but Isn't It Only a Matter of Time?', *The Los Angeles Times*, 12 November 1995, p. F72.
[674] Hills, Matt, 'Negative Fan Stereotypes ("Get A Life!") and Positive Fan Injunctions ("Everyone's Got to Be a Fan of Something!"): Returning to Hegemony Theory in Fan Studies', *Spectator*, 25 (2005), pp. 35–47 (44).
[675] Howell, p. 38.

> nodding, having recognized a first-season episode of […] "The X-Files." Often hooked worse than any Trekkie, these people are known as X-Philes.[676]

Rather than using fans to delegitimate the show as seen in the articles above, Goldberg instead utilised it to alter perceptions of the product's value, demonstrating the very dynamic change this particular legitimating factor had during TV II. The one aspect of the discussion that linked to the delegitimation of such fan activity was the notion they were 'hooked worse than any Trekkie,' as this comment presented a problem as a legitimating criterion in a few ways. During most of TV I such fandom was accepted as extremely delegitimate, both for the fans and for the programme, as discussed in the previous chapter with the example using *Star Trek* fans and their need to 'get a life'. It appears as if there was a change during TV II of the cultural value of fans, as the article did not overly concern itself with deliberations of the delegitimating value of them. Instead, the writer simply stated this audience as another aspect of its popularity and legitimacy.

While certain authors remained uncertain about the connection between fandom and legitimacy, others saw how such fandoms impacted the perception of the programme's value. An article titled 'Signs of Intelligent Life: Cult Favourite Gains A Following Among the Masses' in *The Washington Post* evidences this. The title showed how this cultural commentator thought of fan

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[676] Goldberg, Carey, 'The Science Adviser to Whaaat?', *The New York Times*, 6 January 1998, p. F1. Other discussions of the show that place fans in a more legitimate light include:
Woods, Mark, 'World View: "X," "Melrose" Fans Respond to Pay TV False Alarm in OZ', *Variety*, 18 September 1995, p. 46.
Tomashoff, Craig, 'Cover Story: Programme to Defy Corrup', *The New York Times*, 4 March 2001, p. TE4.

audiences, as the editor found that a sign of intelligent life was reserved for a few cult members and that the majority of society was unintelligent (until they started watching the show too).[677] In the article itself, William F. Powers displayed an understanding of the relationship between the programme, its audience, and the industry's need for certain demographics:

> Already there are fan conventions and on-line sites where minutiae of plot and character are discussed with Trekkyesque ardour. […] Often classified as a "cult hit" the series doesn't appear on the lists of the 20 most popular shows. […] So what makes this series so contagious? And is it destined, as now seems likely, to cut a wide swath through the pop-culture landscape.[678]

In this example, fans serve as trend setters, rather than strange delegitimating individuals.

The above examples proved the contentious status of the fan audience during this time as a legitimating factor. Henry Jenkins and John Tulloch attempt to explain the misconception about the delegitimacy of fans during TV II. They state that:

> The challenge of visually representing science fiction audiences proves vexing. Stereotypes abound— pimple-faced nerds in rubber Vulcan ears or wrapped in multi-coloured scarfs, overweight women clutching collectables and dolls. Such images of the science fiction

[677] Other discourses that describe the movement from cult to mainstream audience of the show include: 'The Faces Behind the "Files"', *TV Guide*, 11 March 1995, p. 8.
[678] Powers, William F., 'Signs of Intelligent Life: Cult Favourite Gains a Following Among the Masses', *The Washington Post*, 1995 <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/style/1995/09/17/x-files-signs-of-intelligent-life/d47b4b54-8393-4ded-b636-74a9629a0880/?utm_term=.5c2a132a5b74>

> audience surface throughout the popular press, bringing with them familiar assumptions that these fans and followers are obsessed with trivia and gadgetry, unable to separate fiction from reality, incapable of fitting within mainstream society, and incapable of resisting the latest programme-related merchandise. The persistence of these stereotypes has more to do with the limited background (and imagination) of more casual viewers than with the reality of active fan experience.[679]

While talking about science fiction fans specifically, this analysis extends to telefantasy fans as well. Jenkins and Tulloch find that rather than fans fitting the delegitimate stereotype, the media instead constructs this identity. However, in terms of perceptions of value, how the sources view this audience matters. Although fandom had yet to evolve into the legitimating factor it becomes in later decades,[680] within the discussions surrounding *The X-Files* there existed evidence that some journalists' opinions were evolving. This evolution may have resulted from telefantasy's acceptance within another section of its audience, academics.

Academic Discourses

In the previous chapter, I explored the development of television studies within academia and its legitimating effect on TV and telefantasy. I also discussed how the academic study of television was a relatively new legitimating factor, as

[679] Tulloch and Jenkins, p. vii.
[680] Newman and Levine, p. 58.

there were limited studies on the medium during TV I. Baumann claims that the reason academic study becomes a legitimating factor is because society generally follows the evaluative trends of academia.[681] In other words, if academics find a topic as worthy of study (depending on how it is studied), the rest of society finds value in this subject, especially the television elite as a result of academics' intellectualisation of a topic.[682] As such, the following section examines how journalists discussed academic discourses along with other studies of the programme.

In an article in the *Washington Post*, Eric L. Wee examined the acceptance of television shows such as *The X-Files* into academic discussion by attending an academic conference on popular culture in 1998.[683] He found it completely understandable that university students 'rather analyse "The X-Files" than Dante Alighieri's "Inferno."'[684] In terms of legitimacy, Wee acknowledged that while Dante's work was the more legitimate and classically studied, it was no longer as relevant as the Fox show. Like legitimacy itself, Wee expressed the notion that academia too changes with the times, with studies evolving to remain current in society and culture. However, despite its popularity with students and the revenues such courses brought to the university, he also acknowledged that

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[681] Baumann, 2001.

[682] Although there may be some who still have issue with media studies legitimacy within academia. For an example see: Luckhurst, Tim, 'What Is the Point of Media Studies', *The Independent*, 2006 <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/media/what-is-the-point-of-media-studies-413472.html> [accessed 26 November 2018]. However, despite television academia being ridiculed by those in the media, its very existence as an area of study allows society to at least see the potential behind its discourse. As stated previously, the intellectualisation of a medium, especially into academia, provides an evolution of the medium's perceived cultural value.

[683] While this discussion within the media seems to be unique it nevertheless offers a perspective into academic discourse that were prevalent during this period as will be seen throughout the section.

[684] Wee, Eric L., 'Pop Goes the Culture', *The Washington Post*, 19 April 1998. Dante Alighieri's (1625 – 1321) "Inferno" was a section of his epic poem the *Divine Comedy*.

certain members of society would oppose the acceptance of popular culture studies into academia. The issue Wee described here brought up a problem with one of the key arguments of Bourdieu and his notion of cultural value. Bourdieu finds that universities allow the cultural capital to legitimate people and in effect legitimate a cultural work.[685] However, it is not as simple as stating that since popular culture has entered the academy, it is now legitimate. No, instead, within the academy itself, there is the development of micro taste cultures, much like that described in Sarah Thornton and her discussion of UK disco culture, as well as the group studied in this thesis. Within academia, there is a lack of consensus what merits academic study and the very legitimacy of its acceptance into universities. While describing some talks he listened to at the conference, Wee pointed out what they said about *The X-Files*:

> "What about transgression of human-animal boundaries with Mulder's first name being Fox?" asks University of Alberta English lecturer Ann Howey in one seminar, referring to the lead male character of "The X-Files."
>
> "There may be something there," nods Karen Pike, a University of Toronto doctoral student who just presented a paper called "From Dracula to 'The X-Files': Exsanguination and Other Boundary Issues of the Postmodern Fantastic." It's interesting, she says, that the female lead is named Dana. That could be a male or female name – and doesn't Dana Scully act like the logical, archetypal man sometimes? Yes, we're talking about cross-gender boundary issues here.

[685] Bourdieu, p. 20.

Throughout the text, Wee supported this developing area of study, understanding both its relevance and value in academia. He presented to his readers an evaluation of *The X-Files* and other programmes as having value within academia. The positioning of the product as worthy of academic attention influenced the perception of the show's value through its inclusion within the institution. Furthermore, journalists evaluating the programme's acceptance into academia allowed an even broader audience to have this idea of value, than if they held the conference without any journalistic presence.

The conference attended by Wee was but one example of *The X-Files'* presence within academia. Other cases also include academic discourses found in texts such as *Deny All Knowledge: Reading The X Files*[686] that analyse topics such as the programme's popularity, its portrayal of gender roles, and its role within popular culture as a whole. Another text, *Alone in the Universe? Aliens, The X-Files and Gods,*[687] used the show as an example of the fascination current society has with the investigation of the paranormal. *Culture: From the Kennedy Assassination to the X-Files,*[688] as the title suggests, investigated the then contemporary culture's attraction to governmental conspiracies that were an integral part of the programme's plotline. Though these were but three examples given here to avoid an extensive list of academic work, it supplies an understanding of the types of thoughts academics were having regarding

[686] Cartwright, Marla, *Deny All Knowledge: Reading the X-Files* (London: Faber, 1996).
[687] Wilkinson.
[688] Knight.

the show when it was airing. While not discussed in journalistic media, limiting their effectiveness on the television elite audience, academics' intellectualisation of the subject influences the rest of society's value, evidenced further by the similarities of their discourses.

Awards

Academia was not the only institution to legitimate the show, as *The X-Files* made an impact with several award providing bodies. Although the list of awards and nominations are far too long to list and examine here,[689] there is a need to analyse the most legitimating and those discussed in the media examined in this thesis. The changes in this legitimating factor in TV II in comparison to TV I will be in regard to the increase in the number of recognitions by awarding institutions and if these are discussed more in the primary sources. In terms of those that would alter the notions of the series' legitimacy, perhaps the most influential award is the Peabody.

The origins of the Peabody Awards came when The National Association of Broadcasters noticed a gap in awards for radio, as they did not have their equivalent of the Pulitzer Prize. The National Association of Broadcasters created a committee to bestow the Peabody award to those they deemed to have shown broadcasting 'excellence'. Although initially only an award for radio, the committee began awarding network television in 1948, and then eventually cable in 1981.[690] Although it seems that the 'excellence' they

[689] For a complete list of awards and nominations please see Appendix B.
[690] 'Who We Are', *Peabodyawards.com* <http://www.peabodyawards.com/about#originawards> [accessed 5 September 2018].

award proves slightly vague, they recognised programmes that best analyse or report on current social issues or ones that tell their stories in engaging ways, and certainly journalists found winners of the award of worth to write about.[691] To quote the current director of the Peabody awards Dr. Jeffery P. Jones:

> Among the many things we claim about media, it is, ultimately, a place for storytelling. Through electronic media, we recognize and engage each other with the stories we tell and the stories we attend to there. The Peabody Awards exist to recognize when storytelling is done well in electronic media; when stories there *matter*.
>
> These are stories that engage viewers as citizens as well as consumers. By recognizing specific programming, the Peabody Awards spotlight instances of how electronic media can teach, expand our horizons, defend the public interest, or encourage empathy with others. Such excellent stories exist across genres and media types, and across regions and borders.

The committee of the Peabody dialogue and then vote on works to award, with all winners being unanimous. When looking at the winners of the award, one notices a trend of news programmes, documentaries, dramas, and variety broadcast, but not telefantasy.[692] This continued until 1987 where *Star Trek: the Next Generation's* first season episode titled 'The Big Good-Bye' won the prestigious award.[693] *Star Trek: The Next Generation* was a continuation of the

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[691] '2 Peabodys for Fox and 6 for WGBH', *The New York Times*, 4 April 1997, p. B14; SM, 'Winners, by George', *Broadcasting & Cable*, 7 April 1997, p. 14; SM, 'Winners, by George', *Broadcasting & Cable*, 7 April 1997, p. 14.

[692] A complete list may be found on; 'Awards', *Peabodyawards.Com* <http://www.peabodyawards.com/awards> [accessed 29 November 2019].

[693] 'Star Trek: The Next Generation, The Big Good-Bye (CBS-TV)', *Peabodyawards.com* <http://www.peabodyawards.com/award-profile/star-trek-the-next-generation-the-big-good-bye> [accessed 5 September 2018]. The only other

franchise from the previous case study, *Star Trek*. Once again, the plot of this programme followed the galaxy hopping adventures of a new USS Enterprise and its crew led by Captain Jean Luc Picard, as the members of the federation hoped to keep peace in the universe. While not directly related to *The X-Files*, this telefantasy's victory in the Peabody award, predating the case study programme's own victory, requires analysis due to the comparisons on how the award represents the perception of the genre's cultural value. According to the Peabody award committee, the reason *Star Trek: The Next Generation*, a telefantasy show, finally joined the winners of the award was because of its ability to compare to the lofty standards of the 1960s programme despite being on first run syndication:

> *Star Trek* has been part of the American television fabric for more than two decades. An attempt to make *Star Trek: The Next Generation* live up to the considerable reputation of the original was complicated by the fact that it would appear, not on the networks, but in first-run syndication. Rather than give in to the usual realities of "first-run" and produce a low budget, but profitable program, the producers chose instead to opt for the highest quality in writing, decor, acting, and, indeed, all facets of the production. In doing so, they have set a new standard of quality for first-run syndication and this is exemplified in the episode *The Big Good-Bye*. The Peabody Board has chosen to honor that episode and, in doing so,

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television product that may have been considered was 1977's *The Hobbit*. While generically speaking this televised production falls under the umbrella of telefantasy, that it is animated as well as a TV movie means that at least for the definition of telefantasy used throughout this thesis, that I did not consider it as such.

> challenge the broadcast industry to provide the syndication market with programs of the highest quality.[694]

The Peabody Committee believed the original series of *Star Trek* deserved a Peabody. This shows a distinct evolution of the value of this particular programme throughout the years. *Star Trek: The Next Generation* was awarded because despite being a product distributed through off-network syndication it could match the high quality of network shows. The awarding body gave the impression that the winning programme may have been any genre, as long as it 'challenge[d] the broadcast industry to provide the syndication market with programs of the highest quality'.

In contrast, when *The X-Files* earned the Peabody award in 1996, awarded for the whole series rather than just a single episode like *Star Trek: The Next Generation*, it was because of its ability to use telefantasy genres in its narrative. The committee behind the awards commended the programme thusly:

> With *The X-Files*, creator and executive producer Chris Carter, co-executive producers Howard Gordon and R.W. Goodwin, and a multi-talented team of producers, writers, and actors have developed a unique television drama. In combining currents in contemporary science with the best elements of science fiction, *The X-Files* creates its own universe, where normal and paranormal can co-exist, although not always very peacefully. One great achievement of the series is its ability to convey ideas that are both entertaining and thought-provoking, the kind of television that stimulates conversation the next day at the family table or around the office water cooler. The chemistry between stars David

[694] Ibid.

> Duchovny (agent Fox Mulder) and Gillian Anderson (Dr. Dana Scully) is as powerful as any on television, and offers proof (at least to this point), that on TV it is still possible for co-workers of the opposite sex to sustain a successful platonic relationship. *The X-Files* has broken new ground in television science fiction, with a comparative de-emphasis on special effects gimmickry in favor of a focus on the larger questions about the spiritual nature of science and humankind. For outstanding levels of production excellence, writing, and performing, and for its ability to stimulate thinking and discussion about numerous inexplicable phenomena (including the motives of government officials).[695]

The quote above revealed several elements that both influence the programme's cultural value and connects to the legitimating criteria deliberated throughout the thesis. Although the awarding body recognised Carter as the series creator, he was not the only one named in recognition for the production of the show. Along with him, the award committee acknowledged fellow executive producers, producers, writers, and actors. However, it may just be that the Peabody committee possessed a greater understanding of the many different important positions needed to a programme. Howell, in her analysis on *The X-Files'* Peabody victory, which she maintains formed the most important factor in science fiction's growing legitimacy in TV II, examines authorships role as part of this award. Howell states that *The X-Files* only used articles about Carter's author status in their application for the award.[696] While this may have been an effective strategy for this television programme to use, as markers of

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[695] 'The X-Files', *Peabodyawards.com* <http://www.peabodyawards.com/award-profile/the-x-files> [accessed 5 September 2018].
[696] Howell, p. 44.

'quality' during this era included authorship discourses,[697] evidently, the Peabody awards did not fully accept this notion of authorship, as they praised others aside from just Carter. Furthermore, the awarding body recognised the series for aspects aside from authorship, like its narrative and cultural commentary.

As seen in the quote above, the Peabody award committee stated that the programme was first a 'drama', distinguishing this generic facet of it before others. The committee mentioned that the product took the best science fiction elements, attempting to draw attention away from the more delegitimate connotations of the genre label. The committee made a judgment that *The X-Files* used a more legitimate branch of science fiction rather than the baser factors associated with the genre. In place of costumes or CGI aspects related with visual representations of science fiction, the committee commended the programme for its ability to use more cerebral elements of science fiction. This mirrors a long debate in the history of science fiction itself, as well as telefantasy. Those who discuss the value of science fiction find that faithful scientific verisimilitude is required for legitimate works, while 'gimmickry' (special effects) for the sake of shock or horror are found in lesser works.[698]

However, they initially used the label of 'drama' to describe the show, which arguably may just be a broad term that distinguishes the show from comedies, news, reality, etc., but also made the programme appear more serious, or in other words legitimate, hence deserving of the award. The committee further recognised the show for its depiction of scientific verisimilitude. Once

[697] Ibid.
[698] Johnson-Smith, p. 251.

again, 'realism', or believability, even in science fiction, was commended. Here, unlike *Star Trek: The Next Generation's* victory, the committee acknowledged both genre and its textual elements.

The final element that the Peabody award committee commented on was the programme's 'ability to stimulate thinking and discussion about numerous inexplicable phenomena (including the motives of government officials).' They commended the broadcast for its ability to enlighten and critically engage its audience to think about their surroundings in the real world. Not only was this point key in the perception of legitimacy for science fiction, as examined above, but it connected to the legitimating factor of cultural commentary covered throughout this text, as the production provided its audience with lessons applicable to real life situations.[699] Both the award itself and the reasoning given behind *The X-Files'* victory painted a picture of the programme's notions of legitimacy at the time but also allows the audience of the awards and society in general (as far a reach as such an award carries) to gain a view of the show's legitimacy at this point in 1996.

The X-Files also made an impact in other legitimating institutions, including the highest in the television medium, the Emmys. While nominated for a considerable number of Primetime Emmy Awards, the show itself never won as a series. Instead, though appearing less legitimating than a victory for the programme, the broadcast won for three categories, two of which I will analyse in greater detail. In 1996, the series won an 'Outstanding Writing for a Drama Series' award and Peter Boyle earned an Emmy for the role he played as a guest star on the show. In 1997, Gillian Anderson won for 'Outstanding

[699] Spigel, 1992, p. 3.

Actress in a Leading Role', under the subgenre of drama. Although I examine the former and the latter closer below, I leave Boyle's award out. This is because many of the facets of the discussions regarding the award will share the thoughts on Anderson's award, however, since she is a main cast member of the series, her victory impacted the case study greater.[700]

Recognition by the Emmy award panel for *The X-Files'* writing for the show's third season would normally be clearly a legitimating factor. Yet, journalist Tom Shales of *The Washington Post* found this award unmerited:

> An Emmy for writing of a drama series went to, of all things, Fox's spooky-goofy "The X-Files"—and not to such arguably superior nominees as "ER" and "NYPD Blue." Apparently the thinking here by members of the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences was that the Fox network shouldn't go home without an Emmy of its own.[701]

What should have been a momentous legitimating statement for the programme became essentially discounted. Once again, *The X-Files'* telefantasy genre was its main culprit in delegitimating discussions. Shales called the show 'spooky-goofy', mocking the product's horror-based genre elements as well as its overall premise. The other nominees he determined to be 'arguably superior', *ER* (NBC,

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[700] Also, Anderson's victory had greater impact in society. A current Google search reveals a hit of 376,000 when searching 'Peter Boyle Emmy X-Files' while 'Gillian Anderson Emmy X-Files' receives 521,000. Furthermore, a search of the same words in the ProQuest database which sources *The New York* and *Los Angeles Times,* The Washington Post, The Observer and The Guardian reveals 58 hits for Boyle and 110 for Anderson between the years of 1993 to 2002 (or, the time the product was on the air). While not perhaps a reliable indicator for relevancy for a cultural product, these search results at least show what was being written about more and hence what was being read by the audience of these publications.

[701] Shales, Tom, 'Night of a Thousand Zzzzzzzz: The Emmys', *The Washington Post*, 9 September 1996, p. D1

1994-2009) and *NYPD Blue* (ABC, 1993-2005), were 'realistic' dramas about a hospital and a police force, respectively. Both programmes, with their emphasis and discourse on 'realism', are often talked about in terms of their status as 'quality' television.[702] *The X-Files'* lower status of legitimacy, because of its non-'realistic' elements, compared to these two 'realistic' programmes harkens to the deliberations seen throughout telefantasy's television history. Evidently, a point some still held as true even as *The X-Files* won an award for writing.[703] This was Shales' opinion, as he rounded up this slamming section of his review of the awards by stating that *The X-Files'* victory was merely the Emmy committee making sure the Fox network had representation at the awards. However, Shales' was not the only opinion, and others had much more flattering pieces regarding the show's victory in this category. Indeed, in a later article about the programme, Bill Carter hailed the case study as one of the best products on television, and stated that both its awards and its critical acclaim as evidence to support his statement (turning around his original opinion described previously).[704] While Shales' negative opinion of the show's victory was unique, he was the only journalist to actually provide an opinion, with other writing on the text stating award winners and nominations.[705]

Another Emmy awarded to the programme included a 'best actress' win for Anderson in 1997. Although the award in itself was legitimating, the media's acknowledgment of the award serves to better illuminate the legitimating factor

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[702] Geraghty, p. 30.
[703] Howell, p. 39.
[704] Carter, Bill, '"X-Files" Tries to Keep Its Murky Promise: "The X-Files" Tries to Keep Its Murky Promise', *The New York Times,* 7 November 1998, p. B7
[705] Gates, Anita, '"E.R." and "Frasier" Win Top Emmys', *The New York Times,* 9 September 1996, p. C13. 'The 1996 Emmy Winners', *The New York Times,* 10 September 1996, p. C13.

within the group studied. *The New York Time's* James Sterngold wrote about Anderson's victory:

> Gillian Anderson, who plays an FBI agent chasing aliens and other criminals drawn from the paranormal, won the Emmy as best lead actress in a drama, "The X-Files". The show is different from most other drama nominees since it is not a gritty reality-based show, but a flirtation with dreams, nightmares, outer space and the supernatural.[706]

Here, Sterngold, in the limited space supplied for the programme's victory, provided little upon Anderson's victory other than stating the simple fact that she won. Instead, he described the various generic based elements of the show. The lack of attention given to Anderson's acting limited the legitimating effect of the award. Instead, the brief summary he provides indirectly indicates that his readers did not even know about the show or its premise. This shows integrations necessity for legitimation in respect to the audiences of these journalistic pieces.

As stated earlier, the Emmy award's most influential award in terms of legitimacy was that for 'Outstanding Drama Series'. While nominated a total of 4 times,[707] the programme never won this prestigious accolade. This particular award category stands apart because it is the last award given at the end of the ceremony, the headliner if you will, and journalists pick up on and discuss this award usually first and in greater detail. Take, for example, the following article

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[706] Sterngold, James, 'Repeat Performances At the Emmy Awards: "Frasier" Wins for Best Comedy Series, "Law and Order" for Best Drama.', *The New York Times*, 15 September 1997, p. A16. Other discourses that discuss Anderson's award wins: Kendt, Rob, 'SAG Awards Settling in As Hollywood Tradition', *Back Stage*, 1 March 1996, p. 3; LR, 'Anderson Says Thanks', *Broadcasting and Cable*, 22 September 1997, p. 89.

[707] The show was nominated in 1995, 1996, 1997, and 1998 respectively; 'The X-Files: Awards', *IMDB* <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0106179/awards> [accessed 14 July 2018].

from *The Los Angeles Times* recapping the event which states ‘’ER’ Gets Drama Emmy to Cap Night for NBC’. [708] The article begins by stating ‘[t]elevision’s most popular program, “ER,” raced off with the award for best drama series at the 48th annual Nighttime Emmy awards Sunday, capping an impressive night for NBC.’ *X-Files’* mentioned in the same article is left for the second page close to the end with a single paragraph mentioning their victory for writing as well as their other victories in ‘technical areas’ (those being cinematography, sound editing, sound mixing,).

The lack of mention of these technical awards for the programme (except in articles that simply group them all together in a large list) displays an example of the Emmy awards’ own hierarchy of value in their awards, with journalists placing importance on some more so than others. As a result, the legitimating value of such awards are limiting. However, perhaps more than any other example within this thesis, *The X-Files* received the greatest recognition by awarding institutions, both in term of number and the cultural value of the institutions themselves. The result of these awards provided a high perception of legitimacy for journalists, with *The X-Files’* victories being a focal point on articles about the events.

Conclusion

[708] Lowry, Brian, ‘“ER” Gets Drama Emmy to Cap Night for NBC: Television: Network Also Wins Top Three Comedy Categories with “Frasier,” Helen Hunt and John Lihgow’, *The Los Angeles Times*, 9 September 1996, p. A1.
‘Prime Time Emmy Awards USA: 1996 Awards’, *IMDb* <https://www.imdb.com/event/ev0000223/1996/1/> [accessed 14 July 2018].

This chapter has analysed the legitimating discussions about *The X-Files* using the criteria set out previously in the thesis. Despite splitting each legitimating factor into subheadings, genre was the most influential legitimating factor for the programme. While not being a genre that typically fitted the mould of 'quality' television, some journalists still found space to include it in this discourse, reflecting not only the construction of legitimacy for the programme, but also for 'quality' television itself. The significance of genre as a legitimating factor was seen in areas such as cultural commentary, where its ability to present the discourses of the cultural feelings or mood at the time influenced journalist's evaluations of the programme. Furthermore, the show's textual elements in connection to its genre allowed deeper intellectualised discourses from the media in this area, rather than simply saying they are either good or bad as in TV I. The chapter has compared and contrasted the developments of legitimacy between the case studies found in TV I and the broadcast. Although the programme initially did not have a clear author, limiting its early legitimacy, the eventually placement of Chris Carter at this position allowed for the perception of the show's value to also be affected in this area as well. Certain institutions, like academia and those that provided awards, served to legitimate the programme, as media discussed these facets in greater detail and analysed the show's value in reference to these bodies. A vocal segment of the audience known as fans did not offer much legitimacy for the programme, being reserved for when the show became more accepted by broader audiences. However, there was a sense that the lack of legitimacy of fans was not a universal aspect, as some journalists did not delegitimate them. I studied the factors that influence the value of the programme in relation to industrial changes that developed in

TV II, such as the formation of ‘quality’ television and audience fragmentation. While *The X-Files* initially did not have the most legitimating value for the media, it appeared to improve as the series continued, eventually exhibiting features of the most legitimate television at the time, ‘quality’ TV. It showed that a telefantasy in TV II could indeed be overall legitimate and fit into this sub-section of valuable television. However, the next case study, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, appears to have had a harder time fitting into this legitimating canon from TV II; this was because rather than having further generic elements such as crime/investigation like *The X-Files* had, it was created with the teen genre and audience demographic in mind.

Chapter 7: *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*

At the time of writing this thesis, a reimagining of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* is currently in development. 20 years on from the programme's initial release, a new version of the show, similar to the recreations of all the case studies (discussed further in the introduction), demonstrates the continued relevance of these products for their fans and their profitability for their production companies. The original TV series ran from 1996 until 2003, the end of TV II (as this thesis's introduction established) and marks the boundary of this thesis' research period. Though a telefantasy much like the other three case studies explored in this thesis, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* provided one unique element ever present in discourses about the show (as seen throughout the chapter), the case study's combined non-verisimilitudes and teen genres. While many of the case studies presented in the thesis had multiple genres, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* was different. It being both a telefantasy and teen show meant discourses on the broadcast frequently referenced or indicated that the its viewers included teenagers.[709] The product's teen genre affected journalists and their discourses on the programme's cultural value, equal to, if not more so, than the show's telefantasy aspects. The following chapter argues the significant and

[709] The teen genre is generally described as a programme marketed for a teen audience with characters fitting stock characters, plots, etc. borrowed from teen movies, including settings familiar to teens such as high schools, using popular music identifiable to teens, and a serialised format resembling comic books. This definition comes from The Television Genre Book. Yet, others such as Sharon Marie Ross , and Louisa Ellen Stein argue that teen television takes a much more fluid approach to genre, much like that identified my Metell, and similar to how telefantasy was identified in this text. Creeber, Glen, Toby Miller, and John Tulloch, eds., The Television Genre Book, 3rd edn (London: Palgrave, 2015).

overwhelming effect *Buffy the Vampire Slayer's* teen and telefantasy genres had on the construction and perception of the case study's cultural value.

These two genres also influenced other legitimating criteria. Journalists' view on the value of the case study's cultural commentary became based on how the show used telefantasy elements to comment on teen issues**.** The product's genre further affected journalist's commentary on the programme's textual elements. They praised *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* when it created atmospheric narratives that fit into both genres. The chapter further explores the role Joss Whedon played on the opinion of the show's perceived cultural value. Whedon, having worked in film, and not an unknown like Chris Carter, impacted the broadcast's and his own cultural value by working on network television. The chapter maintains fan audiences presented less of a delegitimating impact than it did for *The X-Files*. Once again, the reason for the lack of legitimacy for being a fan of a telefantasy intently stems from the programme's teen aspects. The chapter displays how it was fine for teens to be fans, while older audiences needed to justify watching the show. The chapter also argues that the product's success for its network positively influenced the view of the legitimacy of the broadcast. However, perhaps because of its ties to the teen genre, *Buffy the Vampire's* success in legitimating awards faced limitations. Unlike the other chapters in this thesis, comparison will not be separated into its own section. Instead, various comparisons are mentioned as they occur in other sections. This is because journalists never consistently compared the show to one object or text in particular and the discourses involving comparison often include various legitimating factors. Finally, this chapter analyses how writers discussed academia's interest in the programme, as well as discussing academic study

about the product while it aired. With the product's genre having an influential role over many facets of legitimating criteria for the show it marks the best place to start this examination.

Genre

As maintained throughout the thesis and as later explored in this chapter, genre had a significant influence on how journalists judged a production's cultural value. As the thesis has already displayed, when writers discussed telefantasy programmes they used certain words that identified a show as telefantasy, or at least words that made it clear it exhibited elements beyond the known verisimilitude. While journalists identified telefantasy through their rhetoric, there was not a complete consensus on the exact terminology used. Words used to describe these shows ranged from science fiction and gothic to imaginative or strange.[710] Additionally, writers also mentioned a programme's generic features outside of ones relating to telefantasy. As seen in the previous chapters, journalists talked about *Star Trek's* relation to the western or soap opera genres and *The X-files*' connection to the crime fiction genre. *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* shared a similar relationship, although a far more prevalent one than previous case studies, to another genre outside of telefantasy sub-genres. When writers discussed *Buffy the Vampire Slayer's* genre, they usually identified it as a subgenre of telefantasy and/or as a teen show.[711] For *The X-Files,* the association

[710] As seen in the previous chapters of this thesis.
[711] Hontz, Jenny, 'Television: Genre-Ation Gap Hits Sitcoms', *Variety,* 26 April 1999, p. 25; Hontz, Jenny, 'Television: Networks Hit Small, Miss Big', *Variety,* 11 May 1998, p. 163; 'Broadcasting: V/B Gets Animated', *Broadcasting and Cable,* 18 May 1998, p. 35.

with the crime fiction genre rooted from a journalist's attempt to improve the perception of the broadcast's cultural value. However, in *Buffy the Vampire Slayer's* case, the connection to the show's teen genre hindered the programme's apparent legitimacy.

When journalists wrote about *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*'s telefantasy elements, it was often in conjunction with its teen genre.[712] *The New York Times'* Doreen Carvajal presented an example of this relationship, both in how they worked in the product's context and how *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* demonstrated but one illustration of a trend in youth oriented popular culture:

> 'Boy meets she-wolf. She-wolf falls for meat (boy). And parents and educators wonder where oh where have Nancy Drew and the Hardy Boys gone? Terror is stalking children's popular culture.
>
> It lurks in the pages of glossy paperbacks, where bodies dangle from nooses like "heavy ripe fruit" and teens suffer from really serious skin problems, involving ripping, clang and puddles of blood.
>
> It glows in darkened living rooms where, according to the typical Nielsen TV ratings [where] 600,000 wait eagerly for "Buffy the Vampire Slayer" to skewer a throbbing heart.[713]

Throughout the entire article, Carvajal noted how both genres interconnected in various media during the 1990s. Stereotyped themes of teen stories such as 'boy meets girl' instead become intertwined with horror elements making it 'boy

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[712] 'WB Tops UPN Season to Date', *Broadcasting & Cable*, 23 February 1998, p. 41. Albiniak, Paige, 'Top of the Week: Washington Demands Answers', *Broadcasting & Cable*, 17 May 1999, p. 22; Vineberg, Steve, '"Buffy the Vampire Slayer": the Show That Gets Teenagers Right', *The New York Times*, 1 October 2000, p. AR39.
[713] Carvajal, DoReen, 'In Kids' Pop Culture, Fear Rules', *The New York Times*, 1 June 1997, p. E5. 'Hollywood Report', *Boxoffice*, 1 January 1999, p. 6. Pursell, Chris, 'Atlantis at 20: Sci-Fi Fare Travels', *Variety*, 23 March 1998, p. 74.

meets she-wolf' etc, and remarked on a trend that connected stereotypical teen issues, like skin problems, to horror involving gore. While the above extract does not overtly present *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* as delegitimate, the connotations of associations with the teen horror genre potentially influenced the perception of its legitimacy. The reason the journalist's article negatively constructed the show's value related to the tailoring of the production to child or non-adult audiences. Indeed, Lisa Bode noted the 'lowly cultural status of the teen girl audience' in society.[714] The comparisons the journalist makes between children's literature such as *Nancy Drew, The Hardy Boys*[715] and the case study programme further created notions that these texts all shared the same delegitimate viewership. While I have presented comparisons throughout the thesis as a legitimator, the legitimating properties of books aimed at teens limited value.[716] With *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* it appeared that the notions of the show's legitimacy rests on its twin genres**.** However, unlike all previous case studies, the association with the teen genre along with telefantasy creates further issues in the idea of its value**.** *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* hearkened to earlier periods of genre identifying with a younger audience. In this case, instead of the programme's science fiction elements connecting to children and causing a perception of delegitimacy as a result, its teen genre element did so instead.

Other journalists also noted *Buffy the Vampire Slayer's* teen and

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[714] Bode, Lisa, 'Transitional Tastes: Teen Girls and Genre in the Critical Reception of Twilight', in *After Taste: Cultural Value and the Moving Image*, ed. by Julia Vassileva and Constantine Verevis (New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2013), pp. 63–76 (69).

[715] *The Hardy Boys* and *Nancy Drew* book series published by Edward Stratemeyer for older children and younger teenagers.

[716] As discussed throughout the thesis, children are noted as a delegitimate audience. While this has been in reference to science fiction generically, it also extends to literature. Burn, p. 314.

telefantasy generic features and how this genre combination matched trends within popular culture at the time. Similar to the example above, *Variety's* Eric Olson used the programme's genre to note a growing movement within the television industry:

> 'UPN is banking on the public's current fascination with vampires, as witnessed by a growing number of vampire related internet sites. The Anne Rice series of vampire books and such movies as "Interview With the Vampire" and Francis Ford Coppola's "Dracula – not to mention UPN rival the WB's "Buffy the Vampire Slayer" – have further kindled public interest in the "undead".[717]

Like Carvajal in the previous extract, Olson pointed out the fashion for telefantasy, specifically horror, in popular culture. However, Olson's article differed from Carvajal's in several ways. In the above, Olson did not make the connection between the programme and its teen audience or genre. The writer omitted viewer distinctions, implying that the fascination with horror**,** especially vampires, was a growing trend in popular culture generally. In terms of the perception of the broadcast's legitimacy, the exclusion of any connection to the teen genre allowed the show to escape a view of delegitimacy. Instead, Olson stated that the product was but one of several cultural products that were part of a larger horror trend that included novels and films. Also, the writer discussed *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* in the same vein as Anne Rice's work on vampires, along with films by Neil Jordan and Francis Ford Coppola, respectively.[718] As

[717] Olson, Eric, 'The WEBS: UPN Stakes Sked to "Vampire" Spec', *Variety*, 5 January 1998, p. 45.

[718] Anne Rice created a series of books since 1976 that continues regular releases up until writing in 2018. It could be argued that it was during TV II that these books made their largest impact on popular culture with 6 of the 13 being published during

argued throughout the thesis, comparison to other more legitimate art forms altered the perspective of cultural value on a product. To quote Newman and Levine; '[o]ne of the central strategies employed in discourses of television's legitimation is comparison with already legitimated art forms, such as literature and cinema.'[719]

Though journalists usually described the show using either teen or telefantasy elements, they were not the only genres mentioned. *Buffy the Vampire Slayer's* inclusion of several different genres meant that writers sometimes had difficulties describing the programme in generic terms. An example of the obstacle in relaying the case study's genre to a publication's readership is seen in the following example by Br*oadcasting and Cable's* Michael Stroud. In the few lines that Stroud used to describe the broadcast, he dubbed it '*a cult comedy among the high-school set'.*[720] Notice that the journalist did not use any word that could indicate to the reader the product's telefantasy elements. Instead, the journalist described the programme in several different ways, including as a 'cult comedy'. Using the term 'cult' as a generic label rather than in a description of an audience type allowed the reader of the article to understand *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* as a part of a larger television genre. Cult television, much like telefantasy, is a dynamic and complex grouping of genres. It is not this thesis' role to unpack the various definitions of 'cult television'.[721] However, regarding the quotation above, it can briefly be described as a label 'often loosely applied to any program that is considered

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this era and two film adaptations also coming during this time, the aforementioned *Interview with the Vampire* as well as *The Queen of the Damned.*

[719] Newman and Levine, p. 4.

[720] Stroud, Michael, "Felicity" Voted Most Likely to Succeed', *Broadcasting and Cable*, 7 September 1998, p. 22.

[721] Other texts such as Pearson, 2010, p. 7–18, detail the conflicting notions of cult tv.

offbeat or edgy, that draws a niche audience, that has a nostalgic appeal, that is considered emblematic of a particular subculture, or that is considered hip.'[722] The journalist also combined the already loaded generic label of cult with the use of 'comedy'. The singling out of 'comedy' combined with 'cult' could have led readers unfamiliar with the programme to think of it as some sort of edgy sitcom or other hip comedic affair. Either way, the two generic labels fall under the caveat of 'among the high school set', drawing into the discussion notions of audience demography along with genre. Stroud essentially presented the product as a cult comedy teen show. Stroud's article based the cultural value of the broadcast upon factors not related to telefantasy as a genre. In the above example, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer's* discourses regarding its value came from a combination of teen, cult, and comedy genres, with its value derived from the legitimacy these genres possess.

Other reviewers also experienced difficulty giving an accurate description of the show's genre to their readership. *The New York Times'* Bill Carter, much like Michael Stroud above, used several different generic labels. However, none of his descriptions indicate the show was a telefantasy**.** In a review written in the series' first season, Carter said:

> The most promising new series may be an entry from one of the fledgling networks, WB. A new comedy-drama called "Buffy the Vampire Slayer" has received the best Monday night ratings for the would-be network for two straight weeks. The network program executive said the success of "Buffy" might be one more indication

[722] Gwenllian-Jones and Pearson, p. ix.

> that "in order to break through, you have to be a show that's a little different."'[723]

As discussed earlier, Carter initially found *The X-Files'* premise as 'goofy', particularly noting its generic elements as a main reason he expected the show to fail. Now, in the case above where Carter seemed to enjoy *Buffy the Vampire Slayer,* he avoided providing the label of 'goofy' or any indication that the broadcast was anything but the vague description of 'a little different'. Without further context, the 'little different' that Carter included here does not give his readership much clue that the show's deviation from other television included telefantasy generic elements**.** The only concrete term that Carter provided regarding the broadcast's genre was his description of the programme as a 'comedy-drama', the latter of which places itself as the centre of 'quality' television as discussed in Chapter 5.

The facets of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* Carter pointed out were far more accepted in terms of legitimacy than telefantasy or teen for his audience. It seems Carter carefully used certain labels to vindicate both his own and the product's cultural value. Like all telefantasy programmes, an attempt to legitimate meant the avoidance of certain generic terms relating to non-verisimilitudes genres or younger audiences. Where these genres would become useful and often used in tandem was in the programme's cultural commentary.

Cultural Commentary

[723] Carter, Bill, 'Put a New Show in a Hit's Slot and What Do You Get? Angry Fans', *The New York Times,* 19 March 1997, p. C18.

As expressed throughout the thesis, discussions of telefantasy found that a programme's cultural commentary relied upon its genre**.** *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* was no different. However, unique to this show was its ability to create cultural commentary for its teen audience using telefantasy generic elements, providing a didactic feature for its younger viewers**.** *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* presented subversive observations about its contemporary society, including its characters' representation of sexuality, sex, and to its delegitimacy, race.

The New York Time's Joyce Millman spoke of character and its ability to communicate cultural commentary using telefantasy, especially in regard to representation of sexuality**.** In 2001, she wrote:

> Buffy's brainy friend Willow, who has tapped her own well of inner specialness over the last two seasons, becoming an evermore confident and powerful witch. Willow (endearingly played by Alyson Hannigan) is emerging as the most complicated character on "Buffy." Her discovery of her supernatural gift was linked to her lesbian sexual awakening. And since her success at raising Buffy from the dead this season, the usually sweet Willow has developed a provocative new edge of arrogance and recklessness, using her magic to manipulate, not heal.'[724]

Jennifer Feldmann and Amy B. Middleman described adolescence as a time of sexual discovery,[725] something that Millman also expressed and related to the growth of a character in a fictional cultural product. In the extract, Millman

[724] Millman, Joyce, 'A Modern Cinderella, No Prince Needed', *The New York Times*, 18 November 2001, p. AR34.
[725] Feldmann, Jennifer, and Amy B. Middleman, 'Adolescent Sexuality and Sexual Behavior', *Current Opinion in Obstetrics and Gynaecology*, 14 (2002), 489–93.

connected Willow's supernatural powers, a telefantasy feature, as a way of expressing her 'sexual awakening', an expression of an issue many teenagers struggle through at that age**.** Millman's article stated that Willow as a character bravely represented an underrepresented section of society. She further found that rather than a negative, such a portrayal empowers and provides positive representation of the lesbian audience. The appearance of a lesbian character on the programme and journalistic commentary on it constructed legitimacy in two ways. Not only does it connect to the notion of 'quality' television because providing representation for underrepresented groups in society was political, a key aspect in Michael Z Newman's understanding of 'quality' television,[726] but it also afforded the viewer a chance to learn and understand another person emotionally, an important facet noted by Robin Nelson for the value of TV as a medium.[727] As the writer of the article stated, Willow's ability to provide audiences with a role model and positive influence regarding sexuality only legitimated the programme amongst certain viewers,[728] and would be so for the politically left swaying members of the group discussed in this thesis.

Sarah Waron June discussed how the lesbian character Willow impacted society. Writing soon after the show's final episode, June noted the broadcast's value and its meaning for homosexual depiction**:**

> Now that *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* has staked its last vampire, we can finally examine the series' contribution to lesbian visibility in its

[726] Newman, Michael Z, 'Quality Tv as Liberal TV', *Western Humanities Alliance Journal*, 70 (2016).
[727] Nelson, Robin, 'The Emergence of "Affect" in Contemporary TV Fictions', in *Emotions in Contemporary TV Series*, ed. by Alberto N. Garcia (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 26–51 (51).
[728] DiMaggio, Paul, 'Are Art-Museum Visitors Different From Other People? The Relationship Between Attendance and Social and Political Attitudes in the United States', *Poetics*, 24 (1996), pp. 161–80 [164].

> totality — for despite some controversial storylines and consistently low ratings, there is no denying that *Buffy* has had a lasting impact on the way lesbians are portrayed on television.
>
> [...]
>
> Besides its contribution to the advancement of women in television overall, *Buffy* broke more television taboos around lesbianism than any other series on network television, and introduced American TV viewers to three sympathetic lesbian characters during its seven-year run. […]
>
> Willow became one of the most popular characters on the show almost immediately, [and] did not wane after she came out as a lesbian in the fourth season.[729]

The writer saw Willow as a sign of innovation because June claimed she was one of the first representations of a lesbian character on television. Innovation itself often relates to value, as Christine Geraghty found that 'given television's propensity for repetition, perhaps [the audience] do need to seek out and praise innovation.'[730] June found the programme in its innovation took a risk with Willow. The writer stated that it was possible that viewers would not accept a lesbian character, and that risked the product's survival on television. For the journalists and others that discussed the show during TV II, the presentation of a positive gay character provided the case study with legitimacy through its example of a positive role model.[731] Such a constructive account of a lesbian

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[729] Warnon, Sarah, 'How "Buffy" Changed the World of Lesbians on Television', *Afterellen*, 6 June 2003 <http://www.afterellen.com/tv/4539-how-buffy-changed-the-world-of-lesbians-on-television#0ZspTDekVi8bqZgL.99>.
[730] Geraghty, p. 33.
[731] Millman, Joyce, 'Lessons In Being Human', *The New York Times*, 23 September 2001, p. AR21; Nussbaum, Emily, 'Must-See Metaphysics', *The New York Times*, 22

character opposed the rest of media. Liz Millward, Janice G. Dodd, and Irene Fubara-Manuel finds that media often vilified lesbian characters, with them usually meeting an untimely end.[732] *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* broke that mould, presenting a character as not only a major part of the main cast but also a hero (mostly).[733] Academics such as Douglas Kellner likewise discussed the programme's presentation of lesbian characters within it; providing areas of legitimacy by stating the show 'is particularly realistic and boundary-breaking in its depiction of sexual relations with a considerable amount of gay and lesbian sexuality and quite frank and explicit depictions of an extensive variety of sexualities.'[734] Within this thesis, the presentation of sexuality and lesbian relationship as a legitimating factor was unique to *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*. In TV I television networks would not risk allowing any representations of minority groups that would upset their goal of large audiences, especially considering non-heteronormative sexuality was controversial at the time.[735] Even *The X-Files,* while having other areas of representation such as strong females, did not touch on these issues. So, for *Buffy the Vampire Slayer,* the presentation of a lesbian character was a unique legitimating factor in terms of

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September 2002, p. e56; Deziel, Shanda, 'Gaily Prime Time: Homosexual Characters Are Cropping up All over the Tube', *Maclean's,* 113 (2000), 54.

[732] Millward, Liz, Janice G. Dodd, and Irene Fubara-Manuel, *Killing Off the Lesbians: A Symbolic Annihilation on Film and Television* (Jefferson: Mcfarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2017).

[733] However, it does seem that the journalist dismisses Tara, Willow's girlfriend, who met an untimely end fitting into the stereotype described by Millward, Dodd, and Fubara-Manuel.

[734] Kellner, Douglas, 'Buffy The Vampire Slayer as Spectacular Allegory: A Diagnostic Critique.', *UCLA GSCIS*, 2004, p. 10 https://pages.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/essays/buffy.pdf.

[735] Especially considering it is only since June 26 2003 that sexual activity between two adults of the same sex has been legal throughout the USA. Blumberg, Frace Ganz, 'Legal Recognition of Same-Sex Conjugal Relationships: The 2003 California Domestic Partner Rights and Responsibilities Act in Comparative Civil Rights and Family Law Perspective', *UCLA Law Review*, 51 (2004), 1555–1617.

this thesis for the group studied. Such a storyline contained risks, as providing lesbian depictions threatened to offend certain spectators, particularly right-wing or certain religious ones. However, they would not fit into The WB's target audience of teenage urbanites, which explains why the network risked the programme presenting a lesbian protagonist. Not only did June praise the show for its representation of a lesbian character, but also for providing viewers with strong female role models. Like discussions regarding *The X-Files* and agent Scully analysed in the previous chapter, media regarded the representation of strong females within television texts a positive. Also, once again as in the previous extract, Hannigan's portrayal of Willow as an actor received kudos from the journalist, an element of legitimation related to the programme's textual elements (discussed in further detail in the next section).

Journalists also remarked on other ways *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* used its telefantasy genre to convey cultural commentary or social lessons. Once again, just like the above, the show particularly commented upon issues affecting teens**.** *The New York Times'* Thomas Hine provided but one example of how the case study creates lessons for its audience:

> Everyone compliments her on the dress, even the undead, who not-so-incidentally are streaming forth from the bowels of the earth like commuters from the IRT. Buffy, who is played by Sarah Michelle Gellar, is television's most stylish female hand-to-hand fighter since Diana Rigg played Emma Peel on "The Avengers" three decades ago.[736]

[736] Hine, Thomas, 'TV's Teen-Agers: An Insecure, World-Weary Lot', *The New York Times*, 26 October 1997, p. AR1.

Hine combined the connection between dress, an assumed important topic for most within the show's age demographic, and the undead, a generic device found in telefantasy programming. The journalist compared Buffy, and her actor Sarah Michele Geller, to Emma Peel from *The Avengers* (ITV/ABC/Thames, 1961-1969). He made the comparison between the character of Emma Peel, played by Diana Rigg, and Buffy due to both her 'stylishness' and because of her ability in hand to hand combat. While the latter generic features not necessarily only related to telefantasies, as other genres such as action could also have fights, it was not necessarily expected within the teen genre.

Hine then discussed the relationship between Buffy's vampire hunting duties and her responsibility of school, the expectations related to both teenagers and the teen genre. Hine related the struggle of Buffy to the plight of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* as a network television programme. Like the former, the latter must deal with distinct difficulties regarding itself as a product on a newly developed network, with viewers who were a part of a segmented demographic**.** Hine moved on to provide more details regarding *Buffy the Vampire Slayer's* ability to reflect the issues teenagers face in their lives at the time of its airing, stating how the issues faced with being a teenager, especially regarding aspects of growing up and responsibility (so elements of the teen genre), mirrored the expected monsters (vampires etc.) within non-verisimilitudes genres. Hine found that while the problems teenagers faced in *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* were unoriginal, the show's vision and individual take on these issues was something unique to the generation when the case study was airing. He stated:

> More important though, in her uniquely warped way, Buffy is an attempt to reflect the experience of teen-agers' lives today. She is

> part of an unprotected generation, one that must live with its elders' insecurities as well as its own. She rubs shoulders with monsters. And like many of her age-mates, she is sometimes suspected of being a monster herself. She's powerful, responsible, scary to know – and perpetually at risk. ' …
>
> 'There's nothing new about teen-agers feeling misunderstood, both there is something contemporary about Buffy's weariness. Today, teenagers are working longer hours, often half time or more, and more girls are working than ever before, albeit at jobs less dangerous or interesting than Buffy's. Her mother works, too, which is characteristic of more than 60 percent of American families with children. Her parents are divorced. Only a few friends help Buffy face her demons.
>
> Television's teen-agers have probably always told more about television than they have about teen-agers. Yet, at a time when news stories and broadcasts about teenagers tend to emphasize violent crime, teenage pregnancy and dugs – all problems that statics suggests are lessening – entertainment series provide another perspective. They have to please young viewers and mirror their own lives.

There was a distinction that when the show presented these teenage issues, they based them on the problems that teenagers face in their lives. Hine concluded the section by stating that while other areas of television examine teenagers as

drug addicts or criminals, programme's such as *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* afforded a more realistic view, a value desired in 'quality' television.[737]

He also found the show taught multiple lessons including 'the usefulness of knowledge, technological savvy[ness], friendship and resourcefulness.' Such remarks regarding a product's usefulness regarding education fit in with Horace Newcomb's notions of TV as an art. Newcomb stated that television had the ability to educate large portions of society,[738] and that was exactly what Haine was claiming the show did here, as he exemplified elements of the programme that the teenage audience of the show could learn from. As discussed earlier in the thesis, a programme's educational value acts as a legitimating factor for the social sphere analysed throughout, as it provides a benefit to their television watching outside of mere entertainment.

The programme educated despite the case study's primary audience not being, at least according to Haine, the teenage demographic. Instead, he noted the broadcast's actual viewers were those slightly older than high school age. That *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* remained education and beneficial, with lessons and cultural commentary to provide to an audience that was not a teen one further implies a sense of greater legitimacy. In the above case, Hain implied greater cultural value because of the show's ability to bring lessons to an audience older than the intended one.[739] *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, like *The X-Files*, also provoked cultural commentary concerning the programme's representation of a strong female character. Just as discussed in the previous chapter regarding *The X-Files*' main lead Gillian Anderson, *Buffy the Vampire*

[737] Geraghty, p. 30.
[738] Newcomb.
[739] Johnson, 2005.

Slayer and its protagonist Buffy Summers provided viewers with a modern example of a strong female lead according to the media. *The New York Times'* John Leland noted this in 2003:

> 'In the television series "Buffy the Vampire Slayer," [...] women have supernatural powers, including violent ones, to go with supercool wardrobes.
>
> These characters allow female viewers to vent their anger vicariously, said Joan Morgan, author of "When Chickenheads Come Home to Roost: A Hip-Hop Feminist Breaks It Down." Ms. Morgan said she planned to see "Kill Bill" with her girlfriends. "Women get angry," she said. "without socially accepted outlets for that anger, flicks like 'Kill Bill' are very cathartic."[740]

The quote emphasises how the case study programme was but one of several cultural products seen to empower women available at the time. During TV II female protagonists who could defeat their enemies whilst also having 'supercool wardrobes' proved an ideal modern female figure. Such analysis fits into the post-feminist discourses prevalent throughout the 1990s and early 2000s.[741] These deliberations appealed to the 'quality' television audience that networks desired during the period.[742] The younger and urban 'quality' television spectators networks desired would most likely support such post-feminist ideology. As a legitimating factor, the empowerment of women and post-feminist principles contrasted to the examinations found in TV I. In the

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[740] Leland, John, 'I Am Woman, Now Prepare to Die', *The New York Times*, 19 October 2003, p. ST1.
[741] Probyn, Elsbeth, 'New Traditionalism and Post-Feminism: TV Does the Home', in *Feminist Television Criticism: A Reader*, ed. by Charlotte Brunsdon, Julie D'Acci, and Lynn Spigel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
[742] Feuer, Kerr, and Vahimagi, eds., p. 56.

initial two case studies, the role of women as a figure of female empowerment was absent. As such, it seems strong female characters were a legitimating factor that occurred during TV II, especially regarding the evaluation of 'quality' television.[743]

While *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* displayed an empowering female protagonist that served as a positive cultural role model, it did not mean that the show was free from scrutiny when it lacked in other areas of cultural representation. *The New York Times'* Margo Jefferson stressed a lack of African American representation in the programme in 1999. She found that despite US culture experiencing an era where African American cultural depiction was abundant, there was still a deficiency of representation on television productions. *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* was one of the shows she pointed out as rather surprising for its inadequate portrayal:

> 'What is even more puzzling is the absence of black culture on mainstream shows (unless some other-wise masterful character lip-syncs a few lines from a soul song to show off a funky inner child). This is truly odd when it comes to shows for teen-agers. I like "Buffy the Vampire Slayer" and "Dawson's Creek," with their high school angst, wit and hormone-driven mood swings. But given that even Time magazine recently proclaimed the United States a hip-hop nation, is it possible to believe that someone in those high schools isn't at least a gawking rap tourist?'[744]

[743] Ibid, 105.
[744] Jefferson, Margo, 'The Presence of Race in Politically Correct Ambiguity', *The New York Times*, 8 February 1999, p. E2.

So, in TV II, a lack of inclusion of minority cultures appears to, at least for Jefferson, delegitimise the programme, as the writer finds that the absence of African American representation was both surprising and even unrealistic for the 1990s/2000s. The reason for her outlook once again connects to the intended audience of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* as a part of 'quality' television. As explained previously, because of the political spectrum of viewers that these types of products hoped to entice, and with the representation and integration of minorities into cultural products**,** the show's inadequate representation delegitimated the perception of the programme. The questions of representation sharply contrasted those found in previous case studies. As seen in *The Twilight Zone* example, when media products represented minorities such as African Americans, these episodes risked being pulled in certain areas of the USA. On the other hand, at least for *Star Trek,* journalists did not overly discuss the first interracial kiss on US television when first aired. From the transition from TV I to TV II, cultural representation went from something punished and dissuaded to something needed if a product wanted recognition as legitimate.[745]

While it appears *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* did experience some delegitimacy regarding its lack of cultural commentary in a specific area its overall depiction of various cultural issues positively affected its perceived cultural value. The analysis of these facets shows how a television elite audience, noted for its politicism during TV II for 'quality' television products, perceptually valued the programme for these cultural facets.

[745] Davila, Arlene N., *Culture Works: Space, Value, and Mobility Across the Neoliberal Americas* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), p. 1.

Textual Elements

The thesis maintains throughout that pieces of journalism on telefantasy programmes linked genre and its textual elements. This statement holds true for *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* as well. However, the difference between this show and the other case study broadcasts was that not only did non-verisimilitudes elements influence discourses on its textual elements, but teen genre features also impacted journalists' expectations for the broadcast. When attempting to legitimate the programme, elements of the text would be exemplified rather than anything relating to the show's two genres.

Writing on the episode 'Graduation Day: Part 2' *The New York Times'* Anita Gates stated: '"Buffy," unbeknown to the vast majority of viewers over 25, is one of the sharpest, cleverest shows on television'.[746] The programme's genre, and possibly its location on The WB (which as discussed in Chapter 4 targeted a younger audience demographic), conceivably led Gates to believe that her readers would not identify the product as something worth watching. That is why when she noted the textual elements of the show, she emphasised factors such as its sharpness and cleverness, referencing the programme's writing. She felt required to do so because of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer's* teen genre and audience, as she continued her article stating that the show's

> finale turns into an action movie, though that probably won't disappoint regular viewers of the series; this episode may not serve up as much witty repartee as the average episode, but there are enough emotional-wrap-up

[746] Gates, Anita, 'Saving the Graduates From Being Eaten: An Episode Delayed by the Littleton Violence', *The New York Times*, 13 July 1999, p. E5.

> moments to more than make up for it. And there is the occasional verbal delight.[747]

Evidently, she attempted to persuade her audience on the merits of the programme despite possible preconceived notions of teen's generic value**.** However, regarding the particular episode she writes about**,** another genre further indicated textual quality (or in this case, non-quality). By labelling certain sections of the episode as 'an action movie' Gates told her readers that these sections did not reach the same textual quality of the rest of the specific episode and the series more generally. For Gates, the deviation from *Buffy the Vampire Slayer's* usual generic elements resulted in a lack of quality and a breach in cultural value, at least for the programme emulating one of film's less legitimate genres.[748] That being said, while normally film placed as a more legitimate medium that television,[749] according to Gates, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* appears textually more valuable than the action film genre. The writer emphasized the value of a television programme over a film, even if the genre of film was one of potentially little value, allowed the programme to gain a greater perceptive value of legitimacy in comparison. She concluded the article finding that although these action-based features detracted from the episode, it nevertheless left fans of the broadcast happy and had moments of good writing, or as she described 'the occasional verbal delight', as well as character and narrative resolution.[750]

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[747] Ibid.
[748] English, p. 100.
[749] Newman and Levine, p. 5.
[750] Zhao, Eric Yanfei, Masakazu Ishihara, and Michael Lounsbury, 'Overcoming the Illegitimacy Discount: Cultural Entrepreneurship in the US Feature Film Industry', *Organization Studies*, 34 (2013).

Variety's Josef Adalian focussed on the relationship between *Buffy the Vampire Slayer's* textual elements and its relation to genre while leaving out key generic identifying terms relating to both teen and/or telefantasy. He remarked the programme's textual aspects and genre led to the WB's success; ''the Frog net quickly found its groove, establishing itself as a home for creative, feature-quality dramas such as "Buffy the Vampire Slayer" and "Dawson's Creek."'' Adalian's description of the product as 'creative' and 'quality', two phrases related to its textual elements, provided his readership with an understanding of the value of the case study show. The terms established the broadcast as having valuable qualities for a programme, with them having legitimating value because of their connotations with art and creative works.[751] Furthermore, Adalian's notion of quality during TV II, connected to the discourses of 'quality' television. However, the journalist omitted mention of the show's supernatural or teen based elements. Instead, the journalist preferred to mark the case study as simply a drama. Moreover, Adalian related *Buffy the Vampire Slayer to* Da*wson's Creek,* identifying both products as dramas. While the pair of products may not be telefantasies, others identify *Dawson's Creek* as in the teen genre like *Buffy the Vampire Slayer.*[752] Despite the shows having features associated with the teen genre, the writer chose not to use these words when describing the programme. The only way a reader could possibly make the association between *Buffy the Vampire Slayer, Dawson's Creek* and even their network, The WB, to the teen genre would be by having previous knowledge about the show and/or an

[751] Flanagan, JC, 'Measurement of Quality of Life: Current State of the Art', *Archives of Physical and Medical Rehabilitation*, 62 (1982), 56–59.
[752] 'Birchall, Clare 'Feels Like Home: Dawson's Creek, Nostalgia, and the Young Adult Viewer' in *Teen TV* (London, BFI Publishing, 2004).

understanding of the network's target demographic. So, Adalian avoided the generic label so as not to delegitimate the show.

Even at the end of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer's* run, journalists noted its textual qualities. However, one aspect of the broadcast that *The New York Times'* Emily Nussbaum found satisfactory was *Buffy the Vampire Slayer's* complex lore, relating to the show's writing.

> Over the years, the series' internal mythology became so dense it was a challenge to watch without a native guide.
>
> […]
>
> Few shows reward rewatching as much as "Buffy," a series which might appear campy at first sight, but over time reveals as many layers as Tony Soprano's oedipal complex.[753]

Nussambaum found the programme's mythology, although too dense for new audiences during later seasons, made the show textually valuable. While a certain level of esotericism usually relates to legitimating value, and the expressed above relates in a way to Avron Fleishman's notions of exclusivity and education to enjoy art,[754] the writer of the article found the exclusivity a negative. She compared the narrative complexity of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* with *The Sopranos* (HBO, 1999-2007). Such an association legitimates the case study show, as the latter broadcast existed as one of the best series on television and one of the most often discussed in terms of 'quality' television.[755] Any resemblance to *The Sopranos*, especially regarding the programme's thematic

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[753] Nussbaum, Emily, 'Sick of "Buffy" Cultists? You Ain't Seen Nothing Yet', *The New York Times*, 8 June 2003, p. AR24
[754] Fleishman, p. 14.
[755] Vassilieva and Constantine, p. 93.

complexity, proved a legitimator for the textual elements in *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, with the 'many layers' found in the programming highlighting narrative value.

Notable from all the discussions regarding *Buffy the Vampire Slayers*' textual elements were the lack of any in-depth focus on camera work, directing, or any other description found when discussing *The X-Files* as noted in the previous chapter. This means that, in terms of the intellectualisation of telefantasy, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* was a step backwards. While this may be the case, it still provided examples of praise for elements such as writing, even going so far as to commend the medium over film. Part of the reason journalists found value within its writing was because of the author behind the show, as the below section details.

Authorship

For *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* the role of author belonged to Joss Whedon. Whedon, much like Rod Serling, but unlike Chris Carter and Gene Roddenberry, already possessed an established career within film and television before authoring *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*. Primarily employed as a screenwriter and/or script doctor, Whedon's history before the case study programme included working on scripts for shows such as *Rosanne* (ABC, 1988-1987) and *Parenthood* (NBC, 1990), and movie scripts such as *The Getaway* (Universal Pictures, 1994), *Speed* (Mark Gordon Productions, 1994), *Toy Story* (Walt Disney Pictures, 1995), and the original film version of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (20th Century Fox, 1992). In terms of Whedon's own legitimacy, the last two

from the list above delivered him the most prestige. His notoriety from these projects influenced journalists' views on *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*. However, having worked in Hollywood the movement to television was a step down in legitimacy for the author, similar to the way Rod Serling's value was questioned in his movement from live-teleplays to recorded programming. The following section details Whedon's authorship, as well as how his programme provided him a chance to create a story of his own, expressing authorship values on areas such as genre and influencing the networks that hoped to control his vision.

Toy Story brought Joss Whedon the highest accolade of his film career, a nomination for an Oscar for 'Best Original Screenplay' in 1996. *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* the film, on the other hand, won no awards but was Whedon's first project as head scriptwriter. However, while he found himself the visionary behind the project, he did not direct it, and the end result was a film that Whedon himself was not too happy with. Certain members of the media shared his disappointment with the film when it first came out, with the most praising articles calling it a somewhat entertaining but lowbrow affair.[756] In an interview in 1997 about *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* the television show, Whedon informed *The New York Times'* Justine Elias about his own issues with the film:

> "Buffy the Vampire Slayer," written when he was in his early 20's, was his first produced screenplay, so he didn't have much control over the results. The light, satirical tone of the movie, directed by Fran Rubel Kuzui, didn't jibe with his original idea. Where the movie

[756] Salamon, Julie, 'Film: The Roommate From Hell', *The Wall Street Journal*, 13 August 1992, p. A12.

> emphasized Buffy's shallow concerns – she was obsessed with being popular and running the school's social scene[.][757]

Here, Elias noted Whedon's lack of authorship power when making the film version of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer.* Whedon expressed that the absence of his authorial control over his script resulted in a poor film, promoting himself as auteur. His argument mirrors aspects found in the discussion of legitimate cinema, where academics describe the role of the auteur within artistic film production.[758] While the role of author, or auteur in film terms,[759] goes to the director, the article above presented Whedon, a scriptwriter, as the rightful author. While Elias' piece may result from the bias created through interviewing Whedon or from his success with the television adaptation of his film, it nevertheless granted the readership of the article an impression of Whedon's role as an artist. It showed that Whedon would have been the superior author for *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* the film. The feature presented Whedon as finally able to achieve his role of author, and hence express his true artistic vision, through his television rendition of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*.

Though Joss Whedon could not tell Buffy's story the way he desired in the film medium, he found that TV offered a much freer mode of expression for him to create *The Buffy the Vampire Slayer* he originally envisioned. Continuing from the interview with Justine Elias above, the article noted Whedon's role as author:

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[757] Elias, Justine, 'Buffy Is Sweet, 16 and Slaying Vampires', *The New York Times*, 27 April 1997, p. 3.
[758] Notions of the auteur stem back to André Bazin and Roger Leenhardt and their analysis of French cinema: Bordwell, David, and Kristin Thompson, *Film Art: An Introduction* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2010), p. 381-3.
[759] Dunleavy, Trisha, *Complex Serial Drama and Multiplatform Television* (New York: Routledge, 2017), p. 76.

> Whedon, who wrote the film's screenplay and serves as the series' creator and executive producer, says he aimed to create a weekly action thriller laced with comedy.
>
> […]
>
> Buffy's rough transition into a new high school reflects the experience of the character's 30-year-old creator, a New Yorker who transferred to a British boarding school during his senior year.

In the construction of the programme's legitimacy, the article presented the broadcast with an author. Elias even found that the story of the protagonist, Buffy, borrowed from Whedon's own life and experiences.[760] Whedon's author vision continued to the facet of the creation of character, as the journalist took a direct quote from Whedon engaging with the way he believes the viewer was supposed to view the characters. Though authorship contributes an aspect of 'quality' television, the regular network format did not always allow an author of the series to create a programme with the artistic freedom required.

To quote Julia Vassilieva and Constantine Vervis who discuss the integration of the author into the industry, specifically regarding *The Sopranos*; 'the lifting of commercial interruptions and product ties at HBO has been credited with enabling the auteur style of several writers, directors and producers including David Chase, creator of The Sopranos'.[761] However, these limitations did not apply to *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* in terms of the show's authorial vision being disrupted by commercials, at least according to Elias. As Pearson notes, Whedon had conflict with the networks, especially with constructing his

[760] Hart, Tobin, 'Inspiration: Exploring the Experience and Its Meaning', *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, 38 (1998).
[761] Vassilieva, and Vervis, p. 93.

authorial image.[762] Yet, the above does not show this to be the case, as he appears to be able to create the show he desires, the medium of television offering no hindrance to his creative vision.

In Elias' interview with Whedon, the article described the relationship between the author and his network as harmonious and fitting his artistic vision, which even extended to the disavowal of certain generic tropes that would have normally been expected of a programme about vampires at the time. She stated that:

> Recent vampire tales have emphasized the genre's sexual undertones, but Mr. Whedon says that interpretation wasn't appropriate for a youth-oriented television series. None of the main characters, including the adult librarian, are sexually active, though their curiosity and fear heightens every foray into danger [...]
>
> Mr. Whedon's talent for creating strong female characters was a crucial factor in having the show accepted by the WB network, which was looking to attract young viewers.[763]

The journalist described the relationship between Whedon and The WB as mutually beneficial. Whedon, no longer the inexperienced filmmaker when creating *Buffy the Vampire Slayer's* original version, built his artistic vision through the medium of television. For The WB, it just so happened that Whedon's idea of the programme coincided with their desire to attract a specific audience demographic. According to the article, the meshing of creator and

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[762] Pearson, Roberta, 'The Writer/Producer in American Television', in *The Contemporary Television Series*, ed. by Michael Hammond and Lucy Mazdon (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), pp. 11–26.
[763] Elias, Justine, 'Buffy Is Sweet, 16 and Slaying Vampires', *The New York Times*, 27 April 1997, p. 3.

network came from the mutual understanding of not adhering to generic expectations, for example, vampires not emphasising sexual connotations and Whedon's ability to write strong female characters. While Patrick Brantlinger says an artist needs complete freedom to create their best artwork,[764] here it appears that for *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* the cooperation between studio and author did not result in a product with less cultural value.

Joss Whedon acknowledged that for a network to pick up a show, it must target key demographics. In an interview in *The New Yorker,* Joss Whedon expressed his understanding of television production. In answering a question related to the network's green-lighting of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* he remarked that he '" sold 'Buffy' [to The WB] as 'The X-Files' meets 'My So-Called Life.' They liked it because 'The X-Files' was a big hit, and because the kid audience buys a lot of shit."'[765] Whedon compared his programme to other successful shows to entice the network to back it. Once again, genre played a key component regarding his comparison. He used *The X-Files* as an example to express *Buffy the Vampire Slayer's* non-verisimilitudes elements and *My So-Called Life* (ABC, 1994-1995), a teen drama, to convey the show's other genre. Whedon maintained the reason his broadcast impressed the executives resulted from the success of the former product and the potential for a younger audience to purchase products related to *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*. Scholars such as Catherine Johnson note the television network's desire for such viewers, as '[f]ans are [...] consumers of ancillary products associated with their favourite

[764] Brantlinger, p. 216.
[765] Friend, Tad, 'Creative Differences', *The New Yorker*, 6 September 1999 https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1999/09/06/creative-differences.

shows.'[766] However, Whedon referring to merchandise as 'shit' delegitimated the economisation of his programme as well as the viewers purchasing such items. Whedon's evident disregard of his viewers threatened to impact the perception of the show's artistic merit negatively by association. Yet, Whedon used his knowledge of the television landscape as a means to an end. He utilised his understanding of networks' need for targeted demographics to get them to fund his work and in this interview, marketed himself as an author outwitting the financial overlords through a savvy understanding of the television industry.

As a result, one can look at Whedon's statements as an artist using his context to create a work. Rod Serling faced similar circumstances with *The Twilight Zone*. As discussed in Chapter 2, Serling, despite having a history of writing on the more legitimate live teleplays, used the perceived delegitimate format of recorded television to create his stories. Yet, while journalists and Serling saw TV as a step back for his cultural value during TV I, the following section displays a difference for TV II. Overall, although one would expect Whedon's own legitimacy to have suffered due to his transition from the more legitimate medium of film to television, it does not seem journalists saw the medium as a step back for him. Instead, Whedon's past legitimacy, like Serling and *The Twilight Zone*, helped legitimate his new product, without writers tarnishing his name for working on the medium. Whedon used the creative space afforded to him by The WB, from a place of mutual benefit, to create a programme he saw as valuable.[767] Furthermore, Whedon structured his own

[766] Johnson, 2010, p.142.
[767] Vassilieva, Julia, and Vervis Constantine, eds., *After Taste: Cultural Value and the Moving Image* (Routledge, 2013), p. 93.

image as author during this period, which he would later further accentuate in his eventual move back to Hollywood.[768]

Awards

Buffy the Vampire Slayer did not have the same success in winning illustrious awards as *The X-Files*. However, while the programme missed out on nominations to major awards such as the Peabody awards and the Emmys,[769] it had victories in smaller awards for the social groups discussed in this thesis.[770] These still served to alter the perception of the show's value, at least to a limited extent.

The Golden Satellite awards, beginning in 1996, were one such awarding body. The Golden Satellite Awards (now known as the Satellite awards) are governed by the International Press Academy and occur annually. The body consists primarily a collection of entertainment journalists from both the US and international television markets. Their main goal is to reward 'the best of the entertainment industry'.[771] While writers did not discuss the Golden Satellite awards as much as other awards,[772] meaning its legitimating value had limitations, it did still receive some attention. Although *Buffy the Vampire Slay*er

[768] Hadas-Dattner, p. 49.
[769] At least in terms of the top awards such as best programme. It did win some technical awards between 1997-2002. However, as noted previously, journalists did not really speak about these awards and were merely listed off in articles about the awards.
[770] The reason I am judging these awards as smaller is because of the less attention the media pays to them.
[771] 'About the IPA', *International Press Academy* <https://www.pressacademy.com/about/> [accessed 22 July 2019].
[772] A search between the years of 1990-2004 for "Golden Satellite" in *The Los Angeles Times, The New York Times* and *Washington Post* database reveals a total result of 60 hits, while a search for the same criteria for "Emmy Award" had 7,601.

never won the award's top category for television, best drama, it won an award in 2002 for the best ensemble cast. A victory in the ensemble cast category also influences thoughts on the show's artistic merit in another way. An ensemble cast was thought of a factor of 'quality' television during TV II. To quote Greg M. Smith; 'an ensemble cast [...] is characteristic of much "quality television."[773] So, a victory for the programme, meaning that they have the best cast according to the Golden Satellite awarding body, also potentially affected the concept of the show's value. The Quality Television Award was another award related to both *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* and 'quality' television. A non-profit organisation that started in 1984 and ended in 2000, The Quality Television Awards' goal was to save products they deemed quality from cancellation. In the award's final year, B*uffy the Vampire Slayer* won the Founder's Award.[774]

Buffy the Vampire Slayer also had moderate success with awards based on genre. Two of the bodies that awarded *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* in several categories were the Saturn Awards and the Hugo. The former began in 1972 and is awarded by The Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy and Horror Films.[775] The programme won a Hugo for 'Best Dramatic Presentation - Short Form' award for the episode 'Conversations with Dead People' in 2002. The show garnered several Saturn awards, including in acting categories. James Marsters won Best Supporting Actor in a TV Series in both 2001 and 2004. His co-star Alyson Hannigan won Best Supporting Actress in a TV Series in 2003. The awards also recognised actors whose first major role was in *Buffy the Vampire*

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[773] Greg, Smith M., *Beautiful TV: The Art and Argument of Ally McBeal* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), p. 75.
[774] Schneider, Michael, 'Television: "Raymond", "West Wing" Earn Quality Awards', *Variety*, 14 August 2000, p. 14.
[775] 'The History of the Saturn Awards', *Saturn Awards* <https://www.saturnawards.org/Saturn-Awards-History.php> [accessed 22 July 2019].

Slayer. James Marsters won the Face of the Future award in 2002, while his co-star Emma Calfield won it the next year. Finally, Sarah Michelle Gellar won for Best Actress in a TV Series multiple times between the years of 1998-2004. As discussed in previous chapters, awards from genre based legitimating institutions only provided cultural value to a small degree. What results is that the value of the awards described above only exists with those that specifically pay attention to the awards and made limited influence on the perception of value for television's elite audience.

Audience

As argued in the previous chapter, TV II represented a period in which the television industry began to recognise the importance of fans. No longer did journalists and others brush fans aside as delegitimate. Instead, certain parts of the media and the industry saw fans as crucial and/or lucrative members of the overall audience. However, the below discussion shows how journalists accepted fans of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* more readily than fans of *The X-Files,* with the latter's delegitimising connotations non-present in the former. The discourses of the shows perceived value, as this chapter displays, linked to *Buffy the Vampire Slayer's* targeted demographic.

As mentioned previously, the discourses surrounding audiences in TV II represent a time of conflicted opinions about fans. The previous chapter presented several examples regarding this apprehension. Certain individuals behind the production of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* shared journalists'

misgivings. *The New York Times'* Marshal Sella's interviewed executive producer Marti Noxon, who described why she had a negative view of fans**:**

> Of course, there are limits to viewers' understanding when it comes to the inner workings of Hollywood. No show runner discusses the boards without using the phrase "grain of salt." Marti Noxon, executive producer of "Buffy the Vampire Slayer, "has had to cut back on her Web visits, in no small measure because some loyal fans quite unjustly turned against her – by name. Internet fans blamed Noxon for changing the tone of the show, which was created by Joss Whedon. One British viewer went so far as to post: "I think Marti Noxon should be on BtVS. And I think Drusilla and Spike should tie her up and torture her, then kill her in the most painful way possible. Then hacking her body beyond recognition so there could be no possible way to make her rise from the grave. They should STAMP on the bits."
>
> Says Noxon: "It all gets very personal. I don't have a strong enough ego to go in there. People on those sites blame me for the darkness of last season's shows, and those story lines were created by Joss a year earlier. This show is a slow-turning ship. But suddenly, I'm the Queen of Darkness on the Net! This year, we've made the show … well, a bit less dark. We get the sense, having read those criticisms, that maybe we've just been amusing ourselves."[776]

[776] Sella, Marshall, 'The Remote Controllers', *The New York Times,* October 2002 https://www.nytimes.com/2002/10/20/magazine/the-remote-controllers.html.

This quotation provided several examples on the negative feeling Noxon had about certain members of the show's audience. Such a negative description of fans only reinforced harmful stereotypes of fan audiences seen throughout TV I. Like previous discussions of fandoms for *Star Trek* and, to a lesser extent, *The X-Files*. Sella's piece appears as one of the most wounding descriptions, factoring the presentation of fans as violent (which was not seen in any other piece). Noxon felt that the audience member's abuse was so harsh she no longer entered sites that talked about her programme. Not only does Noxon's examination delegitimate the perception of fandoms but also her broadcast through association.

Although people like Noxon found some fans sadistic and horrible, other media sources commended passionate and active audience members. [777] Journalists seemed to enjoy certain groups participating in fandom, such as teenagers. *The New York Times'* Julie Salamon described a member of such a group in 2001 along with the role programmes such as *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* played in shaping younger audiences:

> 'When Lily Rothman finished watching "Buffy," she immediately gets on the phone or the internet to analyse the episode with other fans her "Buffy" kibitzers are far-flung, she has met some of them through one of the many Web sites devoted to the show, including a "Buffy"-phile in France who helps Ms Rothman with her French homework.

[777] Powers, Ann, 'Entertainment: Fans Go Interactive, and Popular Culture Feels the Tremors', *The New York Times,* 20 September 2000, p. H25.
Scott, A O, 'A Hunger for Fantasy, an Empire to Feed It', *The New York Times*, 16 June 2002, p. A1.

> Because of "Buffy," she learned a computer language to contribute to the sites and lately has begun writing online fan fiction. "I have so much in common with people I meet through 'Buffy," Ms Rothman said "I can't pinpoint why, exactly, but we tend to like the same music and the same books and the same movies".[778]

The fan that Salamon described above greatly contrasts the image Noxon created previously. Rather than a malicious and sadistic individual who wished death upon the producers of the programme, Salamon noted Rothman as a bright person who benefited from her *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* fandom. The article presented fandom as a warm and loving group of people who used the product and the internet as a means to connect to like-minded individuals. Salamon's reasoning behind people's ability to connect related to the broadcast itself. Though Salamon presented fandom and the show itself, in a positive light, her discourse situated the programme for teens. Again, a teen audience, even a positive and intellectual one, was limited because of children's low/non-existent rank in legitimacy.[779] Even though Salamon discussed the product as educational and with substance, this was only for teenagers. So, not all viewed the programme and its fans as delegitimate, but certain journalists only valued it within its space as a teen broadcast. The inability to spread beyond its teen genre limited how the article above influenced perceptions of the show's value.

As seen throughout the section, TV II marked an era of confliction regarding the legitimacy of fans. However, at the end of the product's lifespan

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[778] Salamon, Julie, 'Teenage Viewers Declare Independence', *The New York Times*, 13 March 2001, p. E1.
[779] Clarke, Andy, Grethe Mitchell, and Ed Hatton, eds., *Videogames and Art*, 2nd edn (Bristol: Intellect, 2013), p. 36.

fandom became more of a legitimator, corresponding, as Newman and Levine argue**,** [780] with the belief that fans serve as a legitimating factor in the convergence era. The *New York Times'* Emily Nussbaum noted the value of fandom in a piece written on the ending of the show:

> Where do we go from here? That's the question the Buffy ensemble asked in one of the finest episodes of "Buffy the Vampire Slayer," the musical episode, a highlight of the much-disputed Season 6 – or at least, much-disputed by the type of person who knows lyrics from an episode of "Buffy the Vampire Slayer," which season they're from, and who sang the,
>
> Because let's face it: there are fans, and there are *fans.* And for seven glorious seasons, Buffy has consistently attracted the second type: your scholarly theory-head, your we geek uploading fan fiction, your cocktail party evangelist. Just because our show has been staked through the heart – the series finale was show a month ago, with all the requisite media mourning and top-10 lists – doesn't mean that our fandom has ended with it. At last, we can start living in the past.[781]

Nussbaum, highlighting the episode 'Once more with Feeling' from season 6, used it to reveal several legitimating elements about the show as a whole. In the quote, she distinguished not only the value of the episode and the broadcast, but also the audience members who watched the programme. In the article, she differentiated 'fans' and '*fans'*, using italics to distinguish between those who

[780] Newman and Levine, p. 58.
[781]Nussbaum.

simply enjoyed the product with those who used more of their energy and time interacting with the show. However, rather than a source of delegitimacy, Nussbaum maintained that '*fans'* acted as a legitimating factor. She described them as similar to academics because of the time they spent researching the show. Nussbaum notes how '*fans'* afforded *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* a positive legitimating connotation. Furthermore, that the broadcast attracted these more intellectual and active audience members provided a positive perception of legitimacy for the product.

As seen in this section, journalists had both a negative and positive idea of fans. However, compared to *The X-Files* there seems to be an improvement in their opinions of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer's*. However, it only extended towards younger members of this audience and not the adults watching the show. Older viewers appeared to need to justify their adoration of the show,[782] usually because of the programme's target audience. The show lacked a certain renown with the elite television audience this thesis examines, which extended toward the product's integration into the media.

Integration

As discussed in the introduction of this chapter, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* did not make the same cultural impact as programmes such as *Star Trek, The Twilight Zone,* or *The X-Files.* Compared to the other case studies presented throughout the thesis, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* had minimal integration into

[782] As evidenced throughout the chapter, with journalists needing to defend their favourable opinion of the programme.

culture. However, similar to the previous case studies presented in this thesis**,** when journalists referenced the show it was in relation to its genre. Yet, unlike the other case studies, the genres referenced were not only part of telefantasy, but also teen.

Entertainment Industry Magazine's Ann Donahue indirectly referenced both audience and genre aspects in her article on the year 2000 Electronic Entertainment Expo held at the Los Angeles convention centre. In a less than dazzled piece, Donahue described the event and those in attendance as 'throngs munching on Pokémon Pop-Tarts and [...] gawkers in line for a photo op with the demons from "Buffy the Vampire Slayer"'.[783] Evidently, Donahue was not impressed with the expo and with those who attended. She described the programme's fans as gawkers, a derogatory term for a person staring extremely intently. The journalist also placed *Buffy the Vampire Slayer's* fans in the same sentence as large masses eating an animation inspired treat. The above quotation, although extremely negative and delegitimating, also revealed an aspect of the case study's fame within culture. In regard to integration it is important to reiterate its role within legitimacy. Integration does not itself legitimate; however, it provided a platform for the other legitimating factors to work. If a cultural product is unknown, it cannot be legitimate. That the writer used *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* and *Pokémon* as a reference point means that she believed that they were the most likely her readership would recognise and understand. While Donahue presented the show in a delegitimate way, the quote proved that

[783] Donahue, Ann, 'Film: Geek Is Chic as Hollywood Finds Videogame Synergy', *Entertainment Industry Magazine*, 15 May 2000, p. 72.

Buffy the Vampire Slayer would have been known well enough with the magazine's readership to not require further explanation.[784]

These fans also had new ways to interact with their programme and each other during TV II, the internet. As stated in Chapter 5, although not in every home, the internet and its use began to normalise during TV II. Certain audience members utilised the emerging platform as a space for creativity. Media sources discussed their concepts**,** often with a sense of amusement and positivity**.** *The New York Times'* Pamela Licalzi O'Connell made note of how these more active viewers fused *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* with another media text, employing the internet as their platform. She wrote in the year 2000; 'Austen.com [...] allows more fanciful interpretation like "crossover" stories in which Austen characters mix with those from other novels or even modern television characters like Buffy the vampire Slayer'. [785] While the article's overall topic was the proliferation of Jane Austen's texts within the media, it nevertheless influenced the construct of cultural value on the case study show. Unlike examples in the previous chapter that denounced fans who used the internet to talk about *The X-Files,* O'Connell's piece appeared to praise them. The feature above demonstrated the ability individuals have to embrace legitimate works[786] and integrate them with works of popular culture. It seems the journalist shared John Frow's view of 'high culture, or rather the *prestige* of high culture, has become largely irrelevant',[787] at least regarding certain television audiences and writers who analyse the medium.

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[784] Johnson, Dowd, and Ridgeway, p.55.
[785] O'Connell, Pamela Licalzi, 'A World Without End for Fans of Jane Austen', *The New York Times,* 13 January 2000, p. G10.
[786] Simons, Judy, 'Classics and Trash: Reading Austen in the 1990s', *Women's Writing,* 5 (1998), 27–42.
[787] Frow, p. 37.

Different instances of journalists discussing *Buffy the Vampire* outside of the programme's context occurred when actors of the show worked on other projects.[788] Articles about Sarah Michelle Geller's work exterior of the product often explained her roles outside of the case study show.[789] Although primarily a representation of Geller's star image, it also has integrative abilities since the discussions of the broadcast took place away from the case study. Further instances of writing not directly about the programme relate to products based on the show**.** Journalists talked tongue in cheek about *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* action figures coming 'complete with two stakes and a dagger'.[790] Though the section of integration has throughout this thesis primarily discussed the mentions of the case study outside of television discourses, in *Buffy the Vampire Slayer's* case, integration connected indirectly to the case study, such as star image and merchandise.

Once again, generic elements present within the programme influenced writing on it. While none of the facets above inherently affect the legitimacy of the product, they do at least spread its notoriety among the population.[791] However, a lack of notoriety did not mean the broadcast was never used as a reference point in culture. One of the unique examples of the show integrating into society was Anthony H. Cordesman's paper on biological warfare. *The New*

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[788] 'Hollywood Hot Set', *Boxoffice*, 1 January 2000, p. 136.
Ellingson, Anniee, 'Sundance Reviews: Psycho Beach Party', *Boxoffice*, 1 April 2000, p. 136; Carter, Bill, 'What Has Happened to All of the Big Stars of Television?', *The New York Times*, 14 June 1999, p. C1; Rentmeester, Marlien, 'Wait Until Dark', *Seventeen*, November 1997, p. 126.
[789]Harrington, Richard, '"Summer" Time: The Living Is Deadly', *The Washington Post*, 17 October 1997, p. 33; Shaw, Jessica, 'Sarah Michelle Gellar: On the Set of Buffy the Vampire Slayer', *Seventeen*, February 1996, pp. 79–81 <1998>.
[790] 'Fox Variety', *Entertainment Industry Magazine*, 7 February 2000, p. 70.
[791] Based on search criteria discussed in the Introduction chapter.

York Times' Lisa Tozzi noted how the programme was used in Cordesman's paper. She found that:

> 'What "Buffy the Vampire Slayer" and her gang don't do is create plans, learn from mistakes or pause to think about what they're up against. And in these regards, they are a lot like us – or so says Anthony H. Cordesman, the holder of the Arleigh A. Burke Chair in Strategy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and a longtime ABC news military analyst.
>
> In a paper titled "Biological Warfare and the Buffy Paradigm," Mr. Cordesman suggests that the challenges (and shortcomings) facing the United States in the war on terrorism are not unlike those facing Buffy and Company. After all, they too lice under a constant threat, or at least over one: Buffy's town, the story goes, is built atop an evil portal that "every slag wants to unlock" so as to " unleash hell on earth."[792]

As Tozzi described, Cordesman used the narrative features prevalent in *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* as a point of reference for his paper. Evidently though, the programme was used as a what not to do, or at least as a what the US should do differently. As stressed throughout the thesis, cultural impact or recognition in and of itself was not a legitimating factor.[793] However, without this factor the legitimating value of any other factor would be limited, as without an audience to legitimate for, a product's cultural value cannot increase.

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[792] Tozzi, Lisa, 'In Slaying Terroris, It's Good to Be Better Than Buffy', *The New York Times*, 4 August 2002 https://www.nytimes.com/2002/08/04/weekinreview/word-for-word-biting-words-slaying-terrorism-it-s-good-be-better-than-buffy.html.

[793] Belfiore, Eleonora, 'Whose Cultural Value? Representation, Power and Creative Industries', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 2018, p. 5.

Academia

As with *The X-Files,* academics quickly began studying *Buffy the Vampire* after its initial airing. This included academic conferences, which journalists attended and wrote about, journal articles, and book length study. In TV II, academia's focus on the medium, choosing to study it, provided television legitimacy. However, as the example below implies, not all agree that television programmes like *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* deserve academic attention.

The New York Times' Charles Taylor, who attended an academic conference on *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* at the University of East Anglia in 2002 (the first ever dedicated to the show), discussed why and how the show was studied:

> Let's get the giggles and snorts out of the way now. The idea of an academic conference devoted to a show called "Buffy the Vampire Slayer" is bound to arouse derision and all sorts of talk about the trivialization of academia. That condescending cast of mind is all too familiar to those of us who have championed this gothic teen drama as the most darling, innovative and emotionally complex show on television.
>
> Like all great fantasies, "Buffy" is grounded in emotional reality. Its fantastic elements only serve to heighten and amplify its emotional impact (just as the bigness of opera amplifies emotion). Now in its seventh season, "Buffy" has escaped the staleness that overtakes almost all long-running television series. Like the "Harry Potter"

> books, it confronts darker and scarier emotions as its characters grow older.
>
> It's "a tremendously rick text," said Dr. Carol O'Sullivan, the associate director of the university's British Centre for literary translation and an organizer of the conference.
>
> "It's now built up as a body of work substantial enough, as well thought out enough, that it sort of lays itself open and invites interpretation," she said.
>
> So a "Buffy" conference is no more outlandish than the notion of academic attention being paid to C.S. Lewis's "Narnia" books or to "The Lord of the Rings." Though it may still amuse those whom "adult television" is epitomized by the and dull civic lessons of "The West Wing."[794]

The quotation begins by discussing the very delegitimacy associated with the analysis of a telefantasy programme in an academic circle. He found that the readership of his publication would 'giggle and snort' at the very idea that *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* would be an area of discussion for academics, leading to the thought academia itself was being trivialised. However, Taylor devoted the rest of his piece to defend these academics' choice in topic, and the broadcast itself. To achieve his goal, the writer focused on the case study's emotional reality, or in other words, the parts of the programme not related to telefantasy. He stated that the show only uses the non-verisimilitudes elements to further heighten these emotional features. Once again, as seen throughout the thesis with the

[794] Taylor, Charles, 'A Weekend With Buffy the Vampire Slayer and Seminar Topic', *The New York Times*, 24 November 2002, p. A38.

previous case studies, in a discussion of the legitimacy of the cultural product in question the generic elements were distanced to discuss more conventional factors of legitimacy, such as the emotional facets that would associate with a drama. Richard Campbell similarly related the role the show had with other media such as the *Harry Potter* series.[795] He compared it to an extremely popular book series at the time, the *Harry Potter* series, to demonstrate the programme's value. He also found that, just as was seen in the example from *The X-Files*, the connection between these texts as a development for study was necessary, comparing the study of the show to the study of *The Chronicles of Narnia* and *The Lord of the Rings.*[796] Finally, the writer went on to quote the academics who noticed that as the product got 'darker', meaning the themes and topics of the episode grew more serious and adult in tone so did the complexity of the broadcast's story world. For the academics discussed above, the more the show moved away from its teen genre, the more it was worth studying.

However, the above academics included in the article are but a few who found *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* worthy of study. Other academics who produced works on the series while it aired include: Frances H. Early and his study of the show's transgressive features,[797] Susan Owen's research of the programme's reflection of postmodernity and postfeminism, [798] and Dominic Alessio's

[795] Campbell, Richard, 'Demons, Aliens, Teens and Television', *Television Quarterly*, 4 (2001), 6–64; The *Harry Potter* series consists of 7 books published between the years of 1997 to 2007 written by J. K. Rowling.
[796] *The Chronicles of Narnia* is a book series consisting of seven novels published between the years of 1950-1956 written by C. S. Lewis. *The Lord Of the Rings* series was written by J. R. R. Tolkien, published in three parts between 1954-1955.
[797] Early, Frances. H, 'Staking Her Claim: Buffy the Vampire Slayer as Transgressive', *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 35 (2004), 11–27.
[798] Owen.

discourse on *Buffy the Vampire Slayer's* postcolonial interpretations.[799] Although but a small example of the work produced during the case study's airing,[800] the interest from academia with *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* certainly influenced the perception of the show's cultural value, with the show being vastly studied in its time, including a number of book length publications and a journal dedicated to the programme and its author Joss Whedon.[801]

Stéphane Debenedetti presents evidence of academia's impact on the general population's taste hierarchies. Comparing the status of academics and critics, Debenedetti finds that 'Like academics, who share their expert status, critics can produce symbolic profit for artists and other arts professionals in the shape of fame, reputation or legitimacy.'[802] And this section analysed both areas of value, with the intellectualisation of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* by academics and the journalists that cover their endeavours providing positive cultural value for television elites.

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[799] Alessio, Dominic, '"Things Are Different Now"?: A Postcolonial Analysis of Buffy the Vampire', *The European Legacy: Toward New Paradigms*, 6 (2001), 731–40.

[800] A search on Google Scholar for *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* between the dates of 1996 and 2003 yields 1140 hits.

[801] Academic texts include book length academics studies such as; Adams, Michael, *Slayer Slang: A Buffy the Vampire Slayer Lexicon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Wilcox, Rhonda V., and David Lavery, eds., *Fighting the Forces: What's at Stake in Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2002); Wilcox, Rhonda, *Why Buffy Matters: The Art of Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005). Started in 2001, *Slayer: The Journal of Whedon Studies* analyses the programme and its authors. https://www.whedonstudies.tv/slayage-the-journal-of-whedon-studies.html.

[802] Debenedetti, Tephane, 'The Role of Media Critics in the Cultural Industries',*International Journal of Arts Management*, 8 (2006), pp. 30–42 (30).

Conclusion

This chapter evaluated the various discourses constructing the perception of the cultural value of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer.* As seen throughout the thesis, genre played a significant influence in many facets of legitimating criteria for a telefantasy. However, unique to *Buffy the Vampire Slayer,* was the show's other distinct genre, teen, which played even more of a role in the idea of the broadcast's legitimacy than its status as telefantasy. Both genres were key in discussions regarding the programme's presentation of cultural commentary, as the show used telefantasy themes to create stories reflecting issues important to teenagers. Genre too affected journalists' view of the product's textual elements. Media commentators praised the broadcast generally for its writing and other textual features often despite its teen genre**.** Writers identified Joss Whedon as the author of the programme. While some might think moving to television delegitimated Whedon's value, it was instead found that changing medium allowed him the space to fulfil his role as an author. The show did not reach the lofty heights of *The X-Files* in terms of awards but still managed success with more minor awarding institutions. The case study played an influential role in the success of its network. The recognition of the product's valuable role for its channel allowed journalists to report on the programme positively. Unlike *The X-Files,* writers more readily accepted hardcore fans for the broadcast, especially teens, as valuable. While not having the same integration into culture as some previous case studies, journalists outside of television still referenced the programme occasionally. The chapter examined how during TV II

academics began using telefantasy products as a topic of study, with their examinations spreading to general media.

Buffy the Vampire Slayers' conclusion in 2003 also roughly marks the end of TV II, and with it the conclusion of this thesis scope. Evidently, there was much change from TV I to TV II in terms of legitimating factors and how journalists discussed telefantasy programmes. The conclusion of this thesis, while outlining what the thesis has accomplished and present future arguments also takes time to analyse the development and change of legitimacy between all four case studies.

Conclusion

This thesis analysed how the view and construction of telefantasy's legitimacy evolved through two eras of television history. It has done so by examining the perception and construction of cultural value for four case studies, two from TV I and two for TV II. The overall findings show how telefantasy did become more accepted and legitimated over time (even if *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* was not fully legitimated), with the various legitimating factors each providing evidence of this evolution of telefantasy's constructed cultural value. The examination of the legitimating factors reveals the diverse industrial reasons the recognition of telefantasy's legitimacy changed. Many interlinked factors account for the shift in the awareness of telefantasy's legitimacy between TV I and TV II, the below summarises these developments, highlighting the ways in which each case study represented a part of the genre's discerned cultural value. Each paragraph examines the evolution for each legitimating factor discussed throughout the thesis.

Authorship's value as a legitimating factor, with its formation in other media like literature and film, varied little over the years for telefantasy. The formation of an author figure for these programmes, a single individual who assumed the mantle of artistic visionary, always legitimated, even if this was done out of promotional purposes by the author. This was because the power to legitimate lied within the journalistic sources, which bestowed their own legitimacy onto the author's discourses. What changes, dependent on respective case study rather than time, was the amount to which each author legitimated the television show. Their work before authoring the respective programme

influenced the construction of the telefantasy's cultural value. Rod Serling, with his history as a script writer on television's 'golden age' presentations, and Joss Whedon, as an established Hollywood scriptwriter carried their past work's fame with them to their new projects. For Serling and Whedon, television (or in Serling's case, recorded television) first appeared as a step down, with journalists remarking the two had previously created in much more legitimate forms. Later, once cultural commentators sampled their other products, the authors' past achievements fell to the background to a certain extent. Gene Roddenberry and Chris Carter too shared similarities: they were virtual unknowns with little endeavour of note before starting their programmes. What the study of these authors revealed was the ability for a telefantasy to raise the perception of both the author's legitimacy and their works. Thus, both Roddenberry and Carter would use their shows to become the prominent authorship figure. The position and role of the author within the show also influenced discussions of the programme's textual elements.

Debates of telefantasies' textual elements changed through time. In TV I, industry-based publications only provided limited deliberations of its textual elements, and their notes were usually small descriptions of a component of the text being good or bad. In TV II, these discourses developed immensely, spanning multiple pages in reputable sources. In TV II there was a significant increase in the value placed upon textual elements by the media, leading to telefantasy being taken more seriously as an art form. To paraphrase Shyon Baumann, there has to exist a space within the industry for the evolution of discourse on the cultural product's form to allow for the increased perception of

cultural value, especially concerning textual elements.[803] Discourses about textual elements of the programmes often linked to journalists' view on the genre of a show.

Genre had a significant role in the notion of telefantasy's cultural value, frequently influencing many other factors like cultural commentary, textual elements, and authorship. Telefantasy's relationship to the genres within it caused issues with a show's legitimacy, as generic terms such as 'science fiction' had delegitimate connotations. Hence, those planning to attempt to legitimate a programme avoided these labels, with journalists, and even the authors themselves, choosing other words to describe the show. *The Twilight Zone* was at times tagged as 'stories of the imagination' or 'sheer fantasy', *Star Trek* was called a western in space, and journalists discussed *The X-Files* regarding its investigatory factors. In different articles, journalists opted for generic stamps such as science fiction to convey the essence of the programme to their audience, disavowing any nuances the show in question had, while suffering delegitimacy because of the connotations of this label. *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* had a unique issue of genre, existing with both aspects of genres within telefantasy and that of a teen show. The latter often trumped the former as a point of discourse, as it was generally the show's teen genre cultural commentators focused on when attempting to legitimate the show. What this means for telefantasy is, at the least, the show's fantastical elements no longer present the same danger for legitimacy as other genres such as teen. However, as seen throughout the thesis, whereas telefantasys themselves appeared to gradually become more legitimate over time, generic labels like science fiction were avoided. So, while the shows themselves

[803] Baumann, 2007, p. 22.

were perceived as more culturally valuable, genre labels associated with telefantasy were not.

Cultural commentary played a crucial role in communication of telefantasy's legitimacy, as the genres in telefantasy offered indirect ways of representing current social issues. Indeed, in TV I when the networks were cautious about programming that may have upset audiences and advertisers, the genres within telefantasy presented a means for engaging with contemporary problems. The two authors of the case study programmes of this era varied their approach regarding the topic. Serling maintained his show had no cultural commentary whatsoever, while on the other hand, Roddenberry declared it as one of the best aspects of *Star Trek*. Although the reasoning behind their different approaches to the topic could be speculated on,[804] journalists did understand their tactics with respect to cultural commentary, as they either agreed with Roddenberry or saw through Serling's pretence. When journalists frequently praised the ability of telefantasy to resonate with the contemporary. Little changed in TV II as journalists continued to praise telefantasies for their capability to critique social arrangements. The shift in the television industry afforded the two case study shows greater freedom to reflect upon their times, with diminished fear of repercussions from their respective networks or

[804] There is evidence to suggest that by the time Serling worked on *The Twilight Zone* he had an amicable relationship with advertisers. Serling's past work had upset them at times, but his new recorded half hour show offered a chance to make amends. A pragmatist who wanted to continue creating programming for television, there is reason to believe Serling would not want to upset them by clearly pointing out some of the political issues potentially behind some of the episodes of his show; Brown, Les, 'Rod Serling as TV's "Reformed Angry Young Man" Goes on "Film Vacation"', *Variety1*, 30 September 1959, p. 43. On the other hand, Roddenberry had to fight every year to keep his relatively low viewed *Star Trek* on the air. One way he hoped to achieve further notoriety is by clearly pointing out all the various social issues his programme was unafraid to tackle; Page, Don, 'Enterprising Star Trek Taps TV's Potential', *The Los Angeles Times*, 13 August 1968, p. 1.

advertisers. In both eras of television, telefantasy's power to use its generic aspects to comment on culture contributed to legitimacy.

Genre too had a significant role in the legitimating factor of comparison for the case studies. When applying *The Twilight Zone* as a point of comparison, journalists readily used the programme's creepy tone and strange occurrences; the show becoming the benchmark of comparison for any other show or event having such principles. For *Star Trek*, science fiction elements stood out as journalists' favourite comparable trait, especially regarding shows of a similar genre. However, these generic connections often led to comparisons with delegitimated children's media such as comic books. Journalists repeatedly compared *The X-Files* to *The Twilight Zone* in both tone and quality, with the latter show accepted as a classic of television by TV II. Genre crucially became the crux of comparisons involving *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, but like many other factors relating to the show's genre, its place as a teen show influenced journalists as much as its telefantasy factor. While all programmes had differences in terms of comparisons and contrasts about them, there were also related patterns. Journalists compared shows displaying components of horror, as seen in the case studies besides *Star Trek*, to gothic fiction. In TV II, cultural commentators compared contemporary to past shows creating connections of legitimacy between the two eras of television.

The changing view of telefantasy's audiences provided this study with one of its most diverse legitimating factors, with each show revealing different views of fans and telefantasy viewers. For *The Twilight Zone*, journalists praised those who watched the show. They saw watching the programme as something stimulating, although this had more to do with Rod Serling's role as a famed

writer rather than the show itself. The opinions of *Star Trek's* viewers were more varied. Some journalists regarded the show's audience as miscreants who wasted time trying to save a dying television show instead of engaging with, in their opinion, more worthwhile endeavours. Those behind the creation of the programme unapologetically publicised the various famous and influential fans and individual audience members the programme had. Mistrust of fans similarly occurred with *The X-Files*, as journalists were unsure whether to praise the show because it had a devoted spectatorship, or to criticise it as these viewers were choosing to interact with each other in strange ways (such as the use of the internet). The role of the audience in *Buffy the Vampire Slayer's* cultural value was much clearer: journalists accepted that teenagers would be fans. However, outside of this age group, older adults engaging with the programme had to justify their watching practices. Fans of telefantasies, like the shows themselves, faced their own issues of cultural value within the media. Journalist's gradual acceptance of fans as not necessarily negative shows a slow but evolving relationship with the legitimacy of the programmes themselves.

Integration's curious place as a factor of legitimacy stayed unchanged between the two periods of television history. Reliant on other legitimating factors while also needed for a perception of cultural value to exist, a show's ability to enter discourses apart from television remained key to display its fame exterior of its medium. Journalists' familiarity with *The Twilight Zone* pre-existed the show itself, with the use of the phrase 'twilight zone' prevalent long before the programme. Yet, when *The Twilight Zone* came on the air, many shifted from 'twilight zone' to reference specifically the show, evidenced through the use of italics, apostrophes, or contextualisation. *The Twilight Zone*

took the phrase ‘twilight zone’ and provided it with a specific connotation. *Star Trek* became synonymous with space and science fiction. *The X-Files* mirrored *The Twilight Zone* with its acceptance into the lexicon derived from the show’s atmosphere and paranormal events. *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* had the least integration of the case studies, likely resulting from the show’s comparatively low popularity and the view of it as a teen show. The study of the programmes’ integration into areas outside of television revealed the familiarity the shows established with a more universal audience. Telefantasies managed to infiltrate media institutions over than general print media.

Legitimating institutions such as awarding bodies proved an unchanging format of legitimacy through time. It appears in both eras of television, an award from certain bodies, especially the likes of the Emmys, the Peabody, and to a lesser extent, the Golden Globes, provided telefantasy a clear indicator of its cultural value. However, while the prestige brought by the awards themselves did not change, telefantasy programmes’ rate of victory within them did. Indeed, with *The X-File*’s *Peabody Award,* a telefantasy reached what was perhaps the pinnacle of legitimacy for a television show. Yet, as deliberated in the outset, it would be a little longer until a telefantasy won an Emmy for ‘Outstanding Drama’, one of the top awards in the television industry specifically. In both TV I and TV II, telefantasy shows did not gain favour with the awarding bodies like the Emmy awards, and often had to settle for more obscure awards with less legitimating value with the audience discussed in this thesis, similar to the Hugo.

Finally, the absence of academic attention during TV I and its emergence in TV II points to a clear change in discussions of cultural value. Telefantasy evolved enough from TV I to TV II where discourses from academia became

both available, even reported on by journalists. Between the periods of TV I and TV II, telefantasy had become worthy of review in the halls of academia. The acceptance of telefantasy within academic research, directly provides evidence of telefantasy's growing cultural value with society.

While Baumann maintains that his legitimating framework could be used to figure the cultural value of any text,[805] I argue that my framework would change form depending on the group within society's cultural value analysed and what object. This study has shown how unique and circumstantial factors or criteria of legitimacy are. The applications in the discussions of each legitimating criterion, similar to how genre has continually influenced the case study programmes in the time periods specified, relates uniquely to telefantasy. Other types of television would require a different interpretation of the various factors presented in this thesis, while changing the social group studied would likewise change not only the primary source data is gathered from but also how one would explain this data. Unlike studies investigating the whole of television's legitimacy, like Newman and Levine,[806] this text sought to establish how a specific area of television's legitimacy changes. Although Charlotte E. Howell examines the development of legitimacy within science fiction television during TV II, her limited scope focussed upon the legitimating criteria of one awarding body, the Peabody,[807] which demonstrates a lack in the depth, breadth, and analysis when compared to this thesis. So, when investigating discourses of legitimacy for another period, another medium, or even another social group, the legitimating factors should be different, at least in some areas.

[805] Baumann, 2007, p. 18.
[806] Newman and Levine.
[807] Howell, p.40.

What my study finds that applies to other texts is the very notion of creating legitimating factors based upon those individual social groups and the texts in question, seeing how value is constructed. For example, what is the perception of legitimacy for new media such as video games or social media, and how did it change through time? What are the differences in legitimating deliberations of telefantasy between two contrasting societies in the same period, like the USA and the UK during TV I? While the legitimating factors of this study are unique to telefantasy in a way, it does not mean its methodology cannot apply to other cultural products. An examination in sectors as vast from different kinds of television, similar to soap opera, animation, and professional wrestling (to name but a few examples) could yield fascinating insights into the legitimacy of these areas of television for different social groups. The analysis of these cultural products in a contextually contingent way (for example looking at the legitimacy of early animation in the 1960s or professional wrestling in the 1990s) holds ground for a myriad of discoveries regarding how social groups view television texts. Potential exists in areas outside of the medium as well as well. Discourses of the relatively new Youtuber culture may provide captivating looks into a developing medium, while a study of film possibly provides more insight into the history of a society, due to how old the medium is. Even unrelated areas like food, sports, and music all have examinable conversations relating to ideas of value.

The implications of my study not only reveal the discourses relating to the views of legitimacy for telefantasy during these two periods but offers an even deeper insight into the discernment of value of these different societies at a given time. The belief in something's value over another is imagined. However,

since most people in society perceive and construct legitimacy, does this make it any less real? Understanding the notion of cultural value for a product is not only about comprehending the item in question, but also about grasping society's perception and construction of legitimacy.

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Appendix A

Name of Programme	Year Aired	Year Cancelled	Network(s) Aired on	Production Company	Type of show other than regular weekly telefantasy programme
Lights Out	1946	1952	NBC	NBC Television	
Actors Studio — The Inexperienced Ghost	1948	1948	ABC	Actors Studio, The World Video Company	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Kraft Television Theatre - Hansel and Gretel	1948	1948	NBC	J. Walter Thompson Agency	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Philco Television Playhouse — A Christmas Carol	1948	1948	NBC	Showcase Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Actors Studio — The Canterville Ghost	1949	1949	CBS	Clanese Corporation	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Actors Studio — The Tell-Tale Heart	1949	1949	CBS	Actors Studio, The World Video Company	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Ford Theatre — Outward Bound	1949	1949	CBS	Ford Motor Company, Screen Gems Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Kraft Television Theatre — Gramercy Ghost	1949	1949	NBC	J. Walter Thompson Agency	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Kraft Television Theatre — The Man in Half Moon Street	1949	1949	NBC	J. Walter Thompson Agency	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Philco Television Playhouse — Mr Mirgenthwirker's Lobblies	1949	1949	NBC	Showcase Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Studio One — The Dybbuk	1949	1949	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Studio One — Kyra Zelas	1949	1949	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements

Studio One — Mary Poppins	1949	1949	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Studio One — Moment of Truth	1949	1949	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Studio One — The Rival Dummy	1949	1949	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Suspense — The Cask of Amontillado	1949	1949	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Suspense — Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde	1949	1949	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Suspense — The Monkey's Paw	1949	1949	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Suspense — Black Passage	1949	1949	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Your Show Time — The Invisible Wound	1949	1949	NBC	Realm Production	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Danger – Another Man's Poison	1950	1950	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Fireside Theatre — The Canterville Ghost	1950	1950	NBC	General Television Enterprises Hal Roach Studios Lewman Productions/Revue Studios	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Ford Theatre — Alice in Wonderland	1950	1950	CBS	Ford Motor Company, Screen Gems Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Ford Theatre — Dear Brutus	1950	1950	CBS	Ford Motor Company, Screen Gems Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Hands of Destiny — The Flying Saucers	1950	1950	DuMont	DuMont Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Hands of Murder — The Hiroshima Ghost	1950	1950	DuMont	DuMont Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Hands of Mystery — Watch the Birdie	1950	1950	DuMont	DuMont Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements

Kraft Television Theatre — Rip Van Winkle	1950	1950	NBC	J. Walter Thompson Agency	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Kraft Television Theatre — The Wind is Ninety	1950	1950	NBC	J. Walter Thompson Agency	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Philico Television Playhouse — High Tor	1950	1950	NBC	Showcase Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Robert Montgomery Presents — The Canterville Ghost	1950	1950	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Suspense — The Monkey's Paw	1950	1950	NBC	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Captain Z-Ro	1951	1956	KRON/KTTV, Syndication	W.A. Palmer Films, Captain Z-Ro Productions	
Danger — The Corpse and Tighe O'Kane	1951	1951	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Danger — The Ghost is Your Heart	1951	1951	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Fireside Theatre — A Christmas Carol	1951	1951	NBC	General Television Enterprises Hal Roach Studios Lewman Productions/Revue Studios	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Hollywood Premiere Theatre — The Spectre	1951	1951	ABC	ABC Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Kraft Television Theatre — Dear Brutus	1951	1951	NBC	J. Walter Thompson Agency	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Kraft Television Theatre — Mr Mergenthwirker's Lobblies	1951	1951	NBC	J. Walter Thompson Agency	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Philico Television Playhouse — Mr Arcularis	1951	1951	NBC	Showcase Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Stars Over Hollywood — Girl or Ghost	1951	1951	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Studio One — The Innocence of Pastor Muller	1951	1951	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements

Suspense — Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde	1951	1951	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Tales of Tomorrow	1951	1953	ABC	ABC Productions	
The Adventures of Superman	1952	1958	Syndicated	Superman Inc.	
CBS Workshop — The Rocket	1952	1952	CBS	CBS Television Network	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
CBS Workshop — The Sound Machine	1952	1952	CBS	CBS Television Network	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Celanese Theatre — On Borrowed Time	1952	1952	ABC	Celanese Corporation	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Chevron Theatre — The Bacular Clock	1952	1952	Syndicated	MCA/Revue Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Chevron Theatre — Playmates	1952	1952	Syndicated	MCA/Revue Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Chevron Theatre — The Whistling Room	1952	1952	Syndicated	MCA/Revue Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Chevron Theatre — Yesterday's World	1952	1952	Syndicated	MCA/Revue Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
The Clock — Voice from Mars	1952	1952	ABC	CTVA	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Ford Theatre — Heart of Gold	1952	1952	NBC	Ford Motor Company, Screen Gems Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Gruen Guild Playhoues — Al Haddon's Lamp	1952	1952	DuMont	Revue Studios	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Gruen Guild Playhoues — The Cornershop	1952	1952	DuMont	Revue Studios	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Gruen Guild Playhoues — The Tiger	1952	1952	DuMont	Revue Studios	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Kraft Television Theatre — A Christmas Carol	1952	1952	NBC	J. Walter Thompson Agency	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements

Philico Television Playhouse — Holday Song	1952	1952	NBC	Showcase Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Robert Montgomery Presents — Nostradamus Berry	1952	1952	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Schaefer Century Theatre — Shooting Star	1952	1952	Syndicated (CTVA)	CTVA	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Schaefer Century Theatre — Yesterday's World	1952	1952	Syndicated (CTVA)	CTVA	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Studio One — A Conneciticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court	1952	1952	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Studio One — The Formula	1952	1952	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Suspense — All Hallow's Eve	1952	1952	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
The Unexpected — Beyond Belief	1952	1952	Syndicated	Ziv Television Programs, Inc	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
The Unexpected — Born Again	1952	1952	Syndicated	Ziv Television Programs, Inc	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
The Unexpected — The Eyeglasses	1952	1952	Syndicated	Ziv Television Programs, Inc	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
The Unexpected — The Witch of the Eight Islands	1952	1952	Syndicated	Ziv Television Programs, Inc	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Broadway Television Theatre — R.U.R.	1953	1953	Syndicated	WOR-TV	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Chrysler Medallion Theatre — The Canterville Ghost	1953	1953	NBC	Chrysler Corporation	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Douglas Fairbanks Presents — The Genie	1953	1953	NBC	Douglas Fairbanks Jr. Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Douglas Fairbanks Presents — Princess Pocket	1953	1953	NBC	Douglas Fairbanks Jr. Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Douglas Fairbanks Presents — The Scream	1953	1953	NBC	Douglas Fairbanks Jr. Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements

Footlights Theater — Heart of Gold	1953	1953	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Four Star Playhouse — The Man Who Walked Out on Himself	1953	1953	CBS	Four Star Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
General Electric Theatre — The Win of St Alban's	1953	1953	CBS	MCA/Revue Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Johnny Jupiter	1953	1953	Dumont	International Motion Picture Studios	
Kraft Television Theare — A Christmas Carol	1953	1953	ABC	J. Walter Thompson Agency	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Kraft Television Theare — Lobblies Never Lie	1953	1953	NBC	J. Walter Thompson Agency	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Kraft Television Theare — Rip Van Winkle	1953	1953	NBC	J. Walter Thompson Agency	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Kraft Television Theare — The White Carnation	1953	1953	ABC	J. Walter Thompson Agency	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Motorola TV Hour — The Thirteen Clocks	1953	1953	ABC	Herbert Prodkin Production	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Operation Neptune	1953	1953	NBC	NBC Television	
Philico Television Playhouse — Holiday Song	1953	1953	NBC	Showcase Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Philip Morris Playhouse — Temptation	1953	1953	CBS	CBS Television Network	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Revlon Mirror Theater — The Bottle Party	1953	1953	NBC	Revue Studios	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Revlon Mirror Theater — Don't Wink at Fate	1953	1953	NBC	Revue Studios	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Robert Montgomery Presents — The Outer Limit	1953	1953	NBC	Neptune Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Rod Brown of the Rocket Rangers	1953	1954	CBS	CBS Television Network	

Studio One — 1984	1953	1953	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Suspense — The Gift of Fear	1953	1953	ABC	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Suspense — The Others	1953	1953	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Suspense — Signal Man	1953	1953	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Suspense — The Valley of the Kings	1953	1953	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Topper	1953	1955	CBS	CBS Television Network	
Your Favourite Story — The Canterville Ghost	1953	1953	NBC	Ziv Television Programs, Inc	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Your Favourite Story — The Gold Bug	1953	1953	NBC	Ziv Television Programs, Inc	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Your Favourite Story — The Magician	1953	1953	NBC	Ziv Television Programs, Inc	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Your Favourite Story — The Man Who Sold His Shadow	1953	1953	NBC	Ziv Television Programs, Inc	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Your Favourite Story — Vice Versa	1953	1953	NBC	Ziv Television Programs, Inc	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Your Jeweler's Showcase — Monkey's Paw	1953	1953	CBS	Flamingo Films	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Your Play Time — The Adventure of the Frightened Baronet	1953	1953	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Your Play Time — The Corner Shop	1953	1953	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Broadway Television Theatre — Gramercy Ghost	1954	1954	Syndicated	WOR-TV	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Captain Midnight	1954	1958	CBS	Screen Gems Television	

Center Stage — Lucky Louie	1954	1954	ABC	ABC Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Danger — Sredni Vashtar	1954	1954	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Douglas Fairbanks Presents — Pardon My Ghost	1954	1954	NBC	Douglas Fairbanks Jr. Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Flash Gordon	1954	1955	DuMont (Syndicated)	Inter-Continental Film Productions	
Ford Theatre — The Unlocked Door	1954	1954	NBC	Ford Motor Company, Screen Gems Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Kraft Television Theatre — Alice in Wonderland	1954	1954	NBC	J. Walter Thompson Agency	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Kraft Television Theatre — A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court	1954	1954	ABC	J. Walter Thompson Agency	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Kraft Television Theatre — Death Takes a Holiday	1954	1954	ABC	J. Walter Thompson Agency	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
The Loretta Young Show — The Lamp	1954	1954	NBC	Lewislor Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Motorola TV Hour — Atomic Attack	1954	1954	ABC	Herbert Prodkin Production	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Rocky Jones, Space Ranger	1954	1954	Syndicated	Roland Reed Productions	
Studio 57 — Ring Once for Death	1954	1954	DuMont	Revue Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Studio 57 — The Traveling Room	1954	1954	DuMont	Revue Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Studio One — Experiment Perilous	1954	1954	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Suspense — An Affair with a Ghost	1954	1954	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements

20th Century Fox Hours — The Miracle of 34th Street	1955	1955	CBS	TCF Television Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Climax! — Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde	1955	1955	CBS	CBS Television Network	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Commando Cody	1955	1955	NBC	Republic Pictures	
Danger — The Birds	1955	1955	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Four Star Playhouse — The Devil to Pay	1955	1955	CBS	Four Star Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Four Star Theatre — The Frightened Woman	1955	1955	CBS	Four Star Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Front Row Center — Outward Bound	1955	1955	CBS	CBS Television Network	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
General Electric Theatre — The Return of Gentleman Jim	1955	1955	CBS	MCA/Revue Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Goodyear Television Playhouse — Visit to a Small Planet	1955	1955	NBC	Showcase Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Hallmark Hall of Fame — Alice in Wonderland	1995	1995	NBC	Hallmark Hall of Fame Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Kraft Television Theatre — Gramercy Ghost	1955	1955	NBC	J. Walter Thompson Agency	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Kraft Television Theatre — Haunted	1955	1955	NBC	J. Walter Thompson Agency	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Lux Video Theatre — It Grows on Trees	1995	1955	NBC	J. Walter Thompson Agency	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Max Liebman Presents — A Connecitcut Yankee	1955	1955	NBC	Max Liebman Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Medic — Flash of Darkness	1955	1955	NBC	Medic Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements

Pepsi Cola Playhouse — Petersen's Eye	1955	1955	ABC	Revue Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Producer's Showcase — Peter Pan	1955	1955	ABC	Showcase Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Science Fiction Theatre	1955	1957	Syndicated	Ivan Tors Productions	
The Star and the Story — Dark Stranger	1955	1955	Syndicated	Four Star Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
The Star and the Story — Honolulu	1955	1955	Syndicated	Four Star Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
The Star and the Story — The Man Who Was Dead	1955	1955	Syndicated	Four Star Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Star Tonight — Zero Hour	1955	1955	ABC	ABC Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Studio One — Donovan's Brain	1955	1955	ABC	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Your Favorite Story — The Unforeseen	1955	1955	NBC	Ziv Television Programs, Inc	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
20th Century Fox Hours — Stranger in the Night	1956	1956	CBS	TCF Television Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
The Adventures of Fu Manchu	1956	1956	Syndicated	Hollywood Television Service	
Alcoa Hour — The Stingiest Man in Town	1956	1956	Syndicated	Theatrical Enterprises	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Alfred Hitchcock Presents — And So Died Riabouchinska	1956	1956	CBS	Alfred J Hitchcock Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Alfred Hitchcock Presents — Whodunit?	1956	1956	CBS	Alfred J Hitchcock Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Climax! — The Frog	1956	1956	CBS	CBS Television Network	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Four Star Playhouse — One Forty-Two	1956	1956	CBS	Four Star Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements

General Electric Theatre — The Ballad of Mender McClure	1956	1956	CBS	MCA/Revue Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
General Electric Theatre — O'Hooliban and the Leprechaun	1956	1956	CBS	MCA/Revue Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Heinz Studio 57 — The Magic Glass	1956	1956	Syndicated	Revue Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Kraft Television Theare — The Lost Weekend	1956	1956	NBC	J. Walter Thompson Agency	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Matinee Theatre — The Bottle Imp	1956	1956	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Matinee Theatre — Dracula	1956	1956	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Matinee Theatre — The Fall of the House of Usher	1956	1956	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Matinee Theatre — Gramercy Ghost	1956	1956	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Matinee Theatre — The House Next Door	1956	1956	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Matinee Theatre — The Lady's Maid's Bell	1956	1956	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Matinee Theatre — Mad Money	1956	1956	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Matinee Theatre — Sight Unseen	1956	1956	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Matinee Theatre — The Tell-Tale Heart	1956	1956	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Producer's Showcase — Jack and the Beanstalk	1956	1956	NBC	Showcase Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Producer's Showcase — Peter Pan	1956	1956	NBC	Showcase Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements

Robert Montgomery Presents — The Man Who Vanished	1956	1956	NBC	Neptune Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Screen Directors Playhouse — The Carroll Formula	1956	1956	NBC	Hal Roach Studios	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Screen Directors Playhouse — Markheim	1956	1956	NBC	Hal Roach Studios	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Studio One —The Tale of St Emergency	1956	1956	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Studio One — Mr Arcularis	1956	1956	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
A Day Called 'X'	1957	1957	CBS	CBS Public Affairs	
Climax! — The Gold Dress	1957	1957	CBS	CBS Television Network	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
General Electric Theater — Eyes of a Stranger	1957	1957	CBS	MCA/Revue Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
General Electric Theater — Imp on a Cobweb Leash	1957	1957	CBS	MCA/Revue Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
General Electric Theater — The Trail to Christmas	1957	1957	CBS	MCA/Revue Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Hallmark Hall of Fame — On Borrowed Time	1957	1957	NBC	Hallmark Hall of Fame Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Heinz Studio 57 — Secret Darkness	1957	1957	Syndicated	Revue Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Heinz Studio 57 — Seventh Brother, Seventh Son	1957	1957	Syndicated	Revue Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Matinee Theatre — The Cask of Amontillado	1957	1957	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Matinee Theatre — Dark of the Moon	1957	1957	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Matinee Theatre — Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde	1957	1957	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements

Matinee Theatre — Farnkenstein	1957	1957	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Matinee Theatre — The Invisible Man	1957	1957	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Matinee Theatre — The Man in Half Moon Street	1957	1957	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Matinee Theatre — One	1957	1957	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Matinee Theatre — Mysterious Disapperance	1957	1957	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Matinee Theatre — The Others	1957	1957	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Playhouse 90 — Sound of a Different Drummer	1957	1957	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Robert Montgomery Presents — Faust '57	1957	1957	NBC	Neptune Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Robert Montgomery Presents — The Weather Lover	1957	1957	NBC	Neptune Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Studio One — The Staring Match	1957	1957	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
US Steel Hour — The Bottle Imp	1957	1957	CBS	Theatre Guild	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Alfred Hitchcock Presents — The Canary Sedan	1958	1958	CBS	Alfred J Hitchcock Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Alfred Hitchcock Presents — Design for Living	1958	1958	CBS	Alfred J Hitchcock Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Alfred Hitchcock Presents — Listen! Listen	1958	1958	CBS	Alfred J Hitchcock Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Colgate Theatre — Fountain of Youth	1958	1958	NBC	Encore Entertainment	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Colgate Theatre — If You Knew Tomorrow	1958	1958	NBC	Encore Entertainment	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements

Conrad Nagel Theater — Of Pigs and Kings	1958	1958	Syndicated	Andre Luotto Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
DuPont Show of the Month — Aladdin	1958	1958	CBS	Tallent Associates	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
DuPont Show of the Month — Harvey	1958	1958	CBS	Tallent Associates	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Matinee Theatre — Button Button	1958	1958	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Matinee Theatre — The Canterville Ghost	1958	1958	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Matinee Theatre — Course for Collision	1958	1958	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Matinee Theatre — Death Takes a Holiday	1958	1958	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Matinee Theatre — It Came from Out of Town	1958	1958	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Matinee Theatre — Mrs Moonlight	1958	1958	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Matinee Theatre — The Third Person	1958	1958	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Shirley Temple's Storybook — Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves	1958	1958	NBC	Henry Jaffe Enterprises Inc.	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Shirley Temple's Storybook — Beauty and the Beast	1958	1958	NBC	Henry Jaffe Enterprises Inc.	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Shirley Temple's Storybook — The Land of Green Ginger	1958	1958	NBC	Henry Jaffe Enterprises Inc.	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Shirley Temple's Storybook — The Legend of Sleepy Hollow	1958	1958	NBC	Henry Jaffe Enterprises Inc.	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Shirley Temple's Storybook — The Magic Fishbone	1958	1958	NBC	Henry Jaffe Enterprises Inc.	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements

Shirley Temple's Storybook — Rip Van Winkle	1958	1958	NBC	Henry Jaffe Enterprises Inc.	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Shirley Temple's Storybook — Rumpelstiltskin	1958	1958	NBC	Henry Jaffe Enterprises Inc.	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Shirley Temple's Storybook — The Sleeping Beauty	1958	1958	NBC	Henry Jaffe Enterprises Inc.	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Shirley Temple's Storybook — The Wild Swans	1958	1958	NBC	Henry Jaffe Enterprises Inc.	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Suspicion — Voice in the Night	1958	1958	NBC	Revue Studios	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Telephone Time — The Vestris	1958	1958	ABC	Hal Roach Studios	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
The Veil	1958	1958	Syndicated	Hal Roach Studios	
Westinghouse Desilu Playhouse — The Time Element	1958	1958	CBS	Desilu Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Alcoa Goodyear Theatre — The Slightly Fallen Angel	1959	1959	NBC	Mark Goodson-Bill Todman Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Alfred Hitchcock Presents — The Blessington Method	1959	1959	CBS	Alfred J Hitchcock Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Alfred Hitchcock Presents — Special Delivery	1959	1959	CBS	Alfred J Hitchcock Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Ford Startime — The Turn of the Screw	1959	1959	NBC	Hubbell Robinson Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
General Electric Theater — Mr O'Malley	1959	1959	NBC	MCA/Revue Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Men Into Space	1959	1960	CBS	Ziv Television Programs, Inc	
One Step Beyond	1959	1961	ABC	ABC Films	
Playhouse 90 — Projet Immortality	1959	1959	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements

The Robert Herridge Theater — The Tell-Tale Heart	1959	1959	CBS	CBS Films Sales Inc.	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Sunday Showcase — Murder and the Android	1959	1959	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
The Twilight Zone	1959	1964	CBS	Cayuga Productions	
Westinghouse Desilu Playhouse — Man in Orbit	1959	1959	CBS	Desilu Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
World of Giants	1959	1959	Syndicated	United Artists Television	
CBS Workshop — Tobias and the Angel	1960	1960	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Dow Hour of Great Mysteries — The Inn of the Flying Dragon	1960	1960	NBC	Robert Saudek Associates	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
DuPont Show of the Month — Heaven Can Wait	1960	1960	CBS	Tallent Associates	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Ford Startime — Tennessee Ernie Ford Meets King Arthur	1960	1960	NBC	Hubbell Robinson Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Hallmark Hall of Fame — Shangri-la	1960	1960	NBC	Hallmark Hall of Fame Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Moment of Fear — Conjure Wife	1960	1960	NBC	Revue Studios	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Play of the Week — Duet for Two Hands	1960	1960	Syndicated	NTA Film Network	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Play of the Week — The Dybbuk	1960	1960	Syndicated	NTA Film Network	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Play of the Week — Night of the Auk	1960	1960	Syndicated	NTA Film Network	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Playhouse 90 — Alas, Babylon	1960	1960	CBS	CBS Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Shirley Temple Theatre — The Land of Oz	1960	1960	NBC	Henry Jaffe Enterprises Inc.	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements

Shirley Temple Theatre — The Reluctant Dragon	1960	1960	NBC	Henry Jaffe Enterprises Inc.	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Sunday Showcase — The Devil and Daniel Webster	1960	1960	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Thriller	1960	1962	NBC	Hubbell Robinson Productions	
Alfred Hitchcock Presents — The Changing Heart	1961	1961	NBC	Alfred J Hitchcock Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
General Electric Theater — The Devil You Say	1961	1961	CBS	MCA/Revue Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Great Ghost Tales	1961	1961	CBS	Tallent Associates	
Mister Ed	1961	1966	CBS	The Mister Ed Company	
Play of the Week — The Potting Shed	1961	1961	Syndicated	NTA Film Network	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Shirley Temple Theatre — The Little Mermaid	1961	1961	NBC	Henry Jaffe Enterprises Inc.	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Way Out	1961	1961	NBC	CBS Television Network	
Alcoa Premiere — The Jail	1962	1962	ABC	Avasta Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Alcoa Premiere — Mr Lucifer	1962	1962	ABC	Avasta Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Alfred Hitchcock Presents — Strange Miracle	1962	1962	NBC	Alfred J Hitchcock Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
DuPont Show of the Week — The Triumph of General Q. Wert	1963	1963	NBC	Tallent Associates	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
My Favorite Martian	1963	1966	CBS	CBS Television Network	
The Outer Limits	1963	1965	ABC	Daystar Productions	
The Addams Family	1964	1966	ABC	Filmways Television	
The Alfred Hitchcock Hour — Consider Her Ways	1964	1964	ABC	Shamley Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements

The Alfred Hitchcock Hour — The Jar	1964	1964	ABC	Shamley Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
The Alfred Hitchcock Hour — The Magic Shop	1964	1964	ABC	Shamley Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
The Alfred Hitchcock Hour — The Sign of Satan	1964	1964	ABC	Shamley Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Bewitched	1964	1972	ABC	Ashmont Productions	
The Man from U.N.C,L,E	1964	1968	NBC	Arena Productions	
The Munsters	1964	1966	CBS	Kayro-Vue Productions	
My Living Doll	1964	1965	CBS	Jack Jertok Television Productions	
Voyage to the Bottom of the Sea	1964	1968	ABC	Irwin Allen Productions	
The Alfred Htichcock Hour — The Monkey's Paw: A Retelling	1965	1965	ABC	Shamley Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
The Alfred Hitchcock Hour — Where the Woodbine Twineth	1965	1965	ABC	Shamley Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Get Smart	1965	1970	NBC	Tallent Associates	
I Dream of Jeannie	1965	1970	NBC	Screen Gems Television	
Lost in Space	1965	1968	CBS	Irwin Allen Productions	
My Mother, the Car	1965	1966	NBC	Cottage Industries Inc.	
The Wild Wild West	1965	1969	CBS	Bruce Lansbury Productions	
ABC Stage 67 — Olympus 7-000	1966	1966	ABC	Francis Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
ABC Stage 67 — The Canterville Ghost	1966	1966	ABC	Francis Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
ABC Stage 67 — The People Trap	1966	1966	ABC	Francis Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements

ABC Stage 67 — Evening Primrose	1966	1966	ABC	Francis Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
ABC Stage 67 — On the Flip Side	1966	1966	ABC	Francis Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Batman	1966	1968	ABC	20th Century Fox Television	
Bob Hope Chrysler Theatre — The Blue-Eyed Horse	1966	1966	NBC	Hovue Enterprises	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Bob Hope Chrysler Comedy Special — Murder at N.B.C	1966	1966	NBC	Hovue Enterprises	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Dark Shadows	1966	1971	ABC	Dan Curtis Productions	
The Girl from U.N.C.L.E	1966	1967	NBC	Arena Productions	
The Green Hornet	1966	1967	NBC	20th Century Fox Television	
Hallmark Hall of Fame — Bilithe Spirit	1966	1966	NBC	Hallmark Hall of Fame Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
It's About Time	1966	1967	CBS	Redwood Productions	
Star Trek	1966	1969	NBS	Desilu Productions	
The Time Tunnel	1966	1967	ABC	Irwin Allen Productions	
Captain Nice	1967	1967	NBC	NBC Television	
The Flying Nun	1967	1970	ABC	Screen Gems Television	
The Invaders	1967	1968	ABC	Quinn Martin Productions	
Mr Terrific	1967	1967	CBS	Universal Television	
The Second Hundred Years	1967	1968	ABC	Screen Gems Television	
The Ghost and Mrs Muir	1968	1970	NBC	20th Century Fox Television	
Hallmark Hall of Fame — Pinocchio	1968	1968	NBC	Hallmark Hall of Fame Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Land of the Giants	1968	1970	ABC	Irwin Allen Productions	
The Strange Case of Dr. Jeyll and Mr. Hyde	1968	1968	ABC	Dan Curtis Productions	Mini-Series

H.R. Pufnstuf	1969	1970	NBC	Sid and Marty Krofft Television Productions	
Hallmark Hall of Theme — The Littlest Angel	1969	1969	NBC	Hallmark Hall of Fame Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
The Immortal	1969	1971	ABC	Paramount Television	
The New People	1969	1970	ABC	Thomas/Spelling Productions	
Night Gallery	1969	1973	NBC	Universal Television	
Nanny and the Professor	1970	1971	ABC	20th Century Fox Television	
City Beneath the Sea	1971	1971	NBC	Motions Pictures International	TV Movie
Earth II	1971	1971	ABC	Wabe	TV Movie
Lidsville	1971	1973	ABC	Sid and Marty Krofft Television Productions	
Ghost Story (Circle of Fear)	1972	1973	NBC	William Castle Productions	
Hallmark Hall of Fame — Harvey	1972	1972	NBC	Hallmark Hall of Fame Productions	
The Night Stalker	1972	1972	ABC	ABC Circle Films	TV Movie
The Sixth Sense	1972	1972	ABC	Universal Television	
Frankenstein: The True Story	1973	1973	ABC	Universal Studios	Mini-Series
Genesis II	1973	1973	CBS	Norway Productions	TV Movie
The Girl with Something Extra	1973	1974	NBC	Screen Gems Television	
Hallmark Hall of Fame — The Borrowers	1973	1973	NBC	Hallmark Hall of Fame Productions	
The Night Strangler	1973	1973	ABC	ABC Circle Films	TV Movie
The Norliss Tapes	1973	1973	NBC	Dan Curtis Productions	TV Movie
The Picture of Dorian Gray	1973	1973	ABC	Dan Curtis Productions	Mini-Series
Sigmund and the Sea Monsters	1973	1975	NBC	Sid and Marty Krofft Television Productions	

The Six Million Dollar Man	1973	1973	ABC	Universal Television	TV Movie
The Six Million Dollar Man — Solid Gold Kidnapping	1973	1973	ABC	Universal Television	TV Movie
The Six Million Dollar Man — Wine, Womean and War	1973	1973	ABC	Universal Television	TV Movie
Dracula	1974	1974	CBS	Latglen Ltd.	Mini-Series
Killdozer	1974	1974	ABC	Universal Television	TV Movie
Land of the Lost	1974	1977	NBC	Sid and Marty Krofft Television Productions	
Planet Earth	1974	1974	ABC	Warner Bros. Television	TV Movie
Planet of the Apes	1974	1974	CBS	20th Century Fox Television	
The Questar Tapes	1974	1974	NBC	Jeffrey Hayes Productions	TV Movie
Shazam!	1974	1977	CBS	Filmation Associates	
The Six Million Dollar Man	1974	1978	ABC	Harve Bennet Prodctions	
The Turn of the Screw	1974	1974	ABC	Dan Curtis Productions	Mini-Series
Wonder Woman	1974	1979	ABC	Bruce Lansbury Productions	
The invisible Man	1975	1976	NBC	Silverton Productions	
The Lost Saucer	1975	1976	ABC	Krofft Entertainment	
The Secret of Isis	1975	1976	CBS	Filmation associates	
NBC Special Treat — The Day After Tomorrow	1975	1975	NBC	NBC Television	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Strange New World	1975	1975	ABC	Warner Bros. Television	TV Movie
Trilogy of Terror	1975	1975	ABC	ABC Circle Films	TV Movie
Ark II	1976	1979	CBS	Filmation Associates	
Big John, Little John	1976	1977	NBC	D'Angelo-Bullock-Allen Productions	
The Bionic Woman	1976	1978	ABC	Harve Bennet Prodctions	
Future Cop	1976	1977	ABC	Paramount Television	

The Gemini Man	1976	1976	NBC	Harve Bennet Prodctions	Mini-Series
Hallmark Hall of Fame — Beauty and the Beast	1976	1976	NBC	Hallmark Hall of Fame Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Hallmark Hall of Fame — Peter Pan	1976	1976	NBC	Hallmark Hall of Fame Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Holmes and YoYo	1976	1977	ABC	Heyday Productions	
The Krofft Supershow	1976	1978	ABC	Sid and Marty Krofft Television Productions	
Look What's Happened to Rosemary's Baby	1976	1976	ABC	The Culzean Corporation	TV Movie
Monster Squad	1976	1977	NBC	D'Angelo-Bullock-Allen Productions	
Tabitha	1976	1978	ABC	Columbia Pictures Television	
The Time Travellers	1976	1976	ABC	20th Century Fox Television	TV Movie
The Amazing Spiderman	1977	1979	CBS	Charles Fries Productions	
Bigfoot and Wildboy	1977	1977	ABC	Krofft Entertainment	
Dead of Night	1977	1977	NBC	Dan Curtis Productions	TV Movie
The Fantastic Journey	1977	1977	NBC	Bruce Lansbury Productions	
Fantasy Island	1977	1984	ABC	Columbia Pictures Television	
Halloween with the New Addams Family	1977	1977	NBC	Charles Fries Productions	TV Movie
The Incredible Hulk: Death in the Family	1977	1977	CBS	Universal Television	TV Movie
Logan's Run	1977	1978	ABC	Godd-Roberts-Steiner Productions	
Lucan	1977	1978	ABC	MGM Television	
The Man from Atlantis	1977	1977	NBC	Solow Production Company	TV Movie
The Man from Atlantis — Death Scouts	1977	1977	NBC	Solow Production Company	TV Movie

The Man from Atlantis — Killer Spores	1977	1977	NBC	Solow Production Company	TV Movie
The Man from Atlantis — The Disappearances	1977	1977	NBC	Solow Production Company	TV Movie
The Man from Atlantis	1977	1977	NBC	Solow Production Company	
Quark	1977	1978	NBC	Columbia Pictures Television	
Spectre	1977	1977	NBC	20th Century Fox Television	TV Movie
Tales of the Unexpected	1977	1977	CBS	Quinn Martin Productions	
Battlestar Galactica	1978	1979	ABC	Glen A. Larson Productions	
The Dark Secret of Harvest Home	1978	1978	NBC	Universal Television	Mini-Series
Cops and Robin	1978	1978	ABC	Paramount Television	TV Movie
Happy Days — My Favorite Orkan	1978	1978	ABC	Henderson Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
The Incredible Hulk	1978	1982	CBS	Universal Television	
Jason of Star Command	1978	1981	CBS	Filmation Associates	
Mork and Mindy	1978	1982	ABC	Henderson Productions	
Next Step Beyond	1978	1978	Syndicated	Factor-Newland Productions	
Project: UFO	1978	1979	NBC	Mark VII Ltd.	
The Return of Captain Nemo	1978	1978	CBS	Irwin Allen Productions	TV Movie
Buck Rogers in the 25th Century	1979	1981	NBC	Glen A. Larson Productions	
Captain America	1979	1979	CBS	Universal Television	TV Movie
Captain America II: Death Too Soon	1979	1979	CBS	Universal Television	TV Movie
Cliffhangers	1979	1979	NBC	Universal Television	TV Movie
Happy Days — Mork Returns	1979	1979	ABC	Henderson Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements

Highcliffe Manor	1979	1979	NBC	Alan Landsburg Productions	
The Martain Chronicles	1979	1979	NBC	Charles Fries Productions	Mini-Series
Salem's Lot	1979	1979	CBS	Warner Bros. Television	
Salvage 1	1979	1979	ABC	Bennett/Katleman Productions	
Time Express	1979	1979	CBS	Warner Bros. Television	
Struck by Lightning	1979	1979	CBS	Fellows-Keegan Company	
Supertrain	1979	1979	NBC	Dan Curtis Productions	
Turnabout	1979	1979	NBC	Sam Denoff Productions	Mini-Series
The Wild Wild West Revisited	1979	1979	CBS	CBS Television Network	TV Movie
Beyond Westworld	1980	1980	CBS	MGM Television	
Brave New World	1980	1980	NBC	Universal Television	TV Movie
Galactica 1980	1980	1980	ABC	Glen A. Larson Productions	
More Wild Wild West	1980	1980	CBS	CBS Television Network	TV Movie
Darkroom	1981	1982	ABC	Universal Television	
Death Ray 2000	1981	1981	NBC	Quinn Martin Productions	TV Movie
The Greatest American Hero	1981	1983	NBC	Stephen J. Cannell Productions	
Mr Merlin	1981	1982	CBS	Columbia Pictures Television	
The Munster's Revenge	1981	1981	NBC	Universal Television	TV Movie
Faerie Tale Theatre	1982	1987	Showtime	Gaylord Productions	
Herbie, the Love Bug	1982	1982	CBS	Walt Disney Productions	
Knight Rider	1982	1986	NBC	Glen A. Larson Productions	
The Phoenix	1982	1982	ABC	Mark Carliner Productions	
The Powers of Matthew Starr	1982	1983	NBC	Daniel Wilson Productions	
Q.E.D	1982	1982	CBS	Consolidated Productions	
Tucker's Witch	1982	1982	CBS	Hill/Mandelker Films	

Voyagers!	1982	1983	NBC	James D. Parriott Productions	
Automan	1983	1984	ABC	20th Century Fox Television	
Benji Zax and the Alien Prince	1983	1983	CBS	Hanna-Barbera Productions	
The Day After	1983	1983	ABC	ABC Circle Films	TV Movie
The Hitchhiker	1983	1991	HBO	Chester/Perlmutter/Markowitz Productions	
Jennifer Slept Here	1983	1984	NBC	Larry Larry Productions	
Manimal	1983	1983	NBC	Glen A. Larson Productions	
Starr Knight	1983	1983	NBC	Daniel Wilson Productions	
The Return of the man from U.N.C.L.E	1983	1983	NBC	Richard Sloan Productions	TV Movie
Small and Frye	1983	1983	CBS	Walt Disney Productions	
Special Bulletin	1983	1983	CBS	NBC Television	TV Movie
Tales from the Darkside	1983	1988	Syndicated	Laurel Entertainment Inc.	
V	1983	1983	NBC	Kenneth Johnson Productions	Mini-Series
Wizards and Warriors	1983	1983	CBS	Warner Bros. Television	
Airwolf	1984	1986	CBS	Belisarius Productions	
Countdown to Looking Glass	1984	1984	HBO	Home Box Office (HBO)	TV Movie
Highway to Heaven	1984	1989	NBC	Michael Landon Productions	
V: The Final Battle	1984	1984	Syndicated	Blatt-Singer Productions	Mini-Series
Alice in Wonderland	1985	1985	CBS	Irwin Allen Productions	Mini-Series
Amazing Stories	1985	1987	NBC	Amblin Entertainment	
I Dream of Jeannie: 15 Years Later	1985	1985	NBC	Columbia Pictures Television	TV Movie
Misfits of Science	1985	1986	NBC	James D. Parriott Productions	
Moonlighting	1985	1989	ABC	Picturemaker Productions	

Otherworld	1985	1985	CBS	Universal Television	
The Ray Bradbury Theatre	1985	1992	HBO	Alberta Filmworks	
Shadow Chasers	1985	1986	ABC	Warner Bros. Television	
Small Wonder	1985	1989	Syndicated	20th Century Fox Television	
Street Hawk	1985	1985	ABC	Universal Television	
The Twilight Zone	1985	1989	CBS	Atlantis Films	
Alf	1986	1990	NBC	Alien Productions	
Alfred Hitchcock Presents — The Canary Sedan	1986	1986	NBC	Michael Sloan Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Alfred Hitchcock Presents — The Jar	1986	1986	NBC	Michael Sloan Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Outlaws	1986	1987	CBS	Mad Dog Productions	
Starman	1986	1987	ABC	Columbia Pictures Television	
The Wizard	1986	1987	CBS	BSR Productions	
Amerika	1987	1987	ABC	ABC Circle Films	Mini-Series
Beauty and the Beast	1987	1990	CBS	Witt/Thomas Productions	
Captain Power and the Soldiers of the Future	1987	1988	Syndicated	Landmark Entertainment Group	
The Charmings	1987	1988	ABC	Embassy Television	
The Colbys — Crossroads	1987	1987	ABC	Aaron Spelling Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Friday the 13th: The Series	1987	1990	Syndicated	Variety Artists International	
Highwayman	1987	1987	NBC	Glen A. Larson Productions	
Max Headroom	1987	1988	ABC	Chrysalis/Lakeside	
Once a Hero	1987	1987	ABC	Garden Party Productions	
Out of This World	1987	1991	Syndicated	Bob Booker Productions	

The Return of the Six Million Dollar Man and the Bionic Woman	1987	1987	NBC	Michael Sloan Productions	TV Movie
Second Chance	1987	1988	Fox	Lightkeeper Productions	
Star Trek: The Next Generation	1987	1994	Psyndicated	Paramount Domestic Television	
Werewolf	1987	1988	Fox	TriStar Television	
Freddy's Nightmares	1988	1990	Syndicated	New Line Cinema	
The Incredible Hulk Returns	1988	1988	NBC	Universal Television	TV Movie
Monsters	1988	1991	Syndicated	Laurel Productions	
The Munsters Today	1988	1991	Syndicated	The Arthur Company	
Mystery Science Theater 3000	1988	1999	KTMA-TV	Best Brains, Inc.	
My Secret Identity	1988	1991	Syndicated	Sunrise Films	
Probe	1988	1988	ABC	MCA Television	
Something is Out There	1988	1988	NBC	Columbia Pictures Television	
Superboy	1988	1992	Syndicated	Cantharus Productions	
War of the Worlds	1988	1990	Syndicated	Hometown Films	
Alfred Hitchcock Presents — Romance Machine	1989	1989	USA Network	Michael Sloan Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Alfred Hitchcock Presents — Night Creatures	1989	1989	USA Network	Michael Sloan Productions	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Alien Nation	1989	1990	Fox	20th Century Fox Television	
Bionic Showdown	1989	1989	NBC	Michael Sloan Productions	TV Movie
CBS Summer Playhouse — Outpost	1989	1989	CBS	CBS Television Studios	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Get Smart Again!	1989	1989	ABC	IndieProd Company Productions	TV Movie
Hard Time on Planet Earth	1989	1989	CBS	Demos-Bard/Shanachie Productions	

Nearly Departed	1989	1989	NBC	Lorimar Television	
Nick Knight	1989	1989	CBS	Barry Weitz Films	TV Movie
Quantum Leap	1989	1993	NBC	Belisarius Productions	
Tales from the Crypt	1989	1996	HBO	Home Box Office (HBO)	
Teen Angel	1989	1989	Disney Channel	The Disney Channel	
Teen Angel Returns	1989	1989	Disney Channel	The Disney Channel	
Trial of the Incredble Hulk	1989	1989	NBC	Universal Television	TV Movie
Bill and Ted's Excellent Adventures	1990	1991	CBS	Innuendo Productions	
By Dawn's Early Light	1990	1990	HBO	Paravision International	TV Movie
Death of the Incredible Hulk	1990	1990	NBC	Universal Television	TV Movie
Dracula: The Series	1990	1991	Syndicated	Cinexus-Famous Players	
The Flash	1990	1991	CBS	Pet Fly Productions	
Get a Life	1990	1992	Fox	Elliottland Productions	
IT	1990	1990	ABC	Lorimar Production	Mini-Series
Maniac Mansion	1990	1993	The Family Channel	Lucasfilm	
Super Force	1990	1992	Syndicated	Premiere Limited	
Swamp Thing	1990	1993	USA Network	Batfilm Productions, Inc.	
They Came from Outer Space	1990	1991	Syndicated	The Finnegan-Pinchuk Company and MTE Inc.	
Twin Peaks	1990	1991	ABC	Lynch/Frost Productions	
The 100 Lives of Black Jack Savage	1991	1991	NBC	Stephen J. Cannell Productions	
Beyond Reality	1991	1993	USA Network	Paragon Entertainment Corparation	

Dark Shadows	1991	1991	NBC	Dan Curtis Productions	
Dinosaurs	1991	1994	ABC	Michael Jacobs Productions	
Eerie Indiana	1991	1992	NBC	Unreality, Inc.	
Harry and the Hendersons	1991	1993	Syndicated	Amblin Television	
Hi Honey, I'm Home!	1991	1992	ABC	RiPe Productions	
The Hidden Room	1991	1993	Lifetime	Chesler/Perimutter Productions	
I still Dream of Jeannie	1991	1991	NBC	Columbia Pictures Television	TV Movie
Land of the Lost	1991	1991	ABC	Krofft Entertainment	
Knight Rider 2000	1991	1991	NBC	Charles E. Sellier Productions	TV Movie
Adventures in Wonderland	1992	1995	Disney Channel	Betty Productions	
Are You Afraid of the DarK?	1992	1996	Nickelodeon	Cinar	
Bill and Ted's Excellent Adventures	1992	1992	Fox	Innuendo Productions	
Forever Knight	1992	1996	CBS	Glen Warren Productions	
Ghostwriter	1992	1995	PBS	Children's Television Workshop	
Highlander	1992	1998	Syndicated	Rysher Entertainment	
Human Target	1992	1992	ABC	Pet Fly Productions	
Intruders	1992	1992	CBS	Dan Curtis Productions	Mini-Series
Mann and Machine	1992	1992	NBC	Wolff Films	
Nightmare Café	1992	1992	NBC	Was Craven Films	
Woops!	1992	1992	Fox	Heartfelt Productions	
The Adventures of Brisco County Jr.	1993	1994	Fox	Boam/Cuse Productions	
Babylon 5: The Gathering	1993	1993	Syndicated	PTEN	TV Movie
Lois and Clark	1993	1997	ABC	December 3rd Productions	

Power Rangers	1993	—	Fox Kids	Saban Entertainment	
seaQuest DSV	1993	1996	NBC	Amblin Television	
Space Rangers	1993	1993	CBS	RHI Entertainment	
Star Trek: Deep Space Nine	1993	1999	Syndicated	Paramount Domestic Television	
Time TRAX	1993	1994	Syndicated	Gary Nardino Productions	
The Tommyknockers	1993	1993	ABC	Konigsberg/Sanitsky Company	Mini-Series
The X-Files	1993	2002	Fox	Ten Thirteen Productions	
Alien Nation: Dark Historian	1994	1994	Fox	20th Century Fox Television	TV Movie
Babylon 5	1994	1998	Syndicated	Babylon Production Inc.	
Bionic Ever After?	1994	1994	CBS	MCA Television	TV Movie
Dead at 21	1994	1994	MTV	MTV Productions	
Earth 2	1994	1995	NBC	Amblin Television	
Emmanuelle in Space	1994	1994	Syndicated	Alain Siritzky Productions	TV Movie
Heaven Help Us	1994	1994	Syndicated	Echo Cove Productions	
Hercules and the Amazon Women	1994	1994	Syndicated	Renaissance Pictures	TV Movie
Hercules and the Lost Kingdom	1994	1994	Syndicated	Renaissance Pictures	TV Movie
Hercules and the Circle of Fire	1994	1994	Syndicated	Renaissance Pictures	TV Movie
Hercules in the Underworld	1994	1994	Syndicated	Renaissance Pictures	TV Movie
Hercules in the Maze of the Minotaur	1994	1994	Syndicated	Renaissance Pictures	TV Movie
M.A.N.T.I.S.	1994	1995	Fox	Wilbur Force Productions	
Robocop: The Series	1994	1994	Syndicated	Rysher Entertainment	
The Secret World of Alex Mack	1994	1998	Nickelodeon	Lynch Entertainment	
Space Precinct	1994	1995	Syndicated	Gerry Anderson Productions	

The Stand	1994	1994	ABC	:aurel Entertainment	Mini-Series
TekWar	1994	1994	Syndicated	Universal Television	TV Movie
TekLords	1994	1994	Syndicated	Universal Television	TV Movie
TekLab	1994	1994	Syndicated	Universal Television	TV Movie
TekJustice	1994	1994	Syndicated	Universal Television	TV Movie
TekWar	1994	1996	Syndicated	Universal Television	
Touched by an Angel	1994	2003	CBS	Moon Water Productions	
Twilight Zone: Rod Serling's Lost Classics	1994	1994	CBS	O'Hara-Horowitz Productions	TV Movie
VR Troopers	1994	1996	Syndicated	Saban Entertainment	
Viper	1994	1994	NBC	Paramount Television	
Weird Science	1994	1998	USA Netowrk	St. Clare Entertainment	
Without Warning	1994	1994	CBS	The Wolper Organization	TV Movie
Alien Nation: Body and Soul	1995	1995	Fox	Foxstar Productions	TV Movie
American Gothic	1995	1996	CBS	Renaissance Pictures	
Baywatch Nights	1995	1997	Syndicated	The Baywatch Company	
Deadly Games	1995	1997	UPN	Shaken, Not Stirred Productions	
Get Smart	1995	1995	Fox	HBO Independent Productions	
Goosebumps	1995	1998	Fox	Protocol Entertainment	
Hercules: The Legendary Journeys	1995	1999	Syndicated	Renaissance Pictures	
Here Come the Munsters	1995	1995	Fox	Bodega Bay Productions	TV Movie
The Invaders	1995	1995	Fox	Spelling Entertainment	Mini-Series
The Langoliers	1995	1995	ABC	Laurel Entertainment Inc.	Mini-Series
Legend	1995	1995	UON	Gekko Film Corporation	
Masked Rider	1995	1996	Fox Kids	Bugboy Productions	

Mysterious Island	1995	1995	The Family Channel	Atlantis Films	
Nowhere Man	1995	1996	UPN	Lawrence Hertzog Productions	
The Outer Limits	1995	2002	Showtime	Alliance Atlantis Communications	
Sliders	1995	2000	Fox	St. Clare Entertainment	
Space: Above and Beyond	1995	1996	Fox	Village Roadshow Pictures	
Star Trek: Voyager	1995	2001	UPN	Paramount Television	
Strange Luck	1995	1996	Fox	Fox Television Network	
VR.5	1995	1995	Fox	Samoset Productions	
Xena: Warrior Princess	1995	2001	Syndicated	MCA Television	
3rd Rock from the Sun	1996	2001	NBC	Carsey-Werner Company	
The Adventures of Sinbad	1996	1998	Syndicated	All American Television	
Alien Nation: Millennium	1996	1996	Fox	20th Century Fox Television	TV Movie
Alien Nation: The Enemy Within	1996	1996	Fox	21st Century Fox Television	TV Movie
Aliens in the Family	1996	1996	ABC	Jim Henson Productions	
Beetleborgs	1996	1998	Fox Kids	Bugboy Productions	
Bone Chillers	1996	1996	ABC	Hyperion Pictures	
The Burning Zone	1996	1997	UPN	Papazian-Hirsch Entertainment International	
The Cape	1996	1997	Syndicated	MTM Enterprises	
Dark Skies	1996	1997	NBC	Bryce Zabel Productions	
Early Edition	1996	2000	CBS	Three Characters	
Generation X	1996	1996	Fox	MT2 Services	TV Movie
Gulliver's Travels	1996	1996	Hallmark	Hallmark Entertainment	Mini-Series
Hypernauts	1996	1996	ABC	Greengrass Productions	
Kindred: The Embraced	1996	1996	Fox	John Leekley Productions	Mini-Series

Millennium	1996	1999	Fox	20th Century Fox Television	
The Munsters' Scary Little Christmas	1996	1996	Fox	Michael R. Joyce Productions	TV Movie
Pandora's Clock	1996	1996	NBC	Citadel Entertainment	Mini-Series
Poltergeist: The Legacy	1996	1999	Showtime	PMP Legacy Productions	
The Pretender	1996	2000	NBC	20th Century Fox Television	
Project: ALF	1996	1996	ABC	Alien Productions	TV Movie
Psi Factor: Chronicles of the Paranormal	1996	2000	Syndicated	Alliance Atlantis Communications	
Sabrina the Teenage Witch	1996	2003	ABC	Finishing the Hat	
The Sentinel	1996	1999	UPN	Paramount Television	
Space Cases	1996	1997	Nickelodeon	CINAR	
20,000 Leagues Under the Sea	1997	1997	ABC	Frederick S. Pierce Company	Mini-Series
Alien Nation: The Udara Legacy	1997	1997	Fox	20th Century Fox Television	TV Movie
Asteroid	1997	1997	NBC	Davis Entertainment	TV Movie
Buffy the Vampire Slayer	1997	2003	WB	Mutant Enemy Productions	
Conan the Adventurer	1997	1998	USA Network	Balenciaga Productions	
Earth: Final Conflict	1997	2002	Syndicated	Alliance Atlantis Communications	
Honey, I shrunk the Kids	1997	2000	Syndicated	Plymouth Productions	
House of Frankenstein	1997	1997	NBC	Big Productions	Mini-Series
The Hunger	1997	2000	Showtime	Scott Free Productions	
The Journey of Allen Strange	1997	2000	Nickelodeon	Lynch Entertainment	
La Femme Nikita	1997	2001	USA Network	CTV Television Network	
Meego	1997	1997	CBS	Miller/Boyett/Warren Productions	
Mission Genesis	1997	1997	Sci-Fi	Empire Entertainment	

The New Adventures of Robin Hood	1997	1999	TNT	Baltic Ventures International	
The New Ghostwriter Mysteries	1997	1997	CBS	Children's Television Workshop (CTW)	
Night Man	1997	1999	Syndicated	Alliance Atlantis Communications	
Ninja Turtles: The Next Mutation	1997	1998	Fox Kids	Mirage Studios	
The Odyssey	1997	1997	NBC	American Zoetrope	Mini-Series
Perversions of Science	1997	1997	HBO	EC Comics	
Roar	1997	1997	Fox	Sea Change Productions	
Robin Cook's Invasion	1997	1997	NBC	Hallmark Entertainment	Mini-Series
The Shining	1997	1997	ABC	Lakeside Productions	Mini-Series
Sleepwalkers	1997	1998	NBC	Columbia TriStar Television	
Spy Game	1997	1998	ABC	MCA Television	
Stargate SG-1	1997	2007	Showtime	Double Secret Productions	
Team Knight Rider	1997	1998	ABC	Copp & Goodman Television	
Teen Angel	1997	1998	ABC	Spooky Magic Productions	
Tenacious D	1997	2000	HBO	Dakota North	
Timecop	1997	1997	ABC	Lawrence Gordon Productions	
The Visior	1997	1998	Fox	20th Century Fox Television	
You Wish	1997	1998	ABC	Michael Jacobs Productions	
Babylon 5: In the Beginning	1998	1998	TNT	Babylonian Productions	TV Movie
Babylon 5: Thirdspace	1998	1998	TNT	Babylonian Productions	TV Movie
Babylon 5: River of Souls	1998	1998	TNT	Babylonian Productions	TV Movie
Brimstone	1998	1999	Fox	BEI Brimstone	
Charmed	1998	2006	WB	Spelling Television	

Eerie Indiana: The Other Dimension	1998	1998	Fox Kids	Global	
Fantasy Island	1998	1999	ABC	Columbia TriStar Television	
Felicity	1998	2002	WB	Touchstone Television	
First Wave	1998	2001	Sci-Fi	Sugar Entertainment Ltd.	
Hallmark Hall of Fame — The Love Letter	1998	1998	PBS	Hallmark Entertainment	Anthology, or one-off episode with telefantasy elements
Highlander: The Raven	1998	1999	Syndicated	Chum Television	
Mortal Kombat: Conquest	1998	1999	Syndicated	New Line Television	
Mercy Point	1998	1999	UPN	Columbia TriStar Television	
Merlin	1998	1998	NBC	RHI Entertainment	Mini-Series
The Mystic Knights of Tir Na Nog	1998	1998	Fox Kids	Saban International	
The Net	1998	1999	USA Network	Columbia TriStar Television	
The New Addams Family	1998	1999	The Family Channel	Film Incentive B.C.	
Prey	1998	1998	ABC	Edelson Productions	
Sabrina Goes to Rome	1998	1998	ABC	Finishing the Hat	TV Movie
Seven Days	1998	2001	UPN	Paramount Network Television Productions	
Welcome to Paradox	1998	1998	Sci-Fi	River of Stone Productions	
Young Hercules	1998	1999	Fox	MCA Television	
100 Deeds for Eddie McDowd	1999	2002	Nickelodeon	Lynch Entertainment	
Angel	1999	2004	WB	Mutant Enemy	
Babylon 5: A Call to Arms	1999	1999	TNT	Babylonian Productions	TV Movie
Beastmaster	1999	2002	Syndicated	Alliance Atlantis Communications	
Crusade	1999	1999	TNT	Babylonian Productions	

Farscape	1999	2003	Sci-Fi	Jim Henson Productions	
Good Vs Evil	1999	2000	USA Network	Rockfish Films	
Harsh Realm	1999	2000	Fox	20th Century Fox Television	
The Jersey	1999	2004	Disney Channel	Lynch Entertainment	
The Journey of Allen Strange: Alien Vacation	1999	1999	Nickelodeon	Lynch Entertainment	TV Movie
The Magical Legend of the Leprechauns	1999	1999	NBC	Hallmark Entertainment	Mini-Series
NetForce	1999	1999	ABC	Cates/Doty Productions	TV Movie
Now and Again	1999	2000	CBS	CBS Productions	
Peter Benchley's Amazon	1999	2000	Syndicated	Alliance Atlantis Communications	
Relic Hunter	1999	2002	Syndicated	Canadian Film or Video Production Tax Credit (CPTC)	
Roswell	1999	2002	WB	Jason Katims Productions	
Sabrina Down Under	1999	1999	ABC	Finishing the Hat	TV Movie
Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's The Lost World	1999	2002	Syndicated	Coote Hayes Productions	
So Weird	1999	2001	Disney Channel	So Weird Productions	
Storm of the Century	1999	1999	ABC	Greengrass Productions	Mini-Series
Twice in a Lifetime	1999	2001	PAX Network	Pebblehut Productions	
A Twist in the Tale	1999	1999	WAM	Avalon Studios Limited	
The 10th Kingdom	2000	2000	NBC	Carnival Film & Television	Mini-Series
Andromeda	2000	2005	Syndicated	Fireworks Entertainment	
Arabian Nights	2000	2000	ABC	Hallmark Entertainment	Mini-Series
Cleopatra 2525	2000	2001	Syndicated	Renaissance Pictures	
Dark Angel	2000	2002	Fox	Cameron/Eglee Productions	

Dune	2000	2000	Sci-Fi	Milk & Honey Pictures	Mini-Series
Fail Safe	2000	2000	CBS	Maysville Pictures	TV Movie
The Fearing Mind	2000	2000	Fox Family	Angel/Brown Productions	
Freakylinks	2000	2001	Fox	Haxan Films	
Freedom	2000	2001	UPN	Silver Pictures	
The Immortal	2000	2001	Syndicated	Immortal Productions Inc.	
The Invisible Man	2000	2002	Sci-Fi	Stu Segall Productions	
Jason and the Argonauts	2000	2000	NBC	Hallmark Entertainment	Mini-Series
Mysterious Ways	2000	2002	NBC	Crescent Entertainment	
The Others	2000	2000	NBC	Delusional Films	
The Secret Adventures of Jules Verne	2000	2000	Syndicated	Filmline International	
Secrent Angel Man	2000	2000	UPN	Columbia TriStar Television	
Sheena	2000	2002	Syndicated	Columbia TriStar Television	
The War Next Door	2000	2000	USA Network	Wellsville Pictures	
Alias	2001	2006	ABC	Touchstone Television	
All Souls	2001	2001	UPN	Spelling Television	
The Chronicle	2001	2002	Sci-Fi	The Greenblatt/Janollari Studio	
Dark Realm	2001	2001	Syndicated	Isle of Man Film	
Dead Last	2001	2001	WB	Warner Bros. Television	
Jack and the Beanstalk: The Real Story	2001	2001	CBS	Hallmark Entertainment	Mini-Series
The Lone Gunmen	2001	2001	Fox	20th Century Fox Television	
Monkey King	2001	2001	Hallmark	Hallmark Entertainment	Mini-Series
Mutant X	2001	2004	Syndicated	Fireworks Entertainment	
MythQuest	2001	2001	PBS	David Braun Productions	

Night Visions	2001	2001	Fox	Angel/Brown Productions	
The Nightmare Room	2001	2002	WB	Parachute Entertainment	
The Prentender 2001	2001	2001	TNT	20th Century Fox Television	TV Movie
The Pretender: The Island of the Haunted	2001	2001	TNT	21st Century Fox Television	TV Movie
Robocop: Prime Directives	2001	2001	City TV	Robocop Productions Ltd.	
Smallville	2001	2011	WB	Tollin	
Special Unit 2	2001	2002	UPN	Paramount Television	
Star Trek: Enterprise	2001	2005	UPN	Braga Productions	
Strange Frequency	2001	2001	VH1	Broadway Video	
Tales from the Neverending Story	2001	2002	HBO	Dieter Geissler Filmproduktion	
Tracker	2001	2001	CHRO	Tracker Productions	
Witchblade	2001	2002	TNT	Blade TV Productions	
Wolf Lake	2001	2002	CBS	Big Ticket Television	
Baby Bob	2002	2003	CBS	Scribbler's Pillory	
Babylon 5: The Legend of the Rangers	2002	2002	Sci-Fi	Babylonian Productions	TV Movie
Birds of Prey	2002	2003	WB	Warner Bros. Television	
Carrie	2002	2002	NBC	MGM Television	TV Movie
The Dead Zone	2002	2007	USA Network	CBS Paramount Network Television	
Dinotopia	2002	2002	ABC	Hallmark Entertainment	Mini-Series
The Do Over	2002	2002	WB	Littlefield Company	
Firefly	2002	2003	Fox	Mutant Enemy	
Firestarter: Rekindled	2002	2002	USA Network	USA Films	Mini-Series
Galidor: Defenders of the Outer Dimension	2002	2002	Fox Kids	CinéGroupe	

Glory Days	2002	2002	WB	Outerbanks Entertainment	
Haunted	2002	2008	UPN	Industry Entertainment	
Jeremiah	2002	2004	Showtime	Platinum Studios	
John Doe	2002	2003	Fox	Camp / Thompson Pictures	
Odyssey 5	2002	2004	Showtime	Columbia TriStar Domestic Television	
Push, Nevada	2002	2002	ABC	LivePlanet	
Rose Red	2002	2002	ABC	Greengrass Productions	Mini-Series
She Spies	2002	2004	NBC	Reno & Osborn Productions	
Strange Days at Blake Holsey High	2002	2006	Discovery Kids	Fireworks Entertainment	
The Twilight Zone	2002	2003	TNT	New Line Television	
Battlestar Galactica	2003	2003	Sci-Fi	R&D TV	Mini-Series
Carnivale	2003	2005	HBO	3 Arts Entertainment	
Children of Dune	2003	2003	Sci-Fi	Milk & Honey Pictures	Mini-Series
Dead Like Me	2003	2004	Showtime	DLM Productions	
The Diary of Ellen Rimbauer	2003	2003	ABC	Greengrass Productions	TV Movie
Jake 2.0	2003	2004	UPN	Viacom Productions	
Joan of Arcadia	2003	2005	CBS	Barbara Hall Productions	
Miracles	2003	2003	ABC	Touchstone Pictures	
Missing	2003	2006	Lifetime	NDG Productions	
That's so Raven	2003	2007	Disney Channel	Brookwell McNamara Entertainment	
Tremors	2003	2003	Sci-Fi	Stampede Entertainment	
Tru Calling	2003	2005	Fox	"Oh That Gus!"	
Veritas: The Quest	2003	2003	ABC	Massett/Zinman Productions	
The 4400	2004	2007	USA Network	Renegade 83	

Battlestar Galactica	2004	2009	Sci-Fi	British Sky Broadcasting (BSkyB)	
Category 6: Day of Destruction	2004	2004	CBS	MAT IV	Mini-Series
Century City	2004	2004	CBS	Universal Network Television	
The Collector	2004	2006	CityTV	Collector Productions	
Farscape: the Peacekeeper Wars	2004	2004	Sci-Fi	Jim Henson Productions	Mini-Series
Five Days to Midnight	2004	2004	Sci-Fi	Lionsgate Television	Mini-Series
Frankenstein	2004	2004	Hallmark	Flame TV	Mini-Series
The Legend of Earthsea	2004	2004	Sci-Fi	The Sci-Fi Channel	Mini-Series
Kingdom Hospital	2004	2004	ABC	Touchstone Television	
Lost	2004	2010	ABC	Bad Robot	
Medical Investigation	2004	2005	NBC	NBC Universal Television	
Phil of the Future	2004	2006	Disney Channel	2121 Productions	
Salem's Lot	2004	2004	TNT	Coote Hayes Productions	Mini-Series
Stargate Atlantis	2004	2009	Sci-Fi	Acme Shark	
Veronica Mars	2004	2007	UPN	Stu Segall Productions	
Wonderfalls	2004	2004	Fox	Living Dead Guy Productions	
Category 7: The End of the World	2005	2005	CBS	Luisa Filmproduktions GmbH and Co. KG	Mini-Series
Charlie Jade	2005	2005	Space	CinéGroupe	
Dante's Cove	2005	2007	Here!	ACH	
Ghost Whisperer	2005	2010	CBS	Sander/Moses Productions	
Invasion	2005	2006	ABC	Warner Bros. Television	
Master of Horror	2005	2007	Showtime	IDT Entertainment	

Medium	2005	2011	NBC	Picturemaker Productions	
Night Stalker	2005	2005	ABC	Big Light Productions	
Point Pleasant	2005	2005	Fox	20th Century Fox Television	
Revelations	2005	2005	NBC	NBC Enterprises	Mini-Series
Supernatural	2005	—	WB	Kripke Enterprises	
Supernova	2005	2005	Hallmark	Hallmark Entertainment	TV Movie
Surface	2005	2006	NBC	Rock Fish Productions	
Threshold	2005	2006	CBS	Braga Productions	
The Triangle	2005	2005	Sci-Fi	Bad Hat Harry Productions	Mini-Series
Young Blades	2005	2005	PAX Network	The Hatchery LLC	
10.5 Apocalypse	2006	2006	NBC	Hallmark Entertainment	Mini-Series
Aquaman	2006	2006	Ituens	The CW	Pilot
Blade: The Series	2006	2006	Spike	Phantom Four Films	
Day Break	2006	2008	ABC	Matthew Gross Entertainment	
Eureka	2006	2012	Sci-Fi	Universal Cable Productions	
Final Days of Planet Earth	2006	2006	Hallmark	RHI Entertainment	Mini-Series
The Hades Factor	2006	2006	CBS	Shotz Fiction Film	Mini-Series
Heroes	2006	2010	NBC	Tailwind Productions	
Jericho	2006	2008	CBS	Junction Entertainment	
Kyle XY	2006	2009	ABC Family	ABC Studios	
The Lost Room	2006	2006	Sci-Fi	Lions Gate Films	Mini-Series
Merlin's Apprenticne: The Search of the HolyGrail	2006	2006	Hallmark	Hallmark Entertainment	Mini-Series
Nightmares and Dreamscapes	2006	2006	TNT	Coote Hayes Productions	
Three Moons Over Milford	2006	2006	ABC Family	Three Moons Film	

Battlestar Galactica: Razor	2007	2007	Sci-Fi	Universal Network Television	TV Movie
The Bionic Woman	2007	2007	NBC	NBC Universal Television	
Blood Ties	2007	2007	Lifetime	Insight Film Studios	
Cavemen	2007	2007	ABC	Double Vision	
Chuck	2007	2012	NBC	College Hill Pictures Inc.	
The Dresden Files	2007	2008	Sci-Fi	Dresden Files Productions	
Flash Gordon	2007	2008	Sci-Fi	Flash Films	
Highlander: The Source	2007	2007	Sci-Fi	Davis-Panzer Productions	TV Movie
Journeyman	2007	2007	NBC	Left Coast Productions	
The Lair	2007	2009	Here!	Here! TV	
Masters of Science Fiction	2007	2008	ABC	IDT Entertainment	
Moonlight	2007	2008	CBS	Silver Pictures Television	
Painkiller Jane	2007	2007	Sci-Fi	Insight Film Studios	
Pandemic	2007	2007	Hallmark	Hallmark Entertainment	Mini-Series
Pushing Daisies	2007	2009	ABC	Jinks/Cohen Company	
Reaper	2007	2009	The CW	ABC Studios	
Tin-Man	2007	2007	Sci-Fi	Imagiquest Entertainment	Mini-Series
Wizards of Waverly Place	2007	2012	Disney Channel	It's a Laugh Productions	
The Andromeda Strain	2008	2008	A&E	A.S. Films	Mini-Series
Drop Dead Diva	2009	2014	Lifetime	Osprey Productions	
Eleventh Hour	2008	2009	CBS	Jerry Bruckheimer Television	
Eli Stone	2008	2009	ABC	ABC Studios	
Fear Itself	2008	2009	NBC	Fear Itself Productions	
Fringe	2008	2013	Fox	Bad Robot	

Knight Rider	2008	2009	NBC	Dutch Oven	
Legend of the Seeker	2008	2010	Syndicated	ABC Studios	
Life on Mars	2008	2009	ABC	Kudos Film and Television	
Sanctuary	2008	2011	Sci-Fi	Bell Broadcast and New Media Fund	
Terminator: The Sarah Connor Chronicles	2008	2009	Fox	Bartleby Company	
True Blood	2008	2014	HBO	Your Face Goes Here Entertainment	
Aaron Stone	2009	2010	Disney XD	Shaftesbury Aaron Stone	
Battlestar Galactica: The Plan	2009	2009	Sci-Fi	David Eick Productions	TV Movie
Dollhouse	2009	2010	Fox	20th Century Fox Television	
Eastwick	2009	2010	ABC	Bonanza Productions	
FlashForward	2009	2010	ABC	HBO Entertainment	
Forbidden Science	2009	2009	Cinemax	Dangerous Tomorrows	
Nite Tales: The Series	2009	2011	WGN	Deon Taylor Enterprises	
Stargate Universe	2009	2011	Sci-Fi	MGM Television	
The Troop	2009	2013	Nickelodeon	Nickelodeon Network	
V	2009	2011	ABC	NS Pictures	TV Movie
The Vampire Diaries	2009	2017	The CW	Outerbanks Entertainment	
Warehouse 13	2009	2014	Sci-Fi	Universal Cable Productions	

Appendix B

Show	Awarding Body	Name of Award	Year	Nomination or Victory
The Twilight Zone				
	American Cinema Editors	Best Edited Television Program	1962	Nominated
	Directors Guild of America	Outstanding Directorial Achievement in Television	1960	Nominated
	Golden Globe Awards	Best TV Producer/Director	1963	Win
	Hugo Awards	Best Dramatic Presentation	1960	Win
	Hugo Awards	Best Dramatic Presentation	1961	Win
	Hugo Awards	Best Dramatic Presentation	1962	Win
	Hugo Awards	Best Dramatic Presentation	1963	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Writing Achievement in Drama	1960	Win
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Program Achievement in the Field of Drama	1961	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Writing Achievement in Drama	1961	Win
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Writing Achievement in Drama	1962	Nominated
	Writers Guild of America	Anthology, 30 Minutes in Length	1961	Nominated
	Writers Guild of America	Anthology, Any Length	1962	Nominated
Star Trek				
	Hugo Awards	Best Dramatic Presentation	1967	Nominated
	Hugo Awards	Best Dramatic Presentation	1967	Nominated
	Hugo Awards	Best Dramatic Presentation	1967	Win

	Hugo Awards	Best Dramatic Presentation	1968	Nominated
	Hugo Awards	Best Dramatic Presentation	1968	Nominated
	Hugo Awards	Best Dramatic Presentation	1968	Nominated
	Hugo Awards	Best Dramatic Presentation	1968	Nominated
	Hugo Awards	Best Dramatic Presentation	1968	Win
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Individual Achievements in Art Direction and Allied Crafts - Mechanical Special Effects	1967	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Individual Achievements in Cinematography - Photographic Special Effects	1967	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Individual Achievements in Film and Sound Editing	1967	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Dramatic Series	1967	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Performance by an Actor in a Supporting Role in a Drama	1967	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Achievement in Film Editing	1968	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Dramatic Series	1968	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Special Classification of Individual Achievements	1968	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Performance by an Actor in a Supporting Role in a Drama	1968	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Achievement in Art Direction and Scenic Design	1969	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Achievement in Film Editing	1969	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Continued Performance by an Actor in a Supporting Role in a Series	1969	Nominated

	Primetime Emmy Awards	Special Classification of Outstanding Individual Achievements - Special Photographic Effects	1969	Nominated
The X-Files				
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Genre Television Series	1994	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Genre Television Series	1995	Win
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Genre Network TV Series	1997	Win
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Genre TV Actress	1997	Win
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Genre TV Actor	1997	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Genre Network Series	1998	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Genre TV Actress	1998	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Genre TV Actor	1998	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Genre Network Series	1999	Win
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Genre TV Actress	1999	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Genre TV Actor	1999	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Genre TV Actress	2000	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Network Television Series	2000	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Actress on Television	2001	Nominated

	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Actor on Television	2001	Win
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Network Television Series	2001	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Actress in a Television Series	2002	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Actor in a Television Series	2002	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Network Television Series	2002	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Supporting Actress in a Television Series	2002	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best DVD TV Programming Release	2003	Nominated
	American Cinema Editors	Best Edited One-Hour Series for Television	1997	Nominated
	American Cinema Editors	Best Edited One-Hour Series for Television	1998	Nominated
	American Society of Cinematographers	Outstanding Achievement in Cinematography in Movies of the Week/Pilots	1994	Nominated
	American Society of Cinematographers	Outstanding Achievement in Cinematography in Regular Series	1995	Nominated
	American Society of Cinematographers	Outstanding Achievement in Cinematography in Regular Series	1996	Nominated
	American Society of Cinematographers	Outstanding Achievement in Cinematography in Regular Series	1997	Nominated
	American Society of Cinematographers	Outstanding Achievement in Cinematography in Regular Series	1999	Win
	American Society of Cinematographers	Outstanding Achievement in Cinematography in Regular Series	1999	Nominated

	American Society of Cinematographers	Outstanding Achievement in Cinematography in Regular Series	2000	Win
	American Society of Cinematographers	Outstanding Achievement in Cinematography in Regular Series	2001	Nominated
	American Society of Cinematographers	Outstanding Achievement in Cinematography in Regular Series	2002	Nominated
	American Society of Cinematographers	Outstanding Achievement in Cinematography in Regular Series	2003	Nominated
	Art Directors Guild	Television Series	1999	Win
	Art Directors Guild	Television Series	2000	Nominated
	Art Directors Guild	Single-Camera Television Series	2001	Win
	ASCAP Film and Television Music Awards	Top TV Series	1996	Win
	ASCAP Film and Television Music Awards	Top TV Series	1997	Win
	ASCAP Film and Television Music Awards	Top TV Series	1998	Win
	ASCAP Film and Television Music Awards	Top TV Series	1999	Win
	California on Location Awards	Location Professional of the Year	1999	Win
	California on Location Awards	Production Company of the Year	1999	Win
	California on Location Awards	For Returning Production Business Back to California	1999	Win
	Casting Society of America	Best Casting for TV, Dramatic Episodic	1994	Nominated
	Cinema Audio Society	Outstanding Achievement in Sound Mixing for Television - Series	1996	Nominated
	Cinema Audio Society	Outstanding Achievement in Sound Mixing for Television - Series	1997	Nominated
	Cinema Audio Society	Outstanding Achievement in Sound Mixing for Television - Series	1998	Nominated
	Cinema Audio Society	Outstanding Achievement in Sound Mixing for Television - Series	2000	Nominated
	Cinema Audio Society	Outstanding Sound Mixing for Television - Series	2003	Nominated

	Directors Guild of America	Outstanding Directorial Achievement in Dramatic Series - Night	1996	Nominated
	Directors Guild of America	Outstanding Directorial Achievement in Dramatic Series - Night	1998	Nominated
	Directors Guild of America	Outstanding Directorial Achievement in Dramatic Series - Night	1999	Nominated
	DVD Exclusive Awards	Best Overall DVD, TV Program (Including All Extra Features)	2003	Nominated
	Edgar Allan Poe Awards	Best Television Episode	1995	Nominated
	Edgar Allan Poe Awards	Best Television Episode	1996	Nominated
	Enviornmental Media Awards	TV Drama	1994	Win
	Golden Globe Awards	Best Television Series - Drama	1995	Win
	Golden Globe Awards	Best Performance by an Actress in a Television Series	1996	Nominated
	Golden Globe Awards	Best Performance by an Actor in a Television Series	1996	Nominated
	Golden Globe Awards	Best Performance by an Actress in a Television Series	1997	Win
	Golden Globe Awards	Best Performance by an Actor in a Television Series	1997	Win
	Golden Globe Awards	Best Television Series - Drama	1997	Win
	Golden Globe Awards	Best Performance by an Actress in a Television Series	1998	Nominated
	Golden Globe Awards	Best Performance by an Actor in a Television Series	1998	Nominated
	Golden Globe Awards	Best Television Series - Drama	1998	Win
	Golden Globe Awards	Best Performance by an Actress in a Television Series	1999	Nominated
	Golden Globe Awards	Best Performance by an Actor in a Television Series	1999	Nominated
	Golden Globe Awards	Best Television Series - Drama	1999	Nominated

	Hollywood Makup Artist and Hair stylist Guild Awards	Best Character Makeup - Television (for a Single Episode of a Regular Series - Sitcom, Drama or Daytime)	2000	Nominated
	Hollywood Makup Artist and Hair stylist Guild Awards	Best Period Makeup - Television (for a Single Episode of a Regular Series - Sitcom, Drama or Daytime)	2000	Win
	International Horror Guild	Best Television	1999	Nominated
	International Horror Guild	Best Television	2000	Nominated
	International Monitor Awards	Film Originated Television Series - Editor	1994	Win
	International Monitor Awards	Film Originated Television Series - Editor	1995	Nominated
	International Monitor Awards	Film Originated Television Series - Audio Post Production	1996	Win
	International Monitor Awards	Film Originated Television Series - Color Correction	1996	Nominated
	International Monitor Awards	Film Originated Television Series - Director	1996	Win
	International Monitor Awards	Film Originated Television Series - Editor	1996	Nominated
	International Monitor Awards	Film Originated Television Series - Electronic Visual Effects	1996	Nominated
	Motion Picture Sound Editors	Best Sound Editing - Television Episodic - Effects & Foley	1998	Win
	Motion Picture Sound Editors	Best Sound Editing - Television Episodic - Dialogue & ADR	1999	Nominated
	Motion Picture Sound Editors	Best Sound Editing - Television Episodic - Music	1999	Nominated
	Motion Picture Sound Editors	Best Sound Editing - Television Episodic - Effects & Foley	2000	Nominated
	Motion Picture Sound Editors	Best Sound Editing - Television Episodic - Dialogue & ADR	2000	Nominated

	Motion Picture Sound Editors	Best Sound Editing - Television Episodic - Effects & Foley	2002	Nominated
	Motion Picture Sound Editors	Best Sound Editing - Television Episodic - Effects & Foley	2003	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Actor in a Drama Series	1997	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Actor in a Series	1997	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Actress in a Drama Series	1997	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Actress in a Series	1997	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Costume Design in a Series	1997	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Direction in a Drama Series	1997	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Direction in a Series	1997	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Drama Series	1997	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Editing in a Series	1997	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Ensemble in a Drama Series	1997	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Ensemble in a Series	1997	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Guest actor in a Drama Series	1997	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Lighting in a Series	1997	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Makeup/Hairstyling in a Series	1997	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Music in a Series	1997	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Production Desigin in a Series	1997	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Sound in a Series	1997	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Supporting Actor in a Drama Series	1997	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Visual Effects in a Series	1997	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Writing in a Drama Series	1997	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Writing in a Series	1997	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Actor in a Drama Series	1998	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Actor in a Series	1998	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Actress in a Drama Series	1998	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Actress in a Series	1998	Win

	Online Film & Television Association	Best Direction in a Drama Series	1998	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Direction in a Series	1998	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Drama Series	1998	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Editing in a Series	1998	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Ensemble in a Drama Series	1998	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Episode of a Drama Series	1998	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Episode of a Drama Series	1998	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Episode of a Drama Series	1998	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Guest Actor in a Drama Series	1998	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Guest Actor in a Drama Series	1998	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Guest actor in a Drama Series	1998	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Guest Actress in a Drama Series	1998	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Lighting in a Series	1998	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Music in a Series	1998	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Series	1998	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Sound in a Series	1998	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Visual Effects in a Series	1998	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Writing in a Drama Series	1998	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Writing in a Series	1998	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Actress in a Drama Series	1999	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Direction in a Drama Series	1999	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Drama Series	1999	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Editing in a Series	1999	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Episode of a Drama Series	1999	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Lighting in a Series	1999	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Music in a Series	1999	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Production Desigin in a Series	1999	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Sound in a Series	1999	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Visual Effects in a Series	1999	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Writing in a Drama Series	1999	Nominated

	Online Film & Television Association	Best Actress in a Drama Series	2000	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Direction in a Drama Series	2000	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Makeup/Hairstyling in a Series	2000	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Music in a Series	2000	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Sound in a Series	2000	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Visual Effects in a Series	2000	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Lighting in a Series	2001	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Music in a Series	2001	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Makeup/Hairstyling in a Series	2002	Nominated
	Peabody Awards	Peabody	1997	Win
	Producers Guild of America Awards	Most Promising Producer in Television	1999	Win
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Individual Achievement in Graphic Design and Title sequences	1994	Win
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Individual Achievement in Main Title Theme	1994	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Drama Series	1995	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Guest Actress in a Drama Series	1995	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Individual Achievement in Cinematography for a Series	1995	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Individual Achievement in Editing for a Series - Single Camera Production	1995	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Individual Achievement in Editing for a Series - Single Camera Production	1995	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Sound Editing for a Series	1995	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Writing for a Drama Series	1995	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Art direction for a Series	1996	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Cinematography for a Series	1996	Win

	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Drama Series	1996	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Guest Actor in a Drama Series	1996	Win
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Lead Actress in a Drama Series	1996	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Sound Editing for a Series	1996	Win
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Sound Mixing for a Drama Series	1996	Win
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Writing for a Drama Series	1996	Win
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Art direction for a Series	1997	Win
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Directing for a Drama Series	1997	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Drama Series	1997	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Editing for a Series - Single Camera Production	1997	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Editing for a Series - Single Camera Production	1997	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Lead Actor in a Drama Series	1997	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Lead Actress in a Drama Series	1997	Win
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Makeup for a Series	1997	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Music Composition for a Series	1997	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Sound Editing for a Series	1997	Win
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Sound Mixing for a Drama Series	1997	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Writing for a Drama Series	1997	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Art Direction for a Series	1998	Win
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Cinematography for a Series	1998	Nominated

	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Directing for a Drama Series	1998	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Drama Series	1998	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Guest Actress in a Drama Series	1998	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Guest Actress in a Drama Series	1998	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Guest Actress in a Drama Series	1998	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Guest Actress in a Drama Series	1998	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Lead Actor in a Drama Series	1998	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Lead Actress in a Drama Series	1998	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Makeup for a Series	1998	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Single Camera Picture Editing for a Series	1998	Win
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Music Composition for a Series (Dramatic Underscore)	1998	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Single Camera Picture Editing for a Series	1998	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Single Camera Picture Editing for a Series	1998	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Sound Editing for a Series	1998	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Sound Mixing for a Drama Series	1998	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Writing for a Drama Series	1998	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Art Direction for a Series	1999	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Cinematography for a Series	1999	Nominated

	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Guest Actress in a Drama Series	1999	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Lead Actress in a Drama Series	1999	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Makeup for a Series	1999	Win
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Music Composition for a Series (Dramatic Underscore)	1999	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Single Camera Picture Editing for a Series	1999	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Sound Editing for a Series	1999	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Makeup for a Series	2000	Win
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Music Composition for a Series (Dramatic Underscore)	2000	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Special Visual Effects for a Series	2000	Win
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Sound Editing for a Series	2000	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Sound Mixing for a Drama Series	2000	Win
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Special Visual Effects for a Series	2000	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Cinematography for a Single Camera Series	2001	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Makeup for a Series	2001	Win
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Music Composition for a Series (Dramatic Underscore)	2002	Nominated
	Publicists Guild of America	Television	1997	Win
	Satellite Awards	Best Actor in a Series, Drama	1997	Win
	Satellite Awards	Best Actress in a Series, Drama	1997	Nominated
	Satellite Awards	Best Television Series, Drama	1997	Win
	Satellite Awards	Best Television Series, Drama	1998	Nominated
	Satellite Awards	Best Actress in a Series, Drama	1998	Nominated

	Satellite Awards	Best Actor in a Series, Drama	1998	Nominated
	Satellite Awards	Best Actress in a Series, Drama	1999	Nominated
	Satellite Awards	Best Television Series, Drama	1999	Nominated
	Satellite Awards	Best Performance by an Actress in a Series, Drama	2001	Nominated
	Sci-Fi Universe Magazine	Best Actor in a Genre TV Series	1995	Win
	Sci-Fi Universe Magazine	Best Actress in a Genre TV Series	1995	Win
	Sci-Fi Universe Magazine	Best Direction for a Genre TV Series	1995	Win
	Sci-Fi Universe Magazine	Best Genre TV Series	1995	Win
	Sci-Fi Universe Magazine	Best Writing for a Genre TV Series	1995	Win
	Sci-Fi Universe Magazine	Best Guest Actor in a Genre TV Series	1996	Win
	Sci-Fi Universe Magazine	Best Guest Actress in a Genre TV Series	1996	Win
	Teen Choice Awards	TV - Choice Drama	1999	Nominated
	Television Critics Association Awards	Individual Achievement in Drama	1994	Nominated
	Television Critics Association Awards	Individual Achievement in Drama	1995	Nominated
	Television Critics Association Awards	Program of the Year	1995	Nominated
	Television Critics Association Awards	Individual Achievement in Drama	1996	Nominated
	Television Critics Association Awards	Outstanding Achievement in Drama	1997	Nominated
	Television Critics Association Awards	Individual Achievement in Drama	1997	Nominated
	Television Critics Association Awards	Individual Achievement in Drama	1997	Nominated
	Television Critics Association Awards	Program of the Year	1997	Nominated
	Television Critics Association Awards	Outstanding Achievement in Drama	1998	Nominated
	TV Guide Awards	Favorite Actor in a Drama	1999	Win
	TV Guide Awards	Favorite Actress in a Drama	1999	Nominated
	TV Guide Awards	Favorite Drama Series	1999	Nominated
	TV Guide Awards	Favorite Actor in a Drama	2000	Nominated
	TV Guide Awards	Favorite Actress in a Drama	2000	Nominated
	TV Guide Awards	Favorite Sci-Fi / Fantasy Show	2000	Nominated
	Viewers for Quality Television Awards	Best Actress in a Quality Drama Series	1994	Nominated

	Viewers for Quality Television Awards	Best Actor in a Quality Drama Series	1995	Nominated
	Viewers for Quality Television Awards	Best Actress in a Quality Drama Series	1995	Nominated
	Viewers for Quality Television Awards	Best Quality Drama Series	1995	Nominated
	Viewers for Quality Television Awards	Best Actress in a Quality Drama Series	1996	Nominated
	Viewers for Quality Television Awards	Best Actor in a Quality Drama Series	1997	Nominated
	Viewers for Quality Television Awards	Best Actress in a Quality Drama Series	1997	Nominated
	Viewers for Quality Television Awards	Best Recurring Player	1997	Nominated
	Viewers for Quality Television Awards	Best Quality Drama Series	1997	Nominated
	Viewers for Quality Television Awards	Best Actress in a Quality Drama Series	1998	Win
	Viewers for Quality Television Awards	Best Quality Drama Series	1998	Nominated
	Viewers for Quality Television Awards	Best Actress in a Quality Drama Series	1999	Win
	Writers Guild of America	Episodic Drama	1996	Nominated
	Writers Guild of America	Episodic Drama	1997	Nominated
	Young Artist Awards	Best Performance in a TV Drama Series - Young Actor Age Ten and Under	2000	Nominated
	Young Artist Awards	Best Performance in a TV Comedy or Drama Series - Guest Starring Young Actor Age Ten or Under	2003	Win
Buffy the Vampire Awards				
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Genre Network Series	1998	Win
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Genre TV Actor	1998	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Genre TV Actress	1998	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Genre Network Series	1999	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Genre TV Actor	1999	Nominated

	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Genre TV Actress	1999	Win
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Genre TV Actress	2000	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Genre TV Supporting Actor	2000	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Genre TV Supporting Actor	2000	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Network Television Series	2000	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Actress on Television	2001	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Network Television Series	2001	Win
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Supporting Actor on Television	2001	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Supporting Actor on Television	2001	Win
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Supporting Actress on Television	2001	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Supporting Actress on Television	2001	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Actress in a television Series	2002	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Network Television Series	2002	Win
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Supporting Actor in a Television Series	2002	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Supporting Actress in a Television Series	2002	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Supporting Actress in a Television Series	2002	Nominated

	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Cinescape Genre Face of the Future Award	2002	Win
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Actress in a television Series	2003	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best DVD TV Programming Release	2003	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Network Television Series	2003	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Supporting Actor in a Television Series	2003	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Supporting Actress in a Television Series	2003	Win
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Supporting Actress in a Television Series	2003	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Cinescape Genre Face of the Future Award	2003	Win
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Besst Actress in a Television Series	2004	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Network Television Series	2004	Nominated
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best Supporting Actor in a Television Series	2004	Win
	Academy of Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror Films	Best DVD Television Programming	2005	Nominated
	American Film Institute Awards	Drama Series of the Year	2002	Nominated
	Bran Stoker Awards	Screenplay	2000	Nominated
	Cinema Audio Society	Outstanding Achievement in Sound Mixing for Television - Series	1999	Win
	Eyegore Awards	Eyegore Award to Cast	2000	Win
	GLAAD (Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Demation) Award	Outstanding TV Drama Series	2001	Nominated

	GLAAD (Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Demation) Award	Outstanding Drama Series	2002	Nominated
	Golden Globe Awards	Best Performance by an Actress in a Television Series - Drama	2001	Nominated
	Hollywood Makup Artist and Hair stylist Guild Awards	Best Special Effects Makeup - Television (for a Single Episode of a Regular Series - Sitcom, Drama or Daytime)	2000	Win
	Hollywood Makup Artist and Hair stylist Guild Awards	Best Contemporary Hair Styling - Television (for a Single Episode of a Regular Series - Sitcom, Drama or Daytime)	2001	Nominated
	Hollywood Makup Artist and Hair stylist Guild Awards	Best Contemporary Makeup - Television (for a Single Episode of a Regular Series - Sitcom, Drama or Daytime)	2001	Nominated
	Hollywood Makup Artist and Hair stylist Guild Awards	Best Period Hair Styling - Television (for a Single Episode of a Regular Series - Sitcom, Drama or Daytime)	2001	Nominated
	Hollywood Makup Artist and Hair stylist Guild Awards	Best Special Effects Makeup - Television (for a Single Episode of a Regular Series - Sitcom, Drama or Daytime)	2001	Nominated
	Hollywood Makup Artist and Hair stylist Guild Awards	Best Special Makeup Effects - Television (for a Single Episode of a Regular Series - Sitcom, Drama or Daytime)	2002	Nominated
	Hollywood Makup Artist and Hair stylist Guild Awards	Best Period Hair Styling - Television (for a Single Episode of a Regular Series - Sitcom, Drama or Daytime)	2003	Nominated
	Hollywood Makup Artist and Hair stylist Guild Awards	Best Special Makeup Effects - Television (for a Single Episode of a	2003	Win

		Regular Series - Sitcom, Drama or Daytime)		
	Hugo Awards	Best Dramatic Presentation	2002	Nominated
	Hugo Awards	Best Dramatic Presentation - Short Form	2003	Win
	Hugo Awards	Best Dramatic Presentation - Short Form	2004	Nominated
	International Horror Guild	Best Television	1999	Win
	International Horror Guild	Best Television	2000	Nominated
	International Horror Guild	Best Television	2001	Nominated
	International Horror Guild	Best Television	2003	Nominated
	Kid's Choice Awards	Favourite TV Actress	1999	Nominated
	Kid's Choice Awards	Favourite TV Show	1999	Nominated
	Kid's Choice Awards	Favourite Television Friends	2000	Nominated
	Kid's Choice Awards	Favourite Television Actress	2001	Nominated
	Kid's Choice Awards	Favourite Female Action Hero	2002	Win
	Kid's Choice Awards	Favourite Television Show	2002	Nominated
	Kid's Choice Awards	Favourite Female Butt Kicker	2003	Nominated
	Motion Picture Sound Editors	Best Sound Editing - Television Episodic - Dialogue & ADR	1999	Nominated
	Motion Picture Sound Editors	Best Sound Editing - Television Episodic - Music	1999	Nominated
	Motion Picture Sound Editors	Best Sound Editing - Television Episodic - Dialogue & ADR	2000	Nominated
	Motion Picture Sound Editors	Best Sound Editing - Television Episodic - Music	2000	Nominated
	Motion Picture Sound Editors	Best Sound Editing - Television Episodic - Effects & Foley	2001	Nominated
	Motion Picture Sound Editors	Best Sound Editing - Television Episodic - Music	2001	Nominated

	Motion Picture Sound Editors	Best Sound Editing - Television - Effects & Foley, Episodic	2002	Nominated
	Motion Picture Sound Editors	Best Sound Editing in Television - Music, Episodic Live Action	2002	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Makeup/Hairstyling in a Series	1998	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Makeup/Hairstyling in a Series	1999	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Sound in a Series	1999	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Episode of a Drama Series	2000	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Makeup/Hairstyling in a Series	2000	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Music in a Series	2000	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Visual Effects in a Series	2000	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Actress in a Drama Series	2001	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Costume Design in a Series	2001	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Drama Series	2001	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Editing in a Series	2001	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Ensemble in a Drama Series	2001	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Episode of a Drama Series	2001	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Lighting in a Series	2001	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Makeup/Hairstyling in a Series	2001	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Music in a Series	2001	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Production Desigin in a Series	2001	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Supporting Actor in a Drama Series	2001	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Supporting Actress in a Drama Series	2001	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Visual Effects in a Series	2001	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Direction in a Drama Series	2002	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Editing in a Series	2002	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Episode of a Drama Series	2002	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Makeup/Hairstyling in a Series	2002	Win

	Online Film & Television Association	Best Music in a Series	2002	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Official Website	2002	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Production Desigin in a Series	2002	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Sound in a Series	2002	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Visual Effects in a Series	2002	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Writing in a Drama Series	2002	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Editing in a Series	2003	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Makeup/Hairstyling in a Series	2003	Win
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Production Desigin in a Series	2003	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Sound in a Series	2003	Nominated
	Online Film & Television Association	Best Visual Effects in a Series	2003	Win
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Makeup for a Series	1997	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Hairstyling for a Series	1998	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Makeup for a Series	1998	Win
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Music Composition for a Series	1998	Win
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Makeup for a Series	1999	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Sound Editing for a Series	1999	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Cinematography for a Single Camera Series	2000	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Hairstyling for a Series	2000	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Writing for a Drama Series	2000	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Hairstyling for a Series	2001	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Makeup for a Series (Non-Prosthetic)	2002	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Makeup for a Series (Prosthetic)	2002	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Music Direction	2002	Nominated
	Primetime Emmy Awards	Outstanding Special Visual Effects for a Series	2003	Nominated

	Rondon Hatton Classic Horror Awards	TV Presentation of the Year	2002	Win
	Rondon Hatton Classic Horror Awards	TV Presentation of the Year	2003	Nominated
	Satellite Awards	Outstanding Television ensemble	2002	Win
	Satellite Awards	Best Actor in a Supporting Role in a Series, Drama	2003	Nominated
	Satellite Awards	Best Actress in a Series	2003	Nominated
	Satellite Awards	Best Actress in a Supporting Role in a Series, Drama	2003	Nominated
	Satellite Awards	Best Actress in a Supporting Role in a Series, Drama	2003	Nominated
	Satellite Awards	Best Overall DVD	2003	Nominated
	Satellite Awards	Best Television Series, Drama	2003	Nominated
	Satellite Awards	Best DVD Extra	2005	Nominated
	Satellite Awards	Best DVD Release of TV Shows	2005	Nominated
	Satellite Awards	Best Overall DVD	2005	Nominated
	Science Fiction and Fantasy Writers of America	Best Script	2002	Nominated
	Science Fiction and Fantasy Writers of America	Best Script	2003	Nominated
	Teen Choice Awards	TV - Choice Actor	1999	Nominated
	Teen Choice Awards	TV - Choice Actress	1999	Win
	Teen Choice Awards	TV - Choice Drama	1999	Nominated
	Teen Choice Awards	TV - Choice Sidekick	1999	Nominated
	Teen Choice Awards	TV - Choice Actor	2000	Nominated
	Teen Choice Awards	TV - Choice Actress	2000	Win
	Teen Choice Awards	TV - Choice Drama	2000	Nominated
	Teen Choice Awards	TV - Choice Sidekick	2000	Nominated
	Teen Choice Awards	TV - Choice Sidekick	2000	Nominated
	Teen Choice Awards	TV - Choice Actress	2001	Nominated
	Teen Choice Awards	TV - Choice Drama	2001	Nominated

	Teen Choice Awards	TV - Choice Sidekick	2001	Nominated
	Teen Choice Awards	TV - Choice Sidekick	2001	Nominated
	Teen Choice Awards	TV - Choice Actor, Drama	2002	Nominated
	Teen Choice Awards	TV - Choice Actress, Drama	2002	Win
	Teen Choice Awards	TV - Choice Drama/Action Adventure	2002	Nominated
	Teen Choice Awards	TV - Choice Sidekick	2002	Win
	Teen Choice Awards	Choice TV Actor - Drama/Action Adventure	2003	Nominated
	Teen Choice Awards	Choice TV Actress - Drama/Action Adventure	2003	Win
	Teen Choice Awards	Choice TV - Drama/Action Adventure	2003	Nominated
	Teen Choice Awards	Choice TV Sidekick	2003	Nominated
	Television Critics Association Awards	Outstanding Achievement in Drama	2000	Nominated
	Television Critics Association Awards	Program of the Year	2000	Nominated
	Television Critics Association Awards	Individual Achievement in Drama	2001	Nominated
	Television Critics Association Awards	Outstanding Achievement in Drama	2001	Nominated
	Television Critics Association Awards	Program of the Year	2001	Nominated
	Television Critics Association Awards	Heritage Award	2003	Win
	TV Guide Awards	Favourite Sci-Fi / Fantasy Show	2000	Win
	TV Guide Awards	Favourite Teen Show	2000	Win
	TV Guide Awards	Supporting Actress of the Year in a Drama Series	2001	Nominated
	Viewers for Quality Television Awards	Best Actress in a Quality Drama Series	1999	Nominated
	Viewers for Quality Television Awards	Founder's Award	2000	Win
	Visual Effects Society Awards	Outstanding Visual Effects in a Television Series	2004	Win
	Young Artist Awards	Best Performance in a TV Drama Series - Guest Starring Young Actor	1998	Nominated
	Young Artist Awards	Best Performance in a TV Drama or Comedy Series - Leading Young Acress	1999	Nominated

	Young Artist Awards	Bes Performance in TV Drama Series - Supporting Young Acress	2001	Win