What's On The Tube Today?

On the Ontology of Television and YouTube

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Introduction

A young boy named David is sitting in a car, after having visited the dentist. He is still drowsy from the anesthetic he received during what seems to have been a removal of some of his teeth. His father sitting in the drivers seat films the boy, who is experiencing delusions and blurry vision. Miraculously, this video that was posted on YouTube, had received more than five million views worldwide in just over a week. An amount of viewers that even rivals some of the great blockbusters in the cinema. And it is no exception. Ranging from a short video about two young brothers of which one bites the other's finger, to a video clip of a song by teen pop-idol Justin Bieber, these videos become immensely popular for a wide range of unknown or peculiar reasons. They spread like viruses in the online world. What this shows us, amongst several 'symptoms', is that the Internet and the variety of audiovisual content it provides have taken up a very important position in the global and local media landscape. Every single time – without exception – when a new medium enters the scene, it raises questions, doubts, fears and hopes for John and Jane Doe, academics and media professionals alike. One of the main concerns is obviously raised around the question on what the medium *is*. What is it capable of, what does it do? How does it change our world and our perception of it? Such questions of nature and essence is a kind of approach that will be at the core of this research. It will not concern the answer per se, but the actual question itself. Is it relevant to ask oneself the question what constitutes a specific medium? Even more so, how do you reach a conclusive answer to such a question? Are media fixed and do they posses unique qualities? Or, are they lucid, ambivalent and in constant transition?

YouTube and television will be at the center of this investigation. Numerous researchers and writers have looked at the way television is changed by the coming of Internet and IPTV (Internet Protocol Television). Internet video has had, and will have, profound influences on the way television works in aesthetic/technological, industrial/economical and social/cultural form. Television itself is, quite logically, no longer what it

used to be in – what I consider to be – its juvenile years after World War II. The medium has evolved, adapted and flourished doing so. Since the first decade of the new century especially, Internet and online video have come in to play and have changed the relations between the different media. Not only is it an ongoing conflict over audiences, quality and revenue, it is also if not mainly a battle over *identity*. It may seem that television is giving way to IPTV, but in fact it's a reciprocal interaction. Internet changes television, but television inadvertently also 'shapes' the audiovisual aspect of the Internet. This process occurs at the junction between the two (and probably even more) media, and is most evident in the extremely popular video portal YouTube.com. YouTube has been widely examined, but predominantly on its democratic ideal and amateur community culture. Instead of following this line of research, the main goal here is to understand what constitutes a medium. John Caldwell correctly states that "fully understanding (…) television's role in multimedia convergence means framing or defining (…) television on terms other than its own."[1] I will argue in this research that YouTube is being 'televisualized', meaning that aspects and elements primarily assigned to the television medium have been taken up in the video portal in its form, industry, and practices. It is a continuous process of altering and giving shape, which seems to circumvent or deny any fixed ontological basis. As William Uricchio and others have argued, television (and the internet as well, ed.) has since the beginning been in a state of transformation and transition, "mutating and redefining its capacities and its relations to viewers and other media, while inhabiting a dynamic media landscape."[2] The hypothesis that lies at the base of this investigation is therefore that media are always in transition and should be approached as such, which is an implicit argument for a form of 'de-ontology' within media studies.

In order to understand ontology and appropriate it to television and YouTube, some definitions and explanations are necessary. The work of Noël Carroll and Rodowick will provide a preliminary and basic

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1   John Thornton Caldwell, *Production Culture: Industrial Reflexivity and Critical Practice in Film and Television* (Durham: Duke U.P., 2008): 306.
2   William Uricchio, "The Trouble With Television" *Screening the Past: An International Electronic Journal of Visual Media and History* 4 (1998) (Online Available)

understanding of the concept of ontology and the way it is used within media studies. Rodowick has used Carroll's work to illustrate some problems and uses for the method. I will take up on his work to show the way in which ontology has a place within this investigation. Ontology is a mostly theoretical concept without much field-research or tangible practices. It is more of a philosophy than a method of research. It helps one define a medium by a 'list' of characteristics. In order to compare television to YouTube and YouTube to television, this ontological list of traits will form the basis of the rest of this query. This ranges from classical concepts as flow and liveness to more 'abstract' elements of television or YouTube by means of industry, production, economy et cetera. Classical and paradigmatic theory surrounding those topics will pass the revue, for example the work by Raymond Williams in the late seventies. The goal of this segmentation is to exactly criticize the way ontology works. Because of this, one could argue that my research is flawed to begin with, since I discuss my topics via ontological standards. This is however a necessary error, because it will open up the way for me to examine differences and similarities (almost exclusively the latter). This will show the ways in which both media are very much correlated and to some extent identical.

As mentioned, this research is built up by fragments, separate elements that are deemed to be part of a medium's ontology. In this respect, they can principally be read as idiosyncratic chapters. However, as will be clear, some elements are closely related and will flow through one another; for example industry and economy or form and production. The first chapter will discuss ontology and its use within this research. The second will discuss the way in which new media are taken up and imagined in the period of their introduction. This will shed some historical and contextual light on the way we interpret YouTube and television now. The following chapters are based upon characteristic ontological elements that are – or used to be – part of television's ontology. The final chapter will shortly summarize the main results and argue for a new view on ontology in relation to media studies.

On Ontology

When we want to dissect a medium, bring it down to its core elements in order to make meaning out of its existence, we could – and in many academic case do – turn to ontology. This originally ancient philosophy is occupied with the discussion on the existence of entities. This line of thought reflects upon the determining of 'categories' that are possibly fundamental to the existence and specificity of an entity. Within ancient ontology, different 'beings' do not necessarily have particular elements, properties and characteristics that are unique to its existence. The main concern is how these beings can actually be said 'to be'. Ever since the earliest of media scholarships, ontology has translated into a method of describing the essential qualities of a medium. Moving away from the abstract conundrums that accompany the original reflection upon the being of something, ontology has found itself a very definitive way of explaining what a medium (in this case) is. By usage of clearly defined categories and 'lists' of essential properties and facts, academics have tried to describe and understand that which makes up a medium's being. A medium exists through distinctive constituents and idiosyncrasies, which it may or may not share with other media. This latter part is of great relevance to this investigation, for a numerous amount of scholarly works have not made this very distinction. For several authors, a specific medium is unique in its own way, exactly since it does not share the same properties as others or to an extent has a (elementally) different usage for them. In the following chapters I will follow the ontological way in which media studies have explored specific media and their essence, using a 'list' of diverse elements that are said to be the building blocks of television. This list of topics that makes up this investigation is by no means fully encompassing. A lot of academic research has gone into other television/internet related areas which are too many to discuss here.[3] The core aspects however – the 'key metaphors'[4] – from television will be

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3 To name a few: gender, politics, 'effects' of media on people and their daily lives, media as art, interactivity et cetera.

4 Jostein Gripsrud, "Television, Broadcasting, Flow: Key Metaphors in TV Theory" in *The*

applied to internet (video) in order to discuss the role of ontology in contemporary media studies. The topics discussed are the ones most frequently brought forward in academic research on what defines television.

An example of academic work regarding ontology is that of Noël Carroll. In 'The Ontology of Mass Art' he discusses the essence of the film medium.[5] He describes film in relation to other media in order to discover its own inherent properties, albeit in the context of film as mass art. He compares film with theater and photography and television with radio as broadcast media. He tries to outline the ontological differences between them. Their specificity gives them the *possibility* to be put to use as distinctive works of art by the artist. However, he does note that there are cases where one could speak of multiplicity in art – alluding to a common criticism on viewing art as singular and specific – where different media or some of their essential aspects are incorporated in other media or artworks. Carroll counters that critique by arguing that there are always singular art forms and media (with their own unique qualities) which constitute those multiple art works.

In 'The Specificity of Media in the Arts' Carroll makes an objection to the so-called medium-specificity doctrine, even though in the text described above he seems to advocate it to a certain extent. As David Rodowick writes in his book on the future of film as a medium, Carroll's approach is fundamentally twofold: "that a medium directs its uses, and consequently that the evolution of art practiced in a given medium is directed by a telos, or ever more nearly perfect instantiations of the medium's essential qualities."[6] Thus according to Carroll, art and perhaps also other manifestations of a medium's essence, ultimately strive towards utilizing and exhibiting the unique properties of the concerned medium. Rodowick, however, states that "it should still be possible to invoke the concept of a medium in ways that are not reducible to arguments

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Television Studies Book, Christine Geraghty and David Lusted, ed. (London: Arnold, 1998): 17-32.

5 Noël Carroll, "The Ontology of Mass Art" *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 5, no. 2. (1997): 187-199.

6 D.N. Rodowick, *The Virtual Life of Film* (Cambridge: Harvard U.P., 2007): 35.

concerning essence, teleology, and injunction."[7] I would contend that it is not the attempt of a specific medium to express its own unique properties as a certain telos. It is quite possibly the exact opposite. A contemporary medium – being a hybrid – does not have as its goal the evolution of its *own* elements to a 'perfect instantiation'. Instead, one could argue that it tries to incorporate aspects and qualities of *other* media in order to extend its own boundaries and evolve into a broader more accessible or powerful hybrid. That is not to say that this follows any predetermined telos; it adjusts and evolves over time in specific periods and contexts and is indefinitely subject to change. As Rodowick aptly states: "one may want to preserve an idea of a medium flexible enough to comprehend how media may individuate themselves while nonetheless preserving certain properties in common. (...) what makes a hybrid cannot be understood if the individual properties being combined cannot be distinguished."[8]

A common error that can be found within a wide range of ontological research and investigations into specificity of media is that of physicality. Especially in the earlier years, when film, television and radio first came into play (see partially chapter two), those media were largely defined by delineating their physical being. The word film for example, is a direct reference to this practice. Although it is also called 'movie' or 'cinema', depending on the context, film is the preferred term for the medium itself. It originates from the physical filmstrip, nowadays consisting of celluloid, acetate or some polyester based compound, covered with a light-sensitive emulsion. The medium-specificity thesis Carroll criticizes implies that "one need only examine the physical structure of the medium"[9] However, this approach is already farfetched, since research has moved on to countless accounts of academic work being done in different research areas. The problem with defining a medium by using just one ground (for example physical nature), is that one has no idea of what features of the medium are relevant to the people if there is no observed use and social practice.

The medium-specificity thesis consists of two components, of which

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7   Rodowick, 41.
8   Rodowick, 41.
9   Rodowick, 41.

the so-called 'excellence component' is important to shortly discuss here in context of ontology. "One component is the idea that there is something that each medium does best – alternatively, best of everything else a given medium does or best in comparison with other media."[10] According to Carroll, basically, what a medium does best will most likely coincide with what differentiates media, as noted before. Photography would differentiate itself because it is (arguably) the best way to capture one single moment in the 'future past' in one space. Film on the other hand, would differentiate itself because it can capture a *sequence* of time, recorded in the future past in one mobile space. Both media are intrinsically incapable of doing what the other does, but are still very much related. Film remains an illusionary rapid succession of photographs. A still shot in the film is basically a photograph on a big screen. Therefore, it is, as Rodowick states correctly, the uses that define a medium and not the technological and physical properties per se.

Having discussed some of Carroll's and Rodowick's works on ontology, they are by no means paradigmatic and generally representative. The body of research done towards the essence of media is so vast, that it is hardly possible to even scratch the surface in this short outline. What should be clear is that ontology is a type of research and thinking that has different manifestations over time. It boils down to defining a medium in categories and idiosyncratic elements. Television is the medium – in context of online video – that is going to be the point of focus in the next chapter. One could ask why one should use a (distinct?) medium like television if the final goal of this research is questioning the very practice of definition. It would imply that there might not even be such a thing as television, merely the sum of its parts. In short, it is useful to make comparisons. And in order to make comparisons one needs to juxtapose two inherently different entities. For this reason, I advocate an ontological approach to show the fortunes and flaws of its very method. The point of this research is not to show how unique one or another medium is, it is exactly concerned with how, when and where it is *not* unique. Differences seems to become marginalized in our current and future media landscape.

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10 Rodowick,,45.

Perhaps idiosyncrasy can only be found in the *unique* way *common* properties and qualities are used and incorporated within different media. Ontology might prove useful in understanding the new aspects that new media introduce. However, it is questionable whether these aspects aren't already in some way part of existing media and their practices. Media often become successful because they include readily available properties, not because they are unique in their own state. But what then still differentiates a medium from the next? Is it perhaps only the experience of the user/consumer that defines what a medium means and does?

The Arrival of New Players

"Every electronic media product launch or network debut carries with it an implicit fantasy scenario of its domestic consumption, a polemical ontology of its medium, and an ideological rationale for its social function."[11]

As the quote above indicates, every new medium generates – or is generative of – a range of utopian ideals which the medium could come to embody. Whenever these new entities come into the public domain, they are not collectively regarded as positive changes. A good example is the Surgeon General Report in the early years after World War II in the U.S.. Although not initially exclusive to the negative effects of media – smoking and other potential 'health hazards' were also included – the report attempted to show the dangers of the television for American households and children in particular. Another more recent example in context of the arrival of internet and its consequences for television is that of Joe Childley: "How Internet Killed Television".[12] Two questions form the base of such investigations, namely what is it and what does it do? Of these two, the latter could arguably be said to follow up on the former. The question of definition is therefore a significant element in trying to understand the introduction of new media. Ontology, as has been stated above, is a commonly used academic method which attempts to find a solution to this very issue. For this reason, it is useful to look at the different ways in which television was viewed and interpreted (in an ontological way) in order to contextualize the way in which the 'medium' internet video tries to find its place and identity in our current period in time.

       One of the first visually represented expectations of television as a

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11 William Boddy, "Redefining the Home Screen: Technological Convergence as Trauma and Business Plan" in *Rethinking Media Change: The Aesthetics of Transition*, D. Thornburn and H. Jenkins, ed. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003): 191-200, 191.

12 Joe Childley, "How Internet Killed Television" in *Canadian Business* 72, issue 19 (1999): 111-130. He discusses all the potential threats Internet would pose to television (as imagined in 1999 in Canada at least): advertising, content, audience. All elements would be strained and contested and television would have to make major moves or adjustments to be able to compete and retain its dominant position as a broadcasting mass medium.

usable medium can be traced back to the late nineteenth century. Albert Robida wrote a popular futuristic trilogy about the coming twentieth century called *Le Vingtième Siècle,* in which among other things he envisioned the Télephonoscope: a device that would enable people to follow news, courses and plays from their homes and also be able to have teleconferences without a shared physical presence. His writings were some of the earliest to include a technologically and socially utopian vision on the identity of television as we know (or knew it). Ontologically seen, aspects of liveness, a window on the world, collective viewing, simultaneity, and broadcasting were key elements in these futuristic yet perfectly viable visions.
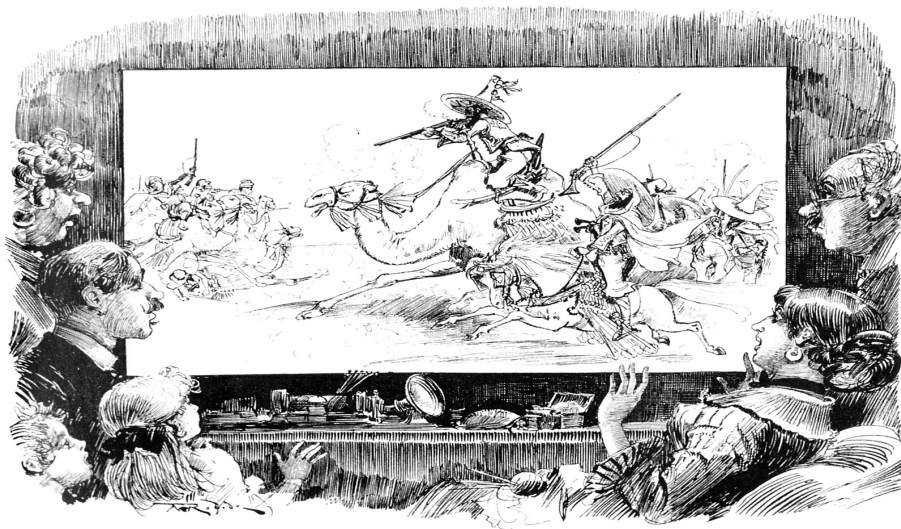

Illustration 1: Robida's depicts people watching a Téléphonoscope news broadcast on war in the future 20th century.

But not all thoughts on television were positive. Early media theorists like the German-born author Rudolf Arnheim were more careful in praising a medium yet to come. Regarding the consequences television would have on the already socially embedded broadcasting medium called radio, Arnheim stated: "With the coming of the picture, broadcasting loses its peculiarity as a new medium of expression and becomes purely a medium of dissemination."[13] The coming of television would destroy known (radio) broadcasting. Arnheim regarded television as a mere means of

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13 Rudolf Arnheim, *Radio: An Art of Sound* (1936) Translated by M. Ludwig and H. Read. (New

transmission, similar to the automobile and aeroplane. It was not viewed as a new mode of presenting reality but as an alteration of people's relation to reality itself.[14] Film was also one of Arnheim's topics of comparison, where television could be considered as a 'marriage' between wireless and film. He noted that knowledge would intertwine with spectacle, words with pictures and art with entertainment.[15] The comparison between different types of media like Arnheim makes, is a core element in ontological research. One tries to find similarities, but focuses on differences. Finding the latter is a means of describing and interpreting the unique character of one medium opposed to another. This is relevant for the course of the following chapters, since television will be compared to internet (video), in order to understand their lucid identities.

In the early years after the introduction of television, and it slowly gaining mass medium status, the key elements that constitute the medium were becoming ever more clear. As Uricchio notes, "one of the reasons for television's slow start despite its impressive technological lead had to do with the definition of the medium. (…) Television was generally seen as deriving from some existing medium, existing as a variation rather than a self-standing medium."[16] This notion reflects a recurrent practice of people viewing a medium as derivative of another. There is a double-edged issue in this matter; people can either see this process as so called remediation or as a 'horseless carriage'.[17] Remediation provides a much better understanding of the way media mutually and reciprocally adapt to changes, rather than viewing a medium as a copy or separate instance of an already socially accepted and available medium. Although remediation might prove a useful way of interrogating the issues discussed here, the main focus will be on the ways in which media are, not have become. The concept implies a 'hypermediacy', the incorporation of a multitude of medial aspects – predominantly visual ones, but the concept could in my opinion be strained to include various 'televisual' constituents like flow or

York: DaCapo, 1972): 277.

14 Arnheim, 280.

15 Ibidem, 286.

16 William Uricchio, *Media, Simultaneity, Convergence: Culture and Technology in an Age of Intermediality* (Utrecht: Faculteit der Letteren, 1997): 17.

17 For remediation, see J. David Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New*

liveness as well – coming from different already existent origins. As will be clear, YouTube exemplifies this very idea, although it is not a 'full' medium per se. It did not imitate any distinct medium or followed the evolution of one, as the horseless carriage concept would suggest. It has over the course of its existence obtained (or ascertained) a wide range of elements which can be identified within several media and uses them in specific ways for its own purpose. What this shows is that identities of new media are not constructed in an instant. They evolve over time, both from inside and outside, and are not fixed entities.

The aforementioned internal evolution (or: construction) can be illustrated by the state of the television industry in its early years. As William Boddy states regarding American television: "American television was generally construed in terms of domesticity, liveness, and its role as an indispensable agent of national identity."[18] These elements were to a large extent collectively accepted and interpreted as such. But television already became victim of an identity struggle, not coming from the outside – from its relation to other media that is – but an from an internal cause. Great Britain was the first to actually produce and broadcast on a regular base nation-wide high-definition television content from their improvised studio in Alexandra Palace in 1936. From the very beginning, the new BBC Television Service (now BBC One) adopted a public service broadcasting model. For them it was a logic follow through upon the already existing radio model of the BBC. For the United States however, the success of the BBC introduced a discussion about the future of television in America. Advertising and sponsorship were the main models used by the large radio companies and networks. As Boddy describes, the upcoming television industry argued, albeit quite shortly, over the way television should implement itself with a larger focus on either revenue or service. As we all know, ultimately the commercial model was adopted/preserved and American television evolved into an international entertainment industry and a medium with great national relevance. With the arrival of internet video, the basic advertising model is slowly but surely being deconstructed in order to make way for more innovative and direct

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Media (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000)

methods of reaching the audience within a period of increased networking, competition, narrow-casting and shortened attention spans. All these topics will be discussed later on more thoroughly.

Lastly, a medium is also understood by means of its importance, both in its introductory phase as its established one. "One way to assess the significance of technological innovations (...) is to chart their impact upon traditional assumptions about television and its audience, assumptions themselves informed by specific historical forces within and outside of the television industry."[19] As William Boddy aptly notes here is that in order to understand the current state of a medium, it is useful to think about not what a medium necessarily *is*, but how it is perceived. Ontology – even though a wide range of work is based on technology and essence – therefore lies *not only* in facts and figures, but also in subjectivity. Logically, a medium is not just what academics and the industry make of it, it is for a large part what the audience thinks of it in terms of their assumptions and experiences. This is especially the case with internet video and video portals like YouTube.com, which have an immense grass-root community origin, literally and physically amplifying the role the audience has in its evolution and construction of identity.

Internet video is a quite recent development within both television's and 'new media''s environments. It is not a distinct medium in itself, but is a common denominator for a range of newly available instances of video content delivered over the internet. Along with practices called IPTV, IPVOD and Internet television it has a relatively distinct character.[20] YouTube.com could be said to belong under 'internet video', but attempts at embedding these categories as distinct media with clear-cut boundaries and definitions are inherently flawed. Even within academic discourse, there has been contention over what these terms really imply. Nonetheless, this research will by use of YouTube attempt to show that it allows for a very ambivalent interpretation of what television is in a digital online domain, whether this could be regarded as being positive or

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18 Boddy, 192.
19 Ibidem, 191.
20 For a somewhat comprehensive overview on these different categories by Simpson and Greenfield, see *Appendix I*.

negative for its identity and the way it is perceived. The following chapters will now step by step investigate the different ontological aspects of YouTube, as a hybrid 'medium'.

Chapter 3.

Genres – Form – Content

You-Tube. The very name implies a couple of concepts that are elemental to its being. First of all there is the You; you control your own content, you control your viewing, you control when and where you view. Secondly, there is the Tube. A direct reference to television, which was and in some cases is still called the tube because of its original component the cathode ray tube. YouTube is *your* television, which you create by either viewing or producing. Lastly, although maybe a bit farfetched, YouTube audibly resembles YouToo, implying a sense of peer culture, community, congregation and collectivity. The most popular web video portal in existence at this point in time, is a peculiar entity. It is a hybrid of all sorts of content, practices and aesthetics. It is useful to look at what constitutes this 'medium', by firstly distinguishing its content in relation to its possibly already existing counterparts in traditional television.

YouTube is an assembly of genres. But what exactly is a genre? The concept itself has been much contended within academic research. Genre is basically the term for any form of art or culture, based on some set of stylistic criteria and tradition. People interact with the expectation they have regarding a genre and experience the audiovisual content in relation to it and reflect upon it. They are not set categories, but ambiguous terms in which content is subdivided for ease of use and recognition. As Steve Neal noted, "genres are (…) best understood as processes. These processes may, for sure, be dominated by repetition, but they are also marked fundamentally by difference, variation, and change."[21] It is useless to try and define all varieties of content on sites like YouTube, since they come in such different shapes and sizes and often belong to several genres. In the light of the ontological queries posed earlier, it is important to take a look at those kinds of genres and content that have striking resemblance to those of television. As already noted, it is

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21 Steve Neal, "Questions of Genre" in *Film and Theory: an Anthology*, Stam Robert and Toby
     Miller, ed. (Malden: Blackwell, 2000): 157-178, 165. He refers to his other work called
     Towards an Aesthetic of Reception (1982).

not so much interesting to look at the differences, as it is to look at the similarities to see how media become entwined. Therefore, the focus will now be on vlogs, home videos and news, sports and music videos, extra-televisual content, seriality and virals. I will show the ways in which these have reference to or characteristics of traditional television content.

1. Vlogs

One of the most iconic and common 'original' uses of YouTube and its community grass-roots is that of the video web-log. People use their (web)cam to record themselves talking about a certain topic and upload the result to YouTube.com. Some of these have evolved into true celebrities and have achieved stardom. Two prime examples are that of American vloggers Ray William Johnson (channel name: RayWilliamJohnson)[22] or Toby Turner (Tobuscus)[23]. These 'talking heads' talk directly to their cameras and address their viewers as a collective audience. With their witty humor and occasional social-cultural critiques they very much resemble television shows like The Daily Show with John Stewart or The Colbert Report with Stephen Colbert. The fact that RWJ's videos get an average of seven million viewers within a couple of months is a good indication of the increasing relevance and popularity of the platform.

Illustration 2: Ray William Johnson's popular YouTube-channel, in many ways similar to (American) popular television talk shows.

Aesthetically the shows are quite similar. Both hosts carry the show with their own performance, aided by the help of audiovisual content. The topics they discuss vary significantly – YouTubers often reflect on viral

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22 http://www.youtube.com/user/RayWilliamJohnson

videos, show hosts on politics and news – but the form is strikingly similar. One person is the face of a very popular show in which other audiovisual material is covered in a humorist way. Of course, these are merely excerpts from both 'industries', but give one example out of a great many, of the way YouTube is starting to resemble television. As we will see in another chapter, these popular vlogs are starting to succumb to (or show interest in) economical pressures, giving room for advertisements, banners et cetera, which is indicative of the move away from the add-free open space that YouTube originally was.

2. Home Videos

The characteristic element of YouTube that has been discussed and praised over and over, is that of the home video. The synergy between the easy access platform of YouTube and the increasing availability of decent to high-definition cameras on smart phones and other gadgets, has provided a huge burst in amateur home videos. A striking example is the already cult-statical 'lolcat' and 'fail' phenomenons. The link to Bob Saget's America's Funniest Home Videos is very obvious. Similar compilations of funny accidents, people or animals are very common on YouTube and will keep entertaining the audience. When you think about it, who would still want to watch the television variant when you can watch more specific and user-oriented/created selections on the other Tube. The use of home videos is ever more interesting since it provides a new view on the world, that television for example might fail to achieve. People can record an event and post it online. This provides people with a unbiased and original view on that event; pure raw material. Reciprocally, television shows might use these video's, whether or not coming from YouTube, as audiovisual additions to news content. These home videos blur the heritage of a clip, which also blurs the lines between the two media. It thereby also signals a shift from distribution to production.

3. Sports and Music Videos

The 'genres' above indicate the mixture of the same content in different

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23 http://www.youtube.com/user/Tobuscus

media and aesthetically similar but still distinct content. YouTube however, does not only mimic television in this regard, it quite blatantly copies content as well, or 'mirrors' it.[24] Not all content on YouTube is original. A lot of it consists of extracts and fragments (due to the limited size of uploadable material) taken directly from movies, but most commonly from television. The most common example of this practice is that of sports. YouTube contains massive amounts of short fragments from television sport shows, either used in its original way with its own commentary, or in a compilation of some sorts. These videos are produced professionally by the television industry. A common problem with these clips is their alleged illegality. Another element is that of music videos. Although MTV and VH1 et cetera still show some clips, the majority can be found online; either unintentionally via amateur users, or via mainstream commercial channels like Vevo that have agreed to pay a certain sum of money to the artist and production company for every so many views that a clip gets on YouTube. When people want to view a specific video clip or hear a song they do not already have in their play list, they do not wait for it to show up on television, they look it up on YouTube and other online portals. This practice is symbolic of the shift of short content from television to online environments.

4. Extra-Televisual Content

In line of the previous 'genre', television production companies and networks have also allowed YouTube to incorporate so-called ""short-form content": clips of popular prime-time shows like *Lost, Desperate Housewives* and *Grey's Anatomy,* as well as behind-the-scenes footage, celebrity interviews, online-only specials."[25] This happens internationally, where networks and channels distribute short clips of all sorts to increase the popularity of a show and make up for loss in revenue caused by the increasing difficulties the 'old' commercial models now experience in times of online video. That is not to say that the transition from offline (TV)

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24 Please note the use of YouTube as a collective concept. Its usage should be interpreted as the combined efforts of its members; viewers and producers.

25 William Uricchio, "The Future of a Medium Once Known as Television" in *The YouTube Reader*, Pelle Snickars and Patrick Vonderau, ed. (Lithuania: Logotipas, 2009): 24-40, 28.

towards online is a smooth one. As Burgess and Green showed for example, Oprah once disallowed external embedding of videos and moderated comments on videos in her channel, which got her a large amount of negative commentaries by users that felt as though Oprah had violated the free space of YouTube by exerting control over users' freedom and signified the prioritizing of established televisual content over others by YouTube/Google.[26]

5. Serials and Virals

Viral videos relate to popular television shows or broadcasts in the sense that they are often crowd-sourced and have a 'must-see' aura about them. The latest high- end HBO series will especially gain popularity because people talk to each other about it and try and find friends to discuss it with. Viral video's are similar, although they are by definition not anticipated by viewers. They become popular for no apparent reason, but nonetheless popular by means of the crowd. Whereas television shows use trailers and other marketing strategies to acquire a good viewing base to begin with, true viral videos are self-evolving. Either way, the audience ultimately decide what becomes popular and what does not. This idea is exemplary of the large peer-to-peer collectivity that accompanies both media; it's about reaching the audience and viewer ratings.

Serials have basically always been a fixed part of television programming. YouTube however, has only recently started to develop a certain 'seriality' in its content. The already mentioned popular vlogs have a set schedule in which they distribute a new video. They announce it in previous videos or have a channel that provides viewers and subscribes with updates on new content. When proven popular, people will likely want to stay put and watch oncoming videos from the same user. This indicates semblance to the way people anticipate and 'follow' television

26 Jean Burgess and Joshua Green, "The Entrepeneurial Vlogger: Participatory Culture Beyond the Professional-Amateur Divide" in *The YouTube Reader*: 89-108, 101: "One point made by several YouTube commenters was that Oprah was importing the convergence of celebrity and control associated with "big media" into the social media space (...) and therefore ignoring the cultural norms that have developed over the life of the network. Late-arriving corporate partners were seen as exploiting the attention that had been produced by earlier, more "authentic," participants, a situation only exacerbated by YouTube's practice of proactively promoting their partnerships with mainstream media companies and celebrities who hadn't

serials/series like soaps or crime shows. They include recognition, expectations and a sense of belonging to the community of fans.

The different forms and genres shown here, all have some inherent characteristic they share with televisual content. Although genres seem to cross the ontological borders, the basic form of content is still quite different. First of all, 'television' screens try to become increasingly larger, while online and mobile displays shrink by the day. On the other hand, most content strives to be as defined as possible. YouTube video's have increasing availability of 720p or higher HD display options, which on a small screen almost resemble 4K television screens. Of course, the experience is quite different still, but what this does show is that technology and form are not set to one specific medium. While cinema tries to stand out with unique features like IMAX, 3D and the known theatrical experience, television tries ever more to resemble cinema (home cinema sets), and YouTube and others on their turn try to look like television. But on the other side, YouTube and traditional television now also have several 3D components and essentially television is starting to move online as well with IPTV. All these processes occur at any given time; all media are in constant transition and reciprocally interact. It is hard to locate a medium, let alone define it within a given set of characteristics, which ontology implies to do.

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done the "hard yards" in the subculture."

Production and Industry

"Will it be worth while to produce a film for half-a-dozen transmitters?
Would it not be economically more expedient to limit it to theatrical
productions in the studio?"[27]

As the above quote by Arnheim indicates, production is a part of television's being which is also constantly being contested and reworked. Since the early introduction of viable television technology, such questions have been raised to address the dangers and possibilities new media would have on existing practices. These are inadvertently connected to questions on economical issues and distribution, which will be discussed further on. Production is the birth chamber, the cradle of what we view on the screen. It is the fundamental part of media practice that physically constructs a medium's output. The term encompasses a wide range of viewpoints, ranging from questions on who creates, how and under which circumstances one creates, and what is created. All these elements provide a good insight into the way the ontology of television and YouTube is being altered and blurred. YouTube does not solely instigate a change in television's production culture, the traditional television culture itself has some guiding and steering effects on the way YouTube is evolving or being shaped as it were. In fact, one could argue that YouTube is to an extent even being 'televisualized'.

Production Values

Let's first look at the production values on YouTube in comparison to television as we know/knew it. Intended or not, YouTube has from its start been used as a platform which enable amateurs to upload their 'productions' to be shared with the world. Up to this day, the majority of content uploaded is still low quality home video.[28] At first glance these are

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27 Arnheim, 283.
28 'Only'10% of YouTube videos are available in HD according to youtube.com/t/press_statistics.

not the videos you would encounter, since YouTube uses a selection of advisory content that does not include material that has been viewed very little. Nonetheless, it is astonishing when you think about the figures. According to YouTube, "more video is uploaded to YouTube in one month than the 3 major US networks created in 60 years."[29] This clearly shows the relevance of amateur production, be it home videos, amateur remixes or re-usages of existing YouTube or media – film and television – content.[30] It makes sense that there are so many amateur productions on the site, because it is very easy to come by a webcam, a smartphone with a built-in camera or a simple video recorder. Apparently there is a great interest in presenting yourself or your experiences visually to the world. And what better place to show it than on a global screen like YouTube? The sheer amount of production has made the consumer the producer as well.[31] Production companies no longer uphold a monopoly over the (non-commercial) market. In some regard, content could be seen to become anonymous and random, distributable and disposable with one click or tab.

A significant difference that still remains between the production values of television and YouTube is of course the high quality of television versus the predominantly low quality of online video. The qualitative distinctiveness is found in both the image definition, as well as the level of content. For example, a high end production by HBO (e.g. LOST) is unquestionably of better quality production-wise than an online series like the aforementioned vlogs.[32] One must note that most content on YouTube is not fictional in the sense that it is usually people that present themselves in front of the camera, contrary to the fictional dramas that television often produce. The production of fiction has a requisite verisimilitude (and thus a lot of funding and time), whereas YouTube videos generally do not. The "performance-to-camera" as Sarah Cook describes it, can be produced

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This should be interpreted in context of television's significantly (currently) higher amount of HD content. Adding to that is the fact that HD is relative. 720P is deemed high-definition, but has a very different look on a small screen than on a 80" home cinema. Future content will probably more often be HD with capable apparatuses becoming more readily available and cheaper.

29 http://www.youtube.com/t/press_statistics

30 The re-usage of television content is just one more indication of the increase in convergence between the two media.

31 Users upload the equivalent of 240,000 full-length films every week according to YouTube.

32 This is however not meant to imply that those are of low quality to begin with. Televisual

without all the bulky overheads of making actual television shows."[33] These are videos of 'affinity', that both professional media makers and amateurs use. "They enable an interaction that gives viewers a feeling of being connected not to a video, but to a person who shares mutual beliefs or interests."[34] This would seem to suggest that the way we interact with productions is in essence different. Although there is probably a great degree of identification with characters and story-lines in both domains, the way we consume it and which expectations we have of it are still not the same.

I have discussed some of the most obvious differences between production values on YouTube and television, but there are certainly also a great many resemblances where YouTube seems to follow in television's wake. Networks increasingly offer custom made productions to be 'aired' on YouTube in order to gain popularity for a show or provide active viewers with additional content. A prime example is the, although not YouTube exclusive, augmented reality game that the creators of Lost introduced, in which fictional commercials and subliminal messaging were produced to give viewers extra information on a illusive company (Dharma Initiative or Hanso Foundation) from the show's plot. Piracy is an important aspect that comes with uploading television content (by someone other than the producer) to YouTube. "The industry has developed alliances with sites such as YouTube where exclusive content deals are struck in exchange for controlling the piracy of television content."[35] The television industry uses YouTube to distribute unique productions, as long as YouTube keeps watching out for illicit mirrors and uploads of their own productions. This seems to show that YouTube is being used by television as an 'extra-televisual' platform, used for gaining popularity and keeping piracy at bay while making money. Another similarity between YouTube and television culture is the already mentioned popular vlogging culture. People that vlog

productions generally have large production team and spend a lot of time in producing.

33 Sarah Cook, "The Work of Art in the Age of Ubiquitous Narrowcasting?" in *Video Vortex: Responses to YouTube*, Geert Lovink and Sabine Niederer, ed. (Amsterdam: Institute of Network Cultures): 173-180, 174.

34 Patricia G. Lange, "Videos of Affinity on YouTube" in *The YouTube Reader*: 70-89, 83.

35 P. David Marshall, "Screens: television's dispersed 'broadcast'" in *Television Studies After TV: Understanding Television in the Post-Broadcast Era*, Graeme Turner and Jinna Tay, ed. (London: Routledge, 2009): 41-50, 43.

often produce content on a regular basis, much like big television shows, sticking to a certain production form(at) in order to be recognizable and stand out. The difference still lies with the people that produce, so let us take a further look at that.

Prosumer Cultule vs. Corporate Control

YouTube has enabled people to become both the producer and consumer of the content they accumulatively create, the so-called 'prosumer'. What this concept does, is that is breaks down the boundaries between the people and the corporations, the top and bottom, the high and low. YouTube, as a marker for a change in production of audiovisual content, allows people to create and become what they want on an 'open' platform. This can have significant impact on established production cultures. As Müller states, "critics embrace new possibilities of participation as a democratization of our media culture: untrained non-professionals can now gain access to the formerly exclusive world of professional media and start redefining the tacit norms and standards of the established media culture."[36] The convergence of producer with consumer possibly also heralds a less subversive and more detrimental effect, namely that the new norms and standards will become less qualitative than before, both aesthetically and ethically. However, there is a ever greater 'pressure' from above, coming from YouTube itself, in which producers (professional and amateur) are being coerced into so-called partnerships and are asked to give advertising space in return for increased popularity, front-page embedding of their videos and of course money. This implies an increase – or upholding of already present quality – in production values. Of course users can still upload their own 'lesser' videos, but unless they prove to be unique or evolve into a viral video, they will most likely be lost amidst the huge clutter of newly available and more professionally produced content each day.

 With consumers producing ever more content, the question on who controls both the content and the consumer arises. Driven from an inherently commercial and global incentive by Google, YouTube

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36 Eggo Müller, "Where Quality Matters: Discourses on the Art of Making a YouTube Video" in

increasingly strives towards controlling the production of exclusive content. YouTube even propagates their success in this area and gloats over it. They make little attempt of hiding the figures they achieved with their Partnership Program:[37]

- Created in 2007, we now have 20,000+ partners from 22 countries around the world
- We pay out millions of dollars a year to partners
- Hundreds of partners are making six figures a year, and the number of partners making over $1,000 a month is up 300% since 2010

The fact that YouTube mentions these statistics in such way is a direct suggestion towards non-partners, that they should sign up so their productions can make them easy money. The YouTube Roadshow is another instance in which YouTube wants more people to produce high quality content, by traveling round and giving workshops and lectures to people on how to create high end videos, with the ultimate goal being that they become popular and YouTube 'stars'.[38] Schäfer views these developments as highly destructive to the cultural participatory and democratic power that YouTube initially seemed to provide. He describes the current production culture of YouTube as a 'bastard culture'. YouTube represents "the rise of powerful corporations shaping and controlling production and its preconditions."[39] It follows in line with the cultural industry notion as conceived by members of the Frankfurter Schule. Even the self-made vloggers are increasingly using YouTube in an entrepreneurial way.[40]

Ontologically, the production culture of YouTube still varies a lot from television's in context of quality and aesthetics. Production in that regard, is probably the locus where there are still more differences than

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The YouTube Reader: 126-140, 127.
37 Taken directly from http://www.youtube.com/t/press_statistics.
38 As an indication of the efforts made, watch 'Quick Tips for YouTube Success and more from YouTube Roadshow London 2011' at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vGPySoQM9kc
39 Mirko Tobias Schäfer, *Bastard Culture!: User Participation and the Extension of Cultural Industries*. Ph.D. Dissertation, UU 2008. 291.
40 Burgess and Green, 96.

similarities in the medium's alleged 'essence'. However, as certain initiatives seem to indicate, YouTube is trying to become more and more like a large television network, directing its content and its production 'facilities' towards an industrial standard. YouTube is moving away from its community based amateur environment towards professionalization and clearly defined expectations of what a quality channel or video should be like and how it should be produced and distributed. Instead of *creating* content, content is now actually increasingly *produced* in the literal and archaic sense. Burgess and Green state that "it is more helpful to shift from thinking about media production, distribution and consumption to thinking about YouTube in terms of a continuum of cultural participation."[41] I tend to disagree, for those three areas of research can show the ways in which YouTube is becoming more 'televisualized' and commercial. The cultural participation is starting to make way for something one could call industrial participation.

An important aspect that is necessary to further explain the thoughts expressed here, is that of industry and economy. As Lange notes, "YouTube is disruptive not only because it unsettles the producer-consumer divide, but also because it is the site of dynamic and emergent relations between market and non-market, social and economic activity."[42] There is a fine line between what a market is and what is not. It could be interpreted as a commercial one, an audience market, a market with control over content, et cetera. The commercial aspect within ontology will be at the core of the next chapter, since it is a very illustrative ontological aspect for both media.

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41 Ibidem, 104.
42 Lange, 90.

Chapter 5.
Liveness and Media Events

Perhaps the most elemental and idiosyncratic part of television's (original) ontology is that of its capability to let people experience events that are happening at the same time but in a different space. As the illustration by Robida in an earlier chapter already showed, this quality was the primary utopian notion of the then still new medium. As Rudolf Arnheim noted, "instead of seeing the mere records we shall be able to *participate* in distant events at the moment of their happening (my italics)."[43] This participatory element is something that never truly found its place within the concept of television. Webcam-based interactions like Skype or video conferences are perhaps the best manifestations of the idea of simultaneity. 'Liveness' in sound and image used to be exclusive to the television medium and has evolved into an adagio for its confirmation.[44] In fact, television itself means "seeing far". Although the term has come to include a vast range of concepts and ideas, 'liveness' remains the ideological basis of the medium. In current times, television as a distinct medium with its own ontology is often justified by critics and academics by the fact that it is the only medium that allows for a live transmission and experience of distant events. But with the coming of the pod- and vodcast, being embedded in sites like YouTube, the liveness quality seems to no longer be part of television. Or is it the other way round? Is a live stream on the internet actually a redesigned and repurposed form of television? These issues question the very essence of those media and allow for a discussion on what actually defines them.

In retrospect, liveness has always been a flawed ideal within television. A significant part of televisual content is actually not live. It is recorded and aired on a regular basis, not according to actual events. Going even further, one could wonder how different a mini-series is from a large film series. Both are recorded and are high end productions.

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43 Arnheim, 278.
44 Logically, I'm not referring here to the live experience of theater and performance arts. Liveness in the used sense is an audiovisual factor that is separative yet joining. Theater does not divide the space of experience, television does.

Basically the main difference – apart from the physical differences in recorded and screening equipment – is the place and apparatus they are displayed on and the context or *dispositif* in which they are viewed. But ontologically, they do not vary that much. If film and television are already difficult to ontologically differentiate at these topics, then what is really left for liveness – and any other supposedly key element – as an argument for television's essence? Liveness has been deconstructed even more by the coming of PVRs and DVRs, allowing people to pause a live event and press play whenever they are ready to continue viewing. This process of 'time-shifting' has made it difficult to consider the 'as it is happening' effect as an inherent part of television. Therefore, the utopian and ideological concept of liveness has only in its infancy been a true core element of the television medium.[45] Instead, liveness has become more of an aesthetic ideal: ""The importance of liveness as an aesthetic value for both producers and audiences can be gathered from all the efforts that go into the production of liveness precisely as an *effect*, not necessarily as a *fact*."[46] As Gripsrud notes here, liveness has moved from being a core element to a method of aesthetic production. Gripsrud argues that liveness is still a fundamental aspect for television as an ideological apparatus. It wants to – in the same way the concept of *flow* used to – make people believe and accept that something is happening in real time, while this is not necessarily the case. This argument is strengthened by the aesthetic elements such as the word 'Live' in the corner of your screen, that suggest a live event even when it might not actually be so. Gripsrud does note that although liveness is not being manifested in its original utopian sense, it is still an important part of the televisual experience: "The metaphor lives on, though, both since there is still much live programming, and since liveness is a key element in the medium's social role as provider of 'reality'."[47]

It is clear that liveness and simultaneity are slippery concepts to begin with, but seeing the fact that it is still used as an ontological definition of television, it is useful to now turn to YouTube. First of all, the

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45 I am referring here to the earliest years of television, where drama and shows were not pre-recorded but aired truly live from a studio.
46 Gripsrud, 19.
47 Ibidem, 20.

video portal is basically a huge archive of recorded live material. William Uricchio has written on the historical character of television and YouTube alike. He states that both media are heterochronic, but in a different way.[48] Television has always, through its liveness, been able to capture and record important events. However, these are timely events, which mostly remain in our memories. Uricchio states: "I am not claiming that YouTube and its ilk are more or less historical in nature than *earlier forms of television* (mind his analogy between television and YouTube, own italics), but rather that their heterochronic order is accessible, manipulable and more capable of being reordered than earlier forms."[49] YouTube allows people to revisit an event, experiencing it over again and giving it possibly new meanings. It is a collection of live occurrences, constituted by recorded live television content. In this regard, YouTube is a historical archive that contains and retains liveness from the past. This is however not liveness in the pure sense of the word. As Uricchio notes, "heterochronia describes that aspect of television's temporality that accounts for its specificity as a medium, distinguishing it from other textual engagements with history." [50]

YouTube itself is capable of live transmission as well. It has streamed several global media events through specially created channels in which the event could be viewed and discussed. One example is the 'broadcast' of the inauguration of Barack Obama through YouTube Live with material from CNN's own broadcast. People could tune in on either their home television set, or go online and view it. But probably the most impressive and successful initiative for a live stream is that which accompanied the wedding between Prince William and Miss Kate Middleton. Through youtube.com/user/TheRoyalChannel, a specially designed and exclusive channel for the British Monarchy, the wedding was streamed live to a huge audience. William and Kate apparently wanted their wedding to be the most interactive live event up to date. Therefore,

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48 Heterochronia in the sense used by Uricchio implies both a collection and possible selection of topics and content from various times and periods, as well as the possibility of browsing through them, repurposing and reorganizing them (whether it is done intentionally or not).
49 William Uricchio, "TV as Time Machine" in *Relocating Television*, Jostein Gripsrud, ed. (New York: Routledge, 2010): 27-40, 38.
50 William Uricchio, "TV as Time Machine",, 30.

the channel had a link to a live blog by staff attending or hosting the wedding, posting background or additional information and uploading photographs. Also YouTube had as a premiere an online wedding book, where people could leave commentaries for the newly wed couple. The wedding book and blog were the first to actively accompany a live stream

Illustration 3: The Royal Wedding of William and Kate, one the the defining international live broadcasts by YouTube through a separate and unique channel dedicated to the British Royal Family.

by YouTube. With YouTube being an online medium, the possibilities for interactivity are greater than with the old traditional live television broadcasts. Liveness is obviously no longer exclusive to television, if one would still abide by the distinction of television and YouTube.

Perhaps most important is the fact that YouTube Live now grants the possibility for channels (mostly sponsored ones or YouTube Partners) to actually broadcast content live through youtube.com/live. This specific domain within YouTube looks very similar to the main portal, with suggested videos on a list (which have been live streamed in the past, a front page with recommended and sponsored live channels, a search option et cetera. Aesthetically it is very similar to the 'archive' YouTube has become popular with. People can now become true live broadcasters themselves. Live broadcasting has moved from its institutionalized character in television to an open field of possibilities on the web. It is very hard to still make a clear distinction between television and YouTube at this point. Both are ubiquitous, both are capable of liveness. "At the Video

Vortex conference Florian Schneider commented in relation to the ubiquity of video on the web, that there is no such thing as realtime, just anytime, anywhere."[51] Schneider, as quoted by Cook, makes a very good point here. Liveness has moved away from the classic notion of simultaneity. As the heterochronic aspect shows, alongside the YouTube Live broadcasts and time-shifting, it is no longer a question of whether the event you are watching is happening in real time. It is increasingly at your own disposal, granting you, the user and viewer, the ability to pick what you want to see, where and at what time. This notion is something that both television and YouTube share in common, bringing them closer to one another and blurring the lines between them.

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51 Sarah Cook,179.

Flow through the Channels of YouTube?

In 1989, renowned cultural theorist Raymond Williams wrote that *flow* is the "central television experience".[52] It was, according to him, the defining characteristic of the medium and its related experience for the audience. The term has been a central academic cornerstone within television studies and theory. It has been carried through since its origin in 1975, and has been quoted, repurposed and criticized more than regularly. Flow has been used to analyze and understand new media developments that were and are related to television's being. It is an essential part of its original ontology, an ontology that has been eroded over time and has arrived at a junction where the very definition of the medium is sprang from is being contested. Flow itself has been reworked and utilized in the context of the internet, hypertextuality and user agency. Let us first look at the original meaning and connotations, its flaws, and then place it within the context of YouTube as a potential televisual medium.

Williams defined the process of flow as "the replacement of a programme series of timed sequential units by a flow series of differently related units in which the timing, though real, is undeclared, and in which the real internal organisation is something other than the declared organisation."[53] Flow is a kind of experience that ideologically tries to hide its purpose from the audience. Through watching different shows, which are correlated by use of commercials, on-screen intertextual banners, corresponding themes et cetera, these segments are sewn together in the viewers mind as a coherent whole, a consumable experience.[54] It is the experience that was most relevant to Williams. As he noted, one does not watch a distinct program, one watches TV. The audience watches a medium, experiences its output, but fails to distinguish its core elements and organization. Gripsrud correctly states that this is an inherently flawed

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52 Raymond Williams, *Raymond Williams on Television: Selected Writings*. A. O'Connor, ed. (London: Routledge, 1989): 95.
53 Raymond Williams, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form* (London: Collins, 1974): 87.
54 Although Williams notes the undeclared character of the underlying organization, in many cases that followed in the two or three decades after the first writings on flow, these 'organizations' have become increasingly apparent, especially in commercial television with for example a regular ladies' night of programming each week.

assumption by Williams, since people – at least since the variety and availability of content increased drastically in the eighties and onwards – unquestionably watch specific programs and usually talk about one program or the other, not their viewing experience of the day's programming.[55]

"In all developed broadcasting systems the characteristic organisation, and therefore the characteristic experience, is one of sequence of flow."[56] Williams directly connects flow to broadcasting. In this regard, radio and print (mostly newspapers and diverse magazines) would also contain elements of flow. Another problem concerns flow within the age of narrow-casting on television and on archival video streams like YouTube. The very concept of broadcasting has come into doubt, as will been shown in the chapter on distribution. In the time when broadcasting was limited to powerful players and networks, flow was something that was a product of the industry. It was a way of retaining viewer ratings and organizing their programming.[57] Decentralization and digitalization (including the move to online distribution) have basically destroyed the broadcasting essence of flow. But this does not mean that flow is something that can be disregarded and tossed away. The concept, if reworked, can still prove to be useful in understanding the way television works in its many forms.

Since the earliest VCR and remote control technology for television up to DVR, Tivo and YouTube, viewers have been able to time-shift their way out of the 'sequentiality' of programming, a part of the original televisual flow. Uricchio has written on the way this user-oriented notion of flow has been increasingly becoming dominant over the program-based flow that Williams described. "There is a significant shift in agency (producer-controlled flow as distinct from user-generated flow). and a shift from flow as default to flow as a condition that requires active selection."[58]

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55 Gripsrud, "Television, Broadcasting, Flow".

56 Williams, *Television*, 80.

57 Do note the fact that Williams regarded this not as a sequence of programming per se, but as one of flow. Even though the television companies put distinct programs in a timely order, their ultimate 'goal' as it were, was finally that of establishing a specific experience of television. This is something they ideologically tried to conceal from the audience in order to keep them glued to their seats and sets: the real internal organization.

58 Uricchio, The Future of a Medium Once Known as Television, 33.

This quote contains many important changes within television practice and viewing. First of all, there is the question of agency. Williams originally linked flow to major networks, having the power to control the flow. Currently, there is a wide range of technology available to construct your own flow. YouTube is emblematic is in this sense and resembles the "DVR-mediated television experience" as Uricchio describes it. Viewers and users are able to select content from a wide range of channels and producers, which they are then able to view whenever and however they need to. No longer is flow a top-down ideological practice, although there will always remain certain incentives to construct a 'flow' in order to keep people viewing one channel on their television or browser. YouTube has always been heralded as a democratic entity, empowering viewers and prosumers. Both television and YouTube have taken up the role of platform, where producers and consumers meet; producers try provide interesting content, users have to choice whether to watch it or not, how and when. This point towards the second part of the previous quote: active selection.

Users can use their Tivo or YouTube as a means of browsing and selecting. One searches for specific topics or content and YouTube will give the user a large list of relevant content to be viewed at will. The user can choose to just watch one specific video – as they have always been able to – but both DVR's and YouTube alike will give an equally large list of suggested videos that might be interesting to watch based on previous viewings. This tailor-made aid enables the user to construct his/her own audiovisual path, or flow, through the huge archive that is YouTube. Without it, one could be lost forever and not be able to find what is needed or wanted. The inherent hypertextuality of the internet and digital domains allows people to navigate and consume by their own liking. You could see the consecutive viewing of videos on YouTube as a new form of user-oriented flow, a *flow* through a *channel* built by YouTube.

Flow as a construct by producers and distributors is something that still finds some leeway within YouTube as well. Channels provide a kind of coherency and relativity that could be compared to networked content such as HBO (keep in mind that HBO also has an online channel). If

someone likes one video by a certain producer/channel, then there is a good chance that the other videos that can be found on the channel will suit him too. Through annotations, commentaries and background information within the video's description people are 'channeled' towards viewing more videos from the same maker. Just like HBO could post a banner for LOST within another television show, an annotation for the previous or next episode of TOBUSCUS or any other major YouTube celebrity will potentially compel a viewer to watch more content. Another element of flow could be found in the Subscription aspect of YouTube. YouTube regularly updates one's profile with new content by channels someone is subscribed to. Also, the front-page contains the most popular or high quality sponsored content by YouTube, suggesting viewers to watch certain content over others. In short, flow is still part of several media outlets, but in a quite difference manner than Williams experienced it. But what does that mean for flow as a part of television's ontology?

Williams already noted that flow is perhaps a symptom of a trend in society "towards an increasing variability and miscellaneity of public communications", a part of a greater social experience.[59] Flow can hardly be seen as a central television experience, like Williams did. It is an ambivalent and ubiquitous concept, that is no longer – or perhaps never was – exclusive to television. Therefore, seeing it as a part of television's (classic) ontology is hardly useful when considering it is part of so many other phenomenons. Adding to that, content has become accessible everywhere and at any time. This is even more detrimental to the original flow concept. When one thinks about it, does it even matter which technology (or 'medium') you use to view content? Flow does however, as so many other elements discussed in this investigation, provide a *tool* with which media and their characteristics can be compared to one another. It can provide a better understanding of how a medium works, but not necessarily *is*, because the concept itself and the media it is a part of are constantly changing and evolving.

Chapter 7.

Advertising and Economy

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59 Williams, *Selected Writings*, 88.

"'You' are a media product that an advertiser may mark. 'You' are content."[60]

In 2006, *Time Magazine* declared You as the person of the year. It is a profound indication or celebration of both the increasing agency of individuals and the commodification of You. You has become an trade item, a stock to be brokered. You has become an object to be used. Whether this is a positive development or a negative one is not really clear. In the same year Time turned You into a commodity, not completely coincidentally, Google Inc. bought YouTube. From that moment on, YouTube was no longer the open ad-free space where people could watch videos without being disturbed by commercials, banners and ads. Seeing the possibilities of YouTube as an entrepreneurial market, Google has allowed several incentives that have made popular content become a source of revenue. Before venturing further into this aspect, we should first in light of this investigation look at how YouTube is related to television's economical and commercial roots and how this could be seen as part of its traditional ontology.

Which economical model television should adhere to has always been an area of conflict. The earliest broadcasts by the BBC were and have in fact always been funded by the membership of the broadcasting company, monthly fees or by government money. This model of public service uses its cultural, informational and educational provision as an argument in itself. Because the produced content is generally regarded as 'good' for the people, the public service model assumes that everyone should and would be willing to chip in on the costs for its existence. For a very long time, these public channels (not just in Britain) were ad-free, generating income directly from the audience. The United States however, were one of the first to pioneer a commercial model. After some time of debate on which model to choose, the commercial one was opted for. Both models often followed the existing broadcasting formula already constructed within radio or in some cases print. In case of this research

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60 Matthew Mitchem, "Video Social: Complex Parasitical Media" in *Video Vortex: Responses to*

into YouTube, the commercial model provides us with a better understanding of the way television's economy works, since it is partially the model that YouTube has been moving towards. Of course, television is not synonymous with the commercial model. However, it is generally regarded as one of its fundamental characteristics and defining traits.

In the commercial broadcasting model, revenue is achieved through advertisement in and in between television programs. The more popular a show is, the more money an ad will cost an interested company. Viewer ratings are therefore considered as the holy grail for television producers. Is your show popular, then it will more than pay for itself. This model has been the basis of American television, but has also found a foothold in other countries and models. Up until the late nineties, it has proven to be very effective and is arguably one of the reasons American television has grown into its cultural status as we know it.

After the nineties, the industry has started to worry about the future of their economical model. With the advent of time-shifting capabilities with devices like the DVR and Tivo (even the VCR), commercials could be skipped with the flick of a switch. No longer could the broadcasting networks guarantee viewership for an ad accompanying a specific television show. Several attempts have been made to make up for loss in revenue. A good is example is that of creating a kind of 'publishing flow' as Derek Kompare describes it.[61] A popular television show can still obtain profit by publishing large DVD box sets, costing quite a bit but giving the buyer the full show with extra features. Another possibility is that of creating branded content within the show's narrative for example. LOST had introduced the chocolate Apollo Bar in its narrative, but turned it into an actual candy bar purchasable at a large number of stores. Merchandising often still generates significant revenue and popularity. One major problem remains, and that is to actually reach the audience. Broadcasting has moved towards narrow-casting, and niches dominate.

YouTube: 273-282, 274. Reference to own work.

61 Derek Kompare, "Publishing Flow: DVD Box Sets and the Reconception of Television" *Television & New Media* 7, no 4. (2006): 335-360.

Illustration 4: 'Kate' takes a bite from an 'Apollo Bar' in the television show LOST. The bar was released as an actual edible product in stores, but initially only through an ARG called the Lost Experience.

If a show isn't really popular, it is often hard to break even. IPTV, and YouTube after Google's acquiring, have striven to save the market and connect to their audiences. A site like HBO.com provides viewers with extra content, information, trailers and all sorts of material directly related to their television programming. Sites like Hulu.com have initiated a different approach to achieving revenue. These so-called 'over-the-top' content sites provide online streaming of movies and television programs for a monthly or annual subscription fee or VOD one time purchases. Hulu.com has made over 100 million dollars of revenue in just two years after its launch and the amount of streams viewed is only topped by YouTube.[62] Depending on the size of the companies providing the content, they get between 50 to 70 percent of all revenue made by Hulu on their content. It seems that the easy access and availability on all different kinds of devices – from game consoles to tablets – has proven to be so popular that it looks as though it could replace or at least become an solid addition to traditional home television viewing.[63]

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62 Brian Stelter and Brad Stone, "Hulu, the online-video hub, contemplates its future" *The New York Times*. April 4th, 2010. Available at: http://seattletimes.nwsource.com/html/businesstechnology/2011517934_bthulufuture05.html?syndication=rss – 07-08-2011

63 Traditional home viewing is still very popular. Shows like THE WALKING DEAD, BOARDWALK EMPIRE or GAME OF THRONES still receive well over the millions in viewer numbers on the day they premier, according to Nielsen's ratings. These numbers are analogous with 'traditional' home viewing.

These developments are symptomatic of the difficulties the industry has of defining itself, the medium and how to generate money out of it. But when we turn to YouTube and some other online video portals that are not IPTV, something very peculiar is happening. Up to 2006, YouTube has never succumb to pressures of large investors, by not allowing ads and commercial on their portal. As explained in a 2006 *Time* article. "Early on, Chad and Steve made a crucial good decision: despite pressure from advertisers, they would not force users to sit through ads before videos played. Preroll ads would have helped their bottom line in the struggling months, but the site would never have gained its mythological community-driven status. It would have seemed simply like another Big Media site."[64] Since Google's ownership of the site, several projects have started to include commercials and advertisements in YouTube. A prime example is the YouTube Partnership program, in which Google addresses popular or rising (often 'amateur') YouTubers and asks them if they would be willing to allow ads to be imbedded at the start of their videos as financial compensation for each new viewer. The other way round is for known production companies to approach YouTube for their own deals on content. Money is also made off of YouTube through broadcasting and copyrights by initiatives like Vevo, a company that streams video and music clips by labeled artists on YouTube. YouTube in return get a large share of the revenue made by the ads on Vevo's channels. YouTube checks its site for illicit material and has deals with copyright and law companies to compensate artists.

The amounts of money ads cost are no less than they would be relative to a prime-time television show. "An ad on the YouTube homepage cost 175,000 dollars per day, plus a commitment to spend 50,000 dollars more in ads on Google or YouTube. Clearly, the site has become yet another media outlet supported by advertising, despite the enthusiasm and predictions that the Internet would provide a new and uncommercialized "public" space."[65] YouTube's initial utopian ideal was exactly this free domain, but has obviously moved away from it by being

64   John Cloud, "The Gurus of YouTube," *Time Magazine,* December 16th 2006.
65   Quentin Hardy and Evan Hessel, "GooTube," *Forbes,* June 16th 2008.

bought by one of the most entrepreneurial and conglomerate companies in the world. As Elizabeth Losh writes: "In many ways, YouTube functions as a 'network' only to the extent that is emulates the quest for market share associated with traditional media monopolies, such as the Fox network controlled by Rupert Murdoch." In this sense YouTube seems to follow in line of traditional networked television. However, Google found it difficult at first to come up with a proper viable tactic on how to monetize YouTube and is still struggling this day, even though YouTube is generating well into the millions.[66] As Wasko and Erickson note, "while users may prosper from the YouTube experience, those who are likely to actually prosper in the future — if YouTube's strategies succeed — are the site's owners and their corporate partners."[67] How does this move towards a commercial character then relate to television's traditional models and (political) economy, and ultimately, its ontology?

The first and foremost similarity is that both media strive and depend on traffic and viewer ratings. It is what ultimately defines the industries' motives and actions. As Farchy aptly writes, it is not the information nor content that is increasingly becoming a commodity, its the control of visitor traffic.[68] Marketing on YouTube follows a very similar path to television, using monitoring-based marketing and strategies. 'You'-tube tries to actively engage viewers with advertising, both from a consumer as a producer perspective, seeing the fact that through partnership people can now use ads to make money for themselves. This new strategy of letting the audience create commercial platforms is a development that changes our perception of what media are and do. People that used to watch television commercials now distribute them for their own good. Being a peer-to-peer community, YouTube's ads will likely be picked up more adequately and personally, for they are connected to videos people that contain people's personal interests. Classical commercial television no longer seems to truly exists. A lot of effort has gone into narrow-casting

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66 Richard Koman, "Google CEO: We don't know how to monetize YouTube," [2008]
    Newsfactor.com, www.newsfactor.com/story.xhtml?story_id=60275 – 08-07-2011
67 Janet Wasko and Mary Erickson, "The Political Economy of YouTube" in *The YouTube Reader*:
    372-386, 384.
68 Joëlle Farchy, "Economics of Sharing Platforms: What's Wrong with Cultural Industries?" in
    The YouTube Reader: 360-371, 367.

and personalized advertisements. YouTube has picked up on the possibilities of these strategies and seems to be following along with the changes in television industry. It could even be said that YouTube is more or less trying to imitate the earlier commercial television practices, while television itself is trying to escape them and find new options of generating revenue and paying for its productions. Once more, this is ontologically paradoxical. If YouTube tries to imitate (or remediate) television, while television is trying hard not to be its old self, then what is television exactly? Is it only the traditional concept, consisting of the classical models and practices? Has it become and ideology to be sought after, or a nostalgic experience that needs reworking? In short, what is the point of still defining one specific medium by a certain characteristic, in this case advertising and commercialism, if another medium is altering itself to be the same or similar?

Chapter 8.

Distribution.

The three *key metaphors*, as described by Jostein Gripsrud, of television are that of flow, television and broadcasting. All three are and have always been important elements of television's ontology, both imagined and real. It is relevant to look at the extent to which 'broadcasting' still applies to television and how the concept is redesigned within YouTube and its kin. Broadcasting is a metaphor, just like tele-vision. Griprud argues that all uses of metaphors should be regarded with a degree of suspicion, since they are often idealized and differ from reality. He describes the metaphor of broadcasting as:

"The metaphor presupposes a bucket of seeds at the centre of the activity, i.e. the existence of centralized resources intended and suited for spreading – and reproduction. In others words, it designates a system which is basically centralized, i.e. defined by a difference between centre and periphery."[69]

Broadcasting in general would imply an institutionalized base from which content is emanated. From one point, others are reached through a means of transport or transmission. Television's earliest practices followed these notion exactly. A central organ, for example the BBC, produced and distributed the same content to receivers and audiences in a wide range of localities. The distinction between sender and receiver, both socially and technologically, held up for quite a long time. With the coming of satellite television and the possibilities of watching international content on a mass scale, the sender was no longer bound to its range and anyone could watch almost anything from their homes. Since the 90's, technological developments have granted television viewers more agency and options of finding and receiving content, through cable, internet and digitalization in general. However, the large difference between the viewer/receiver and the producer/sender remains. Television content was and still is produced

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69 Gripsrud, 20.

by networks, studios and production companies. Television suggests not only seeing far, but also amplifies the gap between the studio and the home audience.

Television does not have a monopoly on the term broadcasting anymore. Online viewership has changed the concept of both television and broadcasting. The Internet is basically a giant platform on which senders and receivers meet and mix. Often untraceable content floats around for interested users to take a look at. Broadcasting is increasingly becoming decentralized. YouTube has taken this idea and extended it. User have become both the sender as the receiver; they produce content and consume content at the same time. Professionally produced content no longer monopolizes the audiovisual sphere. Amateur videos are abundant and are already finding a firm foothold in our culture, for everyone to connect to. YouTube has become popular because of its community-driven amateur culture. People can upload pretty much anything they like, and can view anything they like. The televisual distinction between producer and consumer is deteriorating, if you envision YouTube as a form of television. This causes problems for the concept of broadcasting. Everyone is a broadcaster now, from blogs to videos or comments. The outdated idea of a central company or institution sending out content for a large audience is being replaced by a new practice. Horace Newcomb argues for the use of term *publishing* rather than broadcasting when talking about contemporary television, but the term is easily applied to internet video and YouTube as well.[70] It is a much more adequate description than the old metaphor for the current audiovisual landscape. Publishing implies, much more than broadcasting, that anyone can create something and put it out in the open. But most importantly, publishing turns television into a type of bookstore or library, as Newcomb describes it; a site where people can go in and out of, picking what they like from a large array of themed, categorical or generic content. This also suggests not only a possible replacing of the term broadcasting with publishing, a redefinition is also viable.

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70 Horace Newcomb, ""This Is Not Al Dente": *The Sopranos* and the New Meaning of "Television"" in *Television: The Critical View*, 7th ed. Horace Newcomb, ed. (New York: Oxford U.P., 2007): 561-578.

Narrow-casting is the latest buzzword within audiovisual distribution. It is in fact the exact opposite of classical broadcasting. Whereas broadcasting entails the production and distribution of content that is suitable for a large audience, narrow-casting means creating tailored content for a small and very specific group. Distribution is cut up in segments, each one pertaining to a certain demographic, theme or interest. Technologically, there have been several steps towards creating personal reception of specific content. Tivo is a great example: The device can be told what viewing interests are, but also remembers the viewing history and suggests relevant options for further viewing. The same goes for YouTube, where your account is constantly updated with suggested videos, custom picked according to your interests and viewing habits. Also, content is ubiquitous, being embedded in social media website and displayed on increasingly more devices such as smartphones. Technologically, television seems to be striving towards narrow-casting, while still producing on a large and general scale. This is often instigated by commercial and economical pressures. For these reasons, broadcasting no longer seems to be a significant part of certain areas within television's industry and is no longer an exclusive and defining part of the medium's ontology.[71] Instead, very importantly, both television and YouTube appear to be moving towards a hybrid, an emulsion of capabilities.

In *The YouTube Reader*, "Snickars interprets YouTube's move towards 'televisualization' as a way to stay competitive: "Given that new media remediate old media, there is also economic value in "downgrading" to a previous platform in order to stay competitive. In this sense, it seems that YouTube indeed wants to be like your TV. While news media is involved in the introduction of new e-reading devices, YouTube is currently partnering with TV set-top box manufacturers to bring the platform into the living room."[72] YouTube wants to be in your living room, imitating old television viewing habits and becoming a part of the home, while television is trying to adapt by moving online and using new strategies like narrow-casting. Reciprocally, television content can now also be found as online

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71 With 'some areas' I am referring to live events, certain forms of public service broadcasting and state television.
72 Pelle Snickars and Patrick Vonderau, "Introduction" in *The YouTube Reader*: 9-21, 15.

video and on YouTube itself.

Finally, YouTube is trying to find and create 'YouTube stars', aiming towards an increase in 'channeled' content. Channel is a term that is arguably primarily related to the concept of flow, but is also a means of distribution. Channeling content is something both media are still trying to retain/attain. Television's networked channels are still dominating the market, and YouTube is trying to copy this practice to an extent by promoting more and more YouTube-channels by amateurs and professionals alike. In the end, the device on which content is distributed hardly matters. Content is ideally everywhere and for everyone. YouTube is first and foremost a distribution platform. Television on the other hand, seems to become a production platform above anything else. What does this tell us about the essence of television and YouTube then? Broadcasting does not solely apply to television. Television is no longer using methods of distribution it was originally related to. The medium is increasingly starting to look like YouTube and similar web video portals. But again, YouTube is also changing and trying to find its identity. Distribution is but a tool for the industry and academics to look at the way the media operate, not at what they *are*, for they are constantly changing and (d)evolving.

Towards a De-Ontology of Media?

We have now come to a point, where the most characteristic elements of television have been discussed in light of YouTube. The purpose of these chapters was to show the differences and similarities in ontology between the two media. As has been made clear, it is very hard to still use ontology as a means of defining a medium. YouTube is increasingly starting to look like television, while at the same time television is moving online and using more and more video-on-demand services like netflix.com and hulu.com. The different concepts discussed here, have all been shown to not be exclusive to either medium. YouTube has a different use of certain elements, but nonetheless consists of increasingly more characteristic that used to persist only in television. Flow, liveness, broadcasting, form and content; the similarities are abundant and in many cases surmount the differences.

Ever since the dawn of these media, question have been raised concerning their identity and role in society. Media have been interpreted in a wide range of perspectives, but often turned out to be very different. For this reason it is quite futile to predict their future. One can only look in retrospect or analyze the current status of a specific medium. If the latter is the case, *remediation* provides a sound grip on what is happening to new media and what effects and affects they have on others. The term, coined by Bolter and Grusin, implies that new media appropriate content that originated from earlier media, for example video games imitating a movie narrative.[73] But it also applies to form and appearance, with new media trying to incorporate as much medial shapes and aesthetics while trying hard to conceal that very process. Whereas ontology could be seen as defining the being of an subject by use of regulatory and exclusive characteristics, remediation shows that characteristics are exactly non-exclusive. If one medium uses a trait that was previously bound to another, then it is no longer a purely defining characteristic since it blurs the lines between the two. Remediation is not a solution to the problem but gives

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73 Bolter and Grusin, *Remediation*.

insights into how media correspond and interact on an essential level.

Defining a medium is hard if not impossible. Any research done into the essence of a medium is inherently flawed if based on a conclusive answer on what a medium is, since it becomes outdated the minute after writing. Television (and principally all other media) is constantly changing and always has been. Any attempt to understand it by definition is merely a timely record of the state of transition it is in at a given moment in time. Then what is a medium? Does television not exist anymore? It never has in a pure sense. Television is a metaphor for a cultural, technological, industrial and so on phenomenon. It is a common denominator for a huge array of elements and practices. I argue that it is pointless to regard such a medium as separate from and idiosyncratic to its closest contemporary relative, internet video. Perhaps the only difference that can be found, and again only in context of a given temporality, is in it social use. But this is an aspect that unfortunately has not been properly investigated here. My research has mainly focused on academic and practical understandings of what a medium *is*, and has not delved deep into what a medium *does*. This has to do with the available body of literature on ontology and the fact that ontology is often primarily related to physical and technological essence. On the one hand, one could argue though, that what a medium does is a result of what a medium is (capable of). On the other hand, you could say that a medium is defined by what a medium does and achieves. This second line of thought is something I would say is the best way of viewing our current audiovisual landscape. A medium is, as this research has shown, not defined by its alleged constituent elements. It is how a medium puts these non-exclusive elements to use in order to find its own identity and place within the field which matters.

In hindsight, this research is actually inherently flawed. It is an indication and understanding of the way two media are entwining at this very moment of writing. No one will be able to predict the next stage in a medium's evolution. By use of a problematic 'method', I have tried to show exactly what is wrong with it. Ontology is an idea that should be reconsidered, or at least its use(s). But what room does this leave for media studies then? Content-wise, television studies are still different than

film studies or new media research. Not only the theme differs, the different fields operate separately and are often secluded as well. There have been attempts to move towards a more comparative theory on media in general. This is a promising venture, since it opens up the way for media to be regarded and studied in tighter relation to another. The way media operate and manifest themselves in light of their specificity is something to be further investigated.

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Illustrations:

1. http://www.britannica.com/bps/media-view/73054/1/0/0, Photograph, Christine E. Haycock, M.D.
2. http://www.youtube.com/user/RayWilliamJohnson
3. Screenshot taken from the wedding. Http://www.youtube.com/user/TheRoyalChannel
4. Screenshot taken from LOST. http://lostpedia.wikia.com/wiki/Apollo_Bar

Table 2.2 Classifications of IP Video Delivery Systems

Service Attributes	IPTV	IPVOD	Internet TV	Internet Video
Network Type	Private Network	Public Network	Public Network	Public Network
Quality of Service	Managed QoS	Unmanaged QoS	Unmanaged QoS	Unmanaged QoS
Multipoint Method	True Multicasting	Unicasting	Replicated Unicasting	Unicasting
Key Protocols	True Streaming RTP over UDP	Progressive Download+Play	HTTP Streaming; Progressive D+P	HTTP Streaming; Progressive D+P
Viewing Devices	STB with Television	STB with Television or PC	PC, Mobile or Network Appliance	PC, Mobile or Network Appliance
Program Choices	Hundreds of Channels of Continuous TV	Thousands of Discrete Video Files	Thousands of Channels of Continuous TV	Millions of Discrete Video Files
User Experience	Similar to Broadcast or Cable TV	Similar to DVR or VoD	Similar to Web Surfing	Similar to Web Surfing
Channel Change Time	Quick: 1-2 seconds	Reasonable: 5-10 seconds	Slow: 10-20 seconds	Slow: 10-20 seconds (including search time)
Rewind/Fast Forward	No	Yes	No	Yes
Production Values	Professionally Produced	Professionally Produced	Professionally Produced	User Generated
Content Types	Live or Prerecorded	Prerecorded Only	Live or Prerecorded	Prerecorded Only
Program Library	Walled Content Garden	Walled Content Garden	Worldwide Reach; Quality Varies	Viewer Beware
Ownership Rights	Strong, with Digital Rights Management	Strong, Often with DRM	Fairly Strong	Weak or Nonexistent; Frequent Copyright Violations
Revenue Models	Paid by Subscription	Subscription, Fee per Episode or Ads	Often Free or with Advertising	Often Free or with Advertising
Example Providers	Local Telcos, AT&T U-Verse	Netflix, Hulu, CBS.com, ABC.com, Cartoon Network	NASA.tv, Local TV Broadcasters, Mogulus, mobiTV	YouTube, FaceBook

Above table is taken from "IPTV and Internet Video - Expanding the Reach of Television Broadcasting", 2nd edition, by Wes Simpson and Howard Greenfield. 2009 Elsevier Inc. (Online availabe). Pages 15-29.

Old Media	**New Media**
20th century	21st century
Analog broadcast	Digital/IP format
Centralized	Distributed: personal/portable
Daily–weekly, appointment based	On-demand 24/7
Secure, authorized installments	Time-shifted, with piracy issues

Above: A simplistic dual table concerning the differences between 20th century and

21st century media. Also taken from Simpson and Greenfield (2009), pages 173-191.

"Whereas IPTV is basically a set of technologies and market strategies that allow telephone companies to compete with cable companies for current mass-audience TV viewers, Internet TV is a broader phenomenon involving use of the Internet to distribute digital video images of all sorts."[I]

I   Jeffrey A. Hart, "Video on the Internet: The Content Question" in *Television Goes Digital,* Darcy Gerbarg, ed. (New York: Springer, 2009): 131-145, 136.