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The Queer Fantasies of the American Family Sitcom

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Notes

Introduction

- 1 Kirk Cameron, with Lissa Halls Johnson, *Still Growing: An Autobiography* (Ventura, CA: Regal, 2008), 137.
- 2 Maria Cowell, "How *Two and a Half Men* Star Became a 'Paid Hypocrite,'" *Christianity Today*, 27 Nov. 2012.
- 3 Cameron, *Still Growing*, 16.
- 4 David Eng, Jack [Judith] Halberstam, and José Esteban Muñoz, "What's Queer about Queer Studies Now?" *Social Text* 23,3-4 (2005): 1-17, 1. Among the numerous groundbreaking studies of queer theory see Judith Butler, "Critically Queer," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 1.2 (1993): 17-32; Elizabeth Grosz, "Experimental Desire: Rethinking Queer Subjectivity," *Space, Time, and Perversion: Essays on the Politics of Bodies* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 207-27; and Sara Ahmed, "Queer Feelings," *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 144-67.
- 5 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: Volume 1, An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (1978; New York: Vintage, 1990), 105-6.
- 6 Alexander Doty, *Making Things Perfectly Queer: Interpreting Mass Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 3.
- 7 In addition to Doty's monograph, milestone studies in gay representations on television include Amy Villarejo, *Ethereal Queer: Television, Historicity, Desire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014); Ron Becker, *Gay TV and Straight America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006); James Keller and Leslie Stratyner, eds., *The New Queer Aesthetic on Television: Essays on Recent Programming* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2006); Larry Gross, *Up from Invisibility: Lesbians, Gay Men, and the Media in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Steven Capsuto, *Alternate Channels: The Uncensored Story of Gay and Lesbian Images on Radio and Television* (New York: Ballantine, 2000); and Suzanna Danuta Walters, *All the Rage: The Story of Gay Visibility in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).
- 8 Lynne Joyrich, "Queer Television Studies: Currents, Flows, and (Main)streams," *Cinema Journal* 53,2 (2014): 133-39, 139. See also her "Epistemology of the Con-sole," *Critical Inquiry* 27,3 (2001): 439-67.

- 9 Jason Mittell, *Genre and Television: From Cop Shows to Cartoons in American Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 1. On genre as a “contractual” relationship between the creator and the audience of a given work, see Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981), esp. 106.
- 10 Richard Butsch, “Five Decades and Three Hundred Sitcoms about Class and Gender,” *Thinking Outside the Box: A Contemporary Television Genre Reader*, ed. Gary Edgerton and Brian Rose (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005), 111–35, 111.
- 11 Paul Attallah, “The Unworthy Discourse: Situation Comedy in Television,” *Critiquing the Sitcom: A Reader*, ed. Joanne Morreale (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 91–115, 107.
- 12 Lawrence Mintz, “Situation Comedy,” *TV Genres: A Handbook and Reference Guide*, ed. Brian Rose (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1985), 107–29, 107.
- 13 Lynn Spigel, *Make Room for TV: Television and the Family Ideal in Postwar America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 136.
- 14 Horace Newcomb, *TV: The Most Popular Art* (Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1974), 43. See also William Douglas, *Television Families: Is Something Wrong in Suburbia?* (Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 2003), esp. 156–70.
- 15 To minimize documentation, sitcoms are cited parenthetically by episode title.
- 16 David Marc, *Comic Visions: Television Comedy and American Culture*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1997), 191.
- 17 Lawrence Laurent, “Commercial Television: What Are Its Educational Possibilities and Limits?” *Television’s Impact on American Culture*, ed. William Elliott (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1956), 125–73, 154.
- 18 Vance Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders* (New York: McKay, 1957), 158–59. Packard quotes several advertising executives and experts in his study; in this instance his source is Clyde Miller, author of *The Process of Persuasion*.
- 19 Thomas Johnson, “The Decline of Television’s Family Hour,” *USA Today Magazine*, Nov. 1996.
- 20 United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, “Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence: Report to the Surgeon General, United States Public Health Service from the Surgeon General’s Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior” (Rockville, MD: National Institute of Mental Health, 31 Dec. 1971), 127.
- 21 Richard Blake, “The Censoring of TV’s Family Hour,” *America*, 11 Dec. 1976, 415–18, 416.
- 22 Geoffrey Cowan, *See No Evil: The Backstage Battle over Sex and Violence on Television* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 19.
- 23 “TV Producers: All in the Family Hour,” *Broadcasting*, 15 Sept. 1975, 29–30, 30.
- 24 For more on Ferguson’s decision, see Cowan, *See No Evil*, 230.
- 25 David Hatch, “Lawmakers: Reinstate ‘Family Hour,’” *Electronic Media* 16.20 (1997): 1.
- 26 L. Brent Bozell, “‘Family Hour’ Landscape Is Moral Wasteland,” *Human Events* 54.18 (1998): 10.
- 27 Quoted in Hatch, “Lawmakers: Reinstate ‘Family Hour,’” 1.
- 28 “The TV Parental Guidelines,” tvguidelines.org.
- 29 “Going into November Sweeps, Members of Congress Last Week Urge Six Broadcast Networks to Bring Back the Family Hour,” *Broadcasting & Cable*, 15 Nov. 1999, 113.
- 30 Quoted in J. Max Robins, “The Robins Report: Feeling Frisky in Early Prime Time,” *TV Guide*, 9 Nov. 2002, 53–54, 53 (italics in original).

- 31 Quoted in Edward Wyatt, “NBC Tests Family Hour Boundaries,” *New York Times*, 14 Apr. 2008.
- 32 Quoted in Brian Steinberg, “Swearing during Family Hour? Who Gives a S#!? CBS Has Little Concern about How Its Hottest New Sitcom Will Be Received, Despite Airing on the Early Side,” *Advertising Age*, 31 May 2010, 2.
- 33 Nellie Andreeva, “ABC Family to Be Renamed as Freeform,” *Deadline: Hollywood*, 6 Oct. 2015, deadline.com.
- 34 Emily Yahr, “*Pretty Little Liars*: When Will the Show Stop with Its Creepy Underage Relationships?” *Washington Post*, 10 Jun. 2014 (italics in original).
- 35 Quoted in Ileana Rudolph and Mike Hammer, “The Family Hour: Imagine June Cleaver in a Bustier,” *TV Guide*, 31 Jul. 1996, 18–21, 19.
- 36 The speaker is Campbell Brown, as quoted in Valerie Strauss, “Campbell Brown Responds to Critics (Including Me),” *Washington Post*, 13 Aug. 2014. With this cry to protect the children, Brown argues against tenure and other job protections for public school teachers, eliding the central question of how an adult’s professional right to due process threatens what is “good for the child.”
- 37 Colin Heywood, *A History of Childhood: Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2001), 9. On the historical constructions of children and childhood, see also Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, trans. Robert Baldick (New York: Knopf, 1962); and Steven Mintz, *Huck’s Raft: A History of American Childhood* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2004).
- 38 Gary Cross, *The Cute and the Cool: Wondrous Innocence and Modern American Children’s Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). For further discussions of the cultural fantasy of children’s innocence, see Steve Bruhm and Natasha Hurley, eds., *Curiouser: On the Queerness of Children* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004).
- 39 David Buckingham, “Introduction: The Child and the Screen,” *Small Screens: Television for Children*, ed. David Buckingham (London: Leicester University Press, 2002), 1–14, 8.
- 40 Quoted in Kirk Cameron, *Still Growing*, 140.
- 41 On the McMartin case—truly a modern-day Salem Witch Trial—see Richard Beck, *We Believe the Children: A Moral Panic in the 1980s* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2015); and Paul and Shirley Eberle, *The Abuse of Innocence: The McMartin Preschool Trial* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus, 1993).
- 42 Frank Bank, with Gib Twyman, *Call Me Lumpy: My “Leave It to Beaver” Days and Other Wild Hollywood Life* (Lenexa, KS: Addax, 1997).
- 43 Dustin Diamond, *Behind the Bell* (Montreal: Transit, 2009).
- 44 Marie Winn, *The Plug-In Drug: Television, Computers, and Family Life*, rev. ed. (New York: Penguin, 2002), 298. For another consideration of these issues, see Edward Palmer, *Television and America’s Children: A Crisis of Neglect* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).
- 45 Brian Simpson, *Children and Television* (New York: Continuum, 2004), 4.
- 46 Mary Strom Larson, “Sibling Interaction in Situation Comedies over the Years,” *Television and the American Family*, ed. Jennings Bryant and Alison Bryant, 2nd ed. (Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 2001), 163–76, 175.
- 47 I selected these six programs as particularly apt specimens both of their eras and of the sexual zeitgeist of their productions, but other programs could well illustrate these shifts. For example, I can envision an alternate version of this study with

- chapters addressing *The Donna Reed Show* (1958–63), *The Partridge Family*, *Good Times* (1974–79), *Home Improvement*, *Lizzie McGuire* (2001–4), and *The Middle* (2009–). In many ways *Leave It to Beaver*, *The Brady Bunch*, *The Cosby Show*, *Roseanne*, *Hannah Montana*, and *Modern Family* reflect my personal history and interests as a television viewer—a disclaimer that, I hope, does not discount the insights shared herein, despite the stance of impervious aloofness too often assumed to be required for critical endeavors.
- 48 Stephen Best and Sharon Marcus, “Surface Reading: An Introduction,” *Representations* 108 (2009): 1–21, 9 and 3 (italics in original).
- 49 The carnivalesque exemplifies the challenges of interpreting comic texts, for does this comic mode subvert the prevailing ideological order, or does it merely reinstate a culture’s dominant ethos after an ultimately meaningless diversion? On the carnivalesque, see Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984); but also Terry Eagleton’s critique: “Carnival, after all, is a *licensed* affair in every sense, a permissible rupture of hegemony, a contained popular blow-off as disturbing and relatively ineffectual as a revolutionary work of art. As Shakespeare’s Olivia remarks, there is no slander in an allowed fool.” Terry Eagleton, *Walter Benjamin, or Towards a Revolutionary Criticism* (London: Verso, 1981), 145–46 (Eagleton’s italics).
- 50 Raymond Williams, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, ed. Ederyn Williams, 2nd ed. (1974; London: Routledge, 1990), 91.
- 51 William Uricchio, “Television’s Next Generation: Technology / Interface Culture / Flow,” *Television after TV: Essays on a Medium in Transition*, ed. Lynn Spigel and Jan Olsson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 163–82, 168.
- 52 John Ellis, *Visible Fictions: Cinema, Television, Video* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982), 117.
- 53 Michael Kackman, Marnie Binfield, Matthew Thomas Payne, Allison Perlman, and Bryan Sebok, eds., *Flow TV: Television in the Age of Media Convergence* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 2. See also the online journal flowjournal.org.
- 54 In a provocative critical move, Gregory Waller proposes that “genre removes us from the flow and viewing strip.” Gregory Waller, “Flow, Genre, and the Television Text,” *In the Eye of the Beholder: Critical Perspectives in Popular Film and Television*, ed. Gary Edgerton, Michael Marsden, and Jack Nachbar (Bowling Green, OH: Popular Press, 1997), 55–66, 63. This study is invested in genre as a critical tool yet also pays attention to the influences of flow.
- 55 Quinn Miller, “*The Dick van Dyke Show*: Queer Meanings,” *How to Watch Television*, ed. Ethan Thompson and Jason Mittell (New York: New York University Press, 2013), 112–20, 120.

Chapter 1 The Queer Times of *Leave It to Beaver*

- 1 Jean Baudrillard, *America*, trans. Chris Turner (London: Verso, 1986), 107.
- 2 Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), 281.
- 3 Stephanie Coontz, *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap* (New York: Basic Books, 1992), 23; see also Coontz’s *The Way We Really Are: Coming to Terms with America’s Changing Families* (New York: Basic Books, 1997). On the appeal and limitations of nostalgia for the 1950s, see Arlene Skolnick, *Embattled Paradise: The American Family in an Age of Uncertainty* (New York: Basic

- Books, 1991), especially for her aptly titled prologue: “Who Killed Ozzie and Harriet?” (xv–xx).
- 4 Coontz, *The Way We Never Were*, 25.
 - 5 Elizabeth Freeman, *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), xxii, 3.
 - 6 Carolyn Dinshaw, *How Soon Is Now?* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), 4.
 - 7 Kathryn Bond Stockton, *The Queer Child, or Growing Sideways in the Twentieth Century* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 11 (italics in original).
 - 8 Nina Leibman, *Living Room Lectures: The Fifties Family in Film and Television* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 118.
 - 9 Horace Newcomb, “The Opening of America: Meaningful Difference in 1950s Television,” *The Other Fifties: Interrogating Midcentury American Icons*, ed. Joel Foreman (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 103–23, 121.
 - 10 David Halberstam, *The Fifties* (New York: Villard, 1993), 509 (italics in original).
 - 11 References to the program are taken from *Leave It to Beaver: The Complete Series* (1957–63; NBC Universal, 2010), DVD, and are cited by episode.
 - 12 David Coon, *Look Closer: Suburban Narratives and American Values in Film and Television* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2013), 2.
 - 13 Hal Himmelstein, *Television Myth and the American Mind*, 2nd ed. (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994), 124.
 - 14 Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg, ed., *Our Children Today: A Guide to Their Needs from Infancy through Adolescence* (New York: Viking, 1952), 15.
 - 15 Otis Lee Wiese, “Live the Life of *McCall's*,” *McCall's*, May 1954, 27 (italics in original).
 - 16 Joel Foreman, introduction to *The Other Fifties: Interrogating Midcentury American Icons* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 1–23, 1.
 - 17 Darrell Hamamoto, *Nervous Laughter: Television Situation Comedy and Liberal Democratic Ideology* (New York: Praeger, 1989), 26.
 - 18 Amy Villarejo, *Ethereal Queer: Television, Historicity, Desire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014). Of *Father Knows Best*, Villarejo cites the episode “Betty, the Track Star,” which David Marc proposes “might as well have been titled ‘Betty Meets the Lesbians.’” David Marc, *Comic Visions: Television Comedy and American Culture*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1997), 50.
 - 19 Gertrude Chittenden, *Living with Children* (1944; New York: Macmillan, 1951), 3. Chittenden compares American children to those of Samoa, as studied in Margaret Meade’s classic *Coming of Age in Samoa*, and extols the greater social and sexual equanimity of Samoan youth.
 - 20 Barney Katz, *How to Be a Better Parent: Understanding Yourself and Your Child* (New York: Ronald Press, 1953), 205.
 - 21 In this episode, Ward’s fears over his son are unfounded: Beaver enjoyed the party not because of the opportunity for exclusively female companionship but for the opportunity to engage in homosocial bonding with the host’s father, who commiserates with the boy: “I know what it’s like to be the only rooster in a hen party” (“Party Invitation”).
 - 22 T. J. Jackson Lears, “Making Fun of Popular Culture,” *American Historical Review* 97.5 (1992): 1417–26, 1420.
 - 23 Erin Lee Mock, “The Horror of ‘Honey, I’m Home!’: The Perils of Postwar Family Love in the Domestic Sitcom,” *Film & History* 41.2 (2011): 29–50, 30. See also Stanley Pelkey’s brilliant reading, “Music, Maturity, and the Moral Geography in *Leave*

- It to Beaver* (1957–1963),” *Anxiety Muted: American Film Music in a Suburban Age*, ed. Stanley Pelkey and Anthony Bushard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 107–18.
- 24 Michael Kassel, “Mayfield after Midnight: Images of Youth and Parenting in *Leave It to Beaver*,” *Images of Youth: Popular Culture as Educational Ideology*, ed. Michael Olicker and Walter Krolkowski (New York: Peter Lang, 2001), 112–29, 116.
- 25 Sigmund Freud, “A Child Is Being Beaten’: A Contribution to the Study of the Origin of Sexual Perversions,” *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. and ed. James Strachey (London: Hogarth, 1953–74), 17.175–204, 179.
- 26 Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1977; New York: Penguin, 2009), 274.
- 27 Bonnie Dow, *Prime-Time Feminism: Television, Media Culture, and the Women’s Movement since 1970* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 149.
- 28 Matthew Henry, “The Triumph of Popular Culture: Situation Comedy, Post-modernism, and *The Simpsons*,” *Critiquing the Sitcom: A Reader*, ed. Joanne Morreale (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 262–73, 265.
- 29 Diana Meehan, *Ladies of the Evening: Women Characters of Prime-Time Television* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1983), 34.
- 30 Susan Douglas, *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with the Mass Media* (New York: Random House, 1995), 26. For a rebuttal of these critiques of 1950s female characters, see Cary O’Dell, *June Cleaver Was a Feminist! Reconsidering the Female Characters of Early Television* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2013).
- 31 James Bossard and Eleanor Boll, *Ritual in Family Living: A Contemporary Study* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), 24.
- 32 Bonnie Mann, “The Lesbian June Cleaver: Heterosexism and Lesbian Mothering,” *Hypatia* 22.1 (2007): 149–65, 149.
- 33 Joanne Meyerowitz, ed., *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945–1960* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994).
- 34 Deborah Werksman, ed., *I Killed June Cleaver: Modern Moms Shatter the Myth of Perfect Parenting* (Naperville, IL: Hysteria, 1999); and Anne Dunnewold, *Even June Cleaver Would Forget the Juice Box: Cut Yourself Some Slack (And Still Raise Great Kids) in the Age of Extreme Parenting* (Deerfield Beach, FL: Health Communications, 2007). Margaret Talbot, the sister of child actor Stephen Talbot, who played the role of Beaver’s friend Gilbert Bates, cites Meyerowitz, Werksman, and Dunnewold to make a similar point in her *The Entertainer: Movies, Magic, and My Father’s Twentieth Century* (New York: Riverhead, 2012), 379.
- 35 “Forever the Beaver: The Cleavers Look Back,” *Leave It to Beaver: The Complete Series*.
- 36 Lockhart is also remembered for playing Maureen Robinson in *Lost in Space* (1965–68), another notable maternal role of her career.

Chapter 2 Queer Innocence and Kitsch Nostalgia in *The Brady Bunch*

- 1 Sherwood Schwartz and Lloyd J. Schwartz, *Brady Brady Brady: The Complete Story of “The Brady Bunch” as Told by the Father/Son Team Who Really Know* (Philadelphia: Running Press, 2010), 20, 28.
- 2 Family sitcoms of the 1960s with widows as protagonists include *The Lucy Show* (1962–68) and *Here’s Lucy* (1968–74), *The New Loretta Young Show* (1962–63),

- The Jean Arthur Show* (1966), *The Doris Day Show* (1968–73), and *Julia* (1968–71); those with widowers include *The Andy Griffith Show* (1960–68), *My Three Sons* (1960–72), and *The Beverly Hillbillies* (1962–71).
- 3 James Kincaid, *Erotic Innocence: The Culture of Child Molesting* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), 53.
 - 4 Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, “Queer and Now,” *The Routledge Queer Studies Reader*, ed. Donald Hall and Annamarie Jagose (London: Routledge, 2013), 3–17, 8 (italics in original).
 - 5 Lee Edelman, *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 21.
 - 6 Peter Carroll, *It Seemed Like Nothing Happened: The Tragedy and Promise of America in the 1970s* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1982), 335.
 - 7 Dan Berger, ed., *The Hidden 1970s: Histories of Radicalism* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 3.
 - 8 Morton Hunt, *Sexual Behavior in the 1970s* (Chicago: Playboy Press, 1974), 361.
 - 9 Citations of *The Brady Bunch* specify the episode in question, as taken from *The Brady Bunch: The Complete Series*, prod. Sherwood Schwartz, perf. Robert Reed, Florence Henderson, Ann B. Davis, et al. (1969–74; Paramount, 2007), DVD.
 - 10 “The Honeymoon” does not erase marital sexuality entirely, for it depicts Carol and Mike’s costume changes into nightwear to indicate that they have consummated their marriage. Still, the narrative directs viewers’ attention to the reintegration of the family after an initial separation, not on the newlyweds’ pleasurable escape from their children’s prying eyes.
 - 11 Quoted in Robert Pegg, *Comical Co-stars of Television: From Ed Norton to Kramer* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2002), 92. On the 1970s sexual culture against which *The Brady Bunch* apparently inoculated itself, see Elana Levine, *Wallowing in Sex: The New Sexual Culture of 1970s American Television* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).
 - 12 Diana Meehan, *Ladies of the Evening: Women Characters of Prime-Time Television* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1983), 34. As discussed in the previous chapter, numerous episodes allow these “goodwives” to challenge patriarchal prerogatives, with this model capturing key aspects of 1950s domesticity yet overlooking its subversive potential.
 - 13 David Marc, *Comic Visions: Television Comedy and American Culture*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1997), 191.
 - 14 Katherine Lehman, *Those Girls: Single Women in Sixties and Seventies Popular Culture* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011), 12–13.
 - 15 Most famously, *Maude* dramatized its commitment to feminism and women’s reproductive rights in a plot featuring Maude and her fourth husband, Walter (Bill Macy), opting for an abortion rather than raising a baby during their middle-aged years. Anguished by the decision, Maude turns to Walter for comfort: “For you, Maude, and for me, in the privacy of our own lives, you’re doing the right thing” (“Maude’s Dilemma, Part 2”).
 - 16 Schwartz and Schwartz, *Brady Brady Brady*, 29.
 - 17 Les Brown, “Elton’s Rule: Be Different: ABC-TV Prez Puts Accent on Youth,” *Variety*, 3 Apr. 1968, 33, 52. See also Aniko Bodroghkozy, *Groove Tube: Sixties Television and the Youth Rebellion* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 199.
 - 18 Schwartz and Schwartz, *Brady Brady Brady*, 150.

- 19 See Patricia White's reading of queerness in *Bewitched* in her *Uninvited: Classical Hollywood Cinema and Lesbian Representability* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 139–42.
- 20 Mimi Marinucci, "Television, Generation X, and Third Wave Feminism: A Contextual Analysis of *The Brady Bunch*," *Journal of Popular Culture* 38.3 (2005): 505–24, 514.
- 21 Laura Mulvey, *Visual and Other Pleasures* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 19.
- 22 Helen Haste, *The Sexual Metaphor* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), 71.
- 23 Schwartz and Schwartz, *Brady Brady Brady*, 106.
- 24 Helen Wheatley, *Spectacular Television: Exploring Televisual Pleasure* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2016), 191.
- 25 Kincaid, *Erotic Innocence*, 113. See also his *Child-Loving: The Erotic Child and Victorian Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1992).
- 26 Hal Erickson, *Television Cartoon Shows: An Illustrated Encyclopedia, 1949–1993* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1995), 111.
- 27 Schwartz and Schwartz, *Brady Brady Brady*, 156.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 182.
- 29 Barry Williams, with Chris Kreski, *Growing Up Brady: I Was a Teenage Greg* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1992), 74–75 (italics in original).
- 30 Florence Henderson, with Joel Brokaw, *Life Is Not a Stage: From Broadway Baby to Lovely Lady and Beyond* (New York: Center Street, 2011), 184.
- 31 Stephen Tropiano, *The Prime Time Closet: A History of Gays and Lesbians on TV* (New York: Applause Theatre, 2002), 27–30.
- 32 "H.I.V. Contributed to Death of Robert Reed, Doctor Says," *New York Times*, 20 May 1992.
- 33 Schwartz and Schwartz, *Brady Brady Brady*, 64.
- 34 Pegg, *Comical Co-stars of Television*, 89.
- 35 Ted Nichelson, Susan Olsen, and Lisa Sutton, *Love to Love You Bradys: The Bizarre Story of "The Brady Bunch Variety Hour"* (Toronto: ECW, 2009), 3.
- 36 For a history of *The Brady Bunch Variety Hour* see Nichelson, Olsen, and Sutton, *Love to Love You Bradys*. Because of space limitations, I do not address *The Brady Bunch Hour*, *The Brady Brides*, or the feature films in this chapter, yet they, too, exploit a brew of kitsch nostalgia in their plotlines.
- 37 Soren Kierkegaard, *Either/Or, Part 1*, ed. and trans. Howard Hong and Edna Hong (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 32.
- 38 Ralph Harper, *Nostalgia: An Existential Exploration of Longing and Fulfillment in the Modern Age* (Cleveland, OH: Press of Western Reserve University, 1966), 26–27.
- 39 Quoted in Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), xiv.
- 40 Clement Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism*, vol. 1, *Perceptions and Judgments, 1939–1944*, ed. John O'Brian (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 5–22, 12.
- 41 Although I focus on nostalgia's retrospective allure and its kitsch appeal in this chapter, some scholars argue for its progressive and radical potential; see, e.g., Alastair Bennett, *Left in the Past: Radicalism and the Politics of Nostalgia* (London: Continuum, 2010).
- 42 Jonathan Gray, *Television Entertainment* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 56–57. See also Amy Holdsworth, *Television, Memory, and Nostalgia* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

- 43 Schwartz and Schwartz, *Brady Brady Brady*, 229.
- 44 Judith Lancioni, “Murder and Mayhem on Wisteria Lane: A Study of Genre and Cultural Context in *Desperate Housewives*,” *Reading “Desperate Housewives”: Beyond the White Picket Fence*, ed. Janet McCabe and Kim Akass (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), 129–43, 131.
- 45 While many television critics place the birth of the dramedy in the 1980s, others identify it in such earlier programs as *M*A*S*H* (1972–83)—and, of course, Shakespeare merged comedy and drama in many of his plays. The birth of this genre is difficult to pin down, yet the programs most relevant to *The Bradys* include these 1980s incarnations of the form.
- 46 Such identifications between cast and audience were key to Schwartz’s plan for the series, as Florence Henderson notes: “By having nine cast members that include three children of different ages from each gender, Sherwood also insured that each viewer at home would have at least one character with whom they could identify closely” (*Life Is Not a Stage*, 181).

Chapter 3 No Sex Please, We’re African American

- 1 United States Commission on Civil Rights, *Window Dressing on the Set: Women and Minorities in Television* (Washington, DC: Aug. 1977), 148.
- 2 Beretta Smith-Shomade, *Shaded Lives: African American Women and Television* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 31. See also Alan Nadel, *Television in Black-and-White America: Race and National Identity* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005).
- 3 United States Commission on Civil Rights, *Window Dressing on the Set*, 150.
- 4 Kelefa Sanneh, “The Eternal Paternal: Bill Cosby’s Never-Ending Tour,” *New Yorker*, 15 Sept. 2014.
- 5 Joanne Carlson differentiates between authoritarian and authoritative child-rearing: “Authoritarian parents . . . are more controlling and less emotionally responsive, and authoritative parents . . . are responsive and warm but also provide structure, expectations, and supervision.” Joanne Carlson, *The Parent Effect: How Parenting Style Affects Adolescent Behavior and Personality Development* (Washington, DC: National Association of Social Workers Press, 2011), 104.
- 6 Quoted in Richard Warren Lewis, “The Importance of Being Julia,” *TV Guide*, 14 Dec. 1968, 24–28, 28; repr. in Aniko Bodroghkozy, “Is This What You Mean by Color TV?: Race, Gender, and Contested Meanings in NBC’s *Julia*,” *Private Screenings: Television and the Female Consumer*, ed. Lynn Spigel and Denise Mann (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 142–67, 152.
- 7 Both quoted in Lewis, “The Importance of Being Julia,” 27.
- 8 Louie Robinson, “Redd Foxx,” *Ebony*, Jun. 1974, 154+, 160.
- 9 Both quoted in Margena Christian, “The Death of James Evans, Sr.,” *Jet*, 28 Jan. 2008, 36. Amos elaborated on these issues in another interview: “The writers blew right by [the story lines of other characters], not out of any ingrained sense of suppression, the necessity to suppress that imagery, but more so because it was easy for them. They were lazy. If we put J.J. in a chicken hat and have him walk into a room, we don’t have to write anything for maybe another two pages.” Tammy L. Brown, “An Interview with John Amos,” *African Americans on Television: Race-ing for Ratings*, ed. David Leonard and Lisa Guerrero (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2013), 34–44, 39. For Jimmie Walker’s defense of the show’s representation of black

- life, see his *Dyn-o-mite! Good Times, Bad Times, Our Times—A Memoir* (Boston: Da Capo, 2012), 134–37.
- 10 Herman Gray, *Watching Race: Television and the Struggle for “Blackness”* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 19.
 - 11 Leslie Innis and Joe Feagin, “*The Cosby Show*: The View from the Black Middle Class,” *Say It Loud: African-American Audiences, Media, and Identity*, ed. Robin Coleman (New York: Routledge, 2002), 187–204, 202. See also Robin Coleman’s *African American Viewers and the Black Situation Comedy: Situating Racial Humor* (New York: Garland, 2000), for her chapter on *The Cosby Show*, in which she also considers conflicted responses to the program (189–98).
 - 12 Sut Jhally and Justin Lewis, *Enlightened Racism: “The Cosby Show,” Audiences, and the Myth of the American Dream* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1992), 129.
 - 13 Throughout the series’ run I see only one moment that could be construed as encouraging viewers to discount the necessity for political intervention in addressing America’s history of racism. When Cliff is honored at his hospital’s Physician of the Year Banquet, Dr. Wessler, the chief of staff and a white man, proclaims that their hospital is the best because they hire “talent the other hospitals overlook. We’ve got Blacks, we’ve got Native Americans, we’ve got Hispanics, we’ve got Asian Americans. We’ve even got a Texan. I don’t hire those people because they are minorities; I hire them because they are talented” (“Physician of the Year”). One could interpret these lines as dismissive of affirmative-action programs, yet they appear more to condemn the racist attitudes of these other hospitals that overlook talented minority candidates.
 - 14 Ella Taylor, *Prime-Time Families: Television Culture in Postwar America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 162–63.
 - 15 Henry Louis Gates Jr., “TV’s Black World Turns—But Stays Unreal,” *Race, Class, and Gender: An Anthology*, ed. Margaret Andersen and Patricia Hill Collins (Berkeley, CA: Wadsworth, 1992), 310–17, 312.
 - 16 Citations of *The Cosby Show* are taken from *The Cosby Show: The Complete Series* (1982–94; Mill Creek Entertainment, 2015), DVD. “Mr. Quiet” laid the foundations for a *Cosby Show* spin-off focusing on this community center (based on the Hudson Guild in Chelsea) and starring Tony Orlando as its director. On the spin-off’s failure to launch, Orlando ruefully opined: “The network turned down a spin-off, and it’s no wonder. I’ve watched it several times over the years, and even with the mellowing effect of time, my performance stunk.” Tony Orlando, with Patsi Bale Cox, *Halfway to Paradise* (New York: St. Martin’s, 2002), 227.
 - 17 Michael Dyson, “Bill Cosby and the Politics of Race,” *Z Magazine*, Sept. 1989, 26–30, 27 and 30.
 - 18 *Essence* is marketed to a black female readership, so Cliff’s enjoyment of it suggests his relaxed vision of black masculinity, which I discuss in the following section.
 - 19 Dyson, “Bill Cosby and the Politics of Race,” 28. In his collaborations with Cosby, Poussaint wrote the forewords and afterwords for many of his books, including *Fatherhood* (New York: Doubleday, 1986) and *Childhood* (New York: Putnam’s, 1991). Cosby and Poussaint cowrote *Come On, People: On the Path from Victims to Victors* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2007). Poussaint’s clinical expertise in child-rearing is evident in his cowritten monograph, with James Comber, *Raising Black Children* (New York: Plume, 1992).
 - 20 June Frazer and Timothy Frazer, “*Father Knows Best* and *The Cosby Show*: Nostalgia and the Sitcom Tradition,” *Journal of Popular Culture* 27.3 (1993): 163–72, 172.

- 21 Anthonia Kalu, “Bill Cosby, Blues, and the Reconstruction of African-American Literary Theory,” *Literary Griot: International Journal of Black Expressive Cultural Studies* 4.1–2 (1992): 1–15, 6.
- 22 Mike Budd and Clay Steinman, “White Racism and *The Cosby Show*,” *Jump Cut* 37 (1992): 5–12, 9.
- 23 Cosby, *Fatherhood*, 96.
- 24 Alvin Poussaint, introduction to *Fatherhood*, by Bill Cosby (New York: Doubleday, 1986), 9.
- 25 Compare these lines with Cosby’s words from *Fatherhood*: “I am not the boss of my house. I don’t know how I lost it and I don’t know where I lost it. I probably never had it to begin with. My wife is the boss” (57).
- 26 Donald Bogle, *Brown Sugar: Over One Hundred Years of America’s Black Female Superstars* (New York: Continuum, 2007), 255. See also his *Primetime Blues: African Americans on Network Television* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001), esp. 286–303.
- 27 John Fiske, *Media Matters* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 112. For another reading of Clair’s professional career and family life see Barbara Villez, “Clair Huxtable, Meet Renée Raddick: How Long a Way Have You Really Come, Baby?” *Cercles: Revue pluridisciplinaire du monde Anglophone* 8 (2003): 136–47.
- 28 Cosby and Poussaint, *Come On, People*, 148.
- 29 The two programs battled to a virtual draw in the ratings. Still, as Daniel Kimmel points out, the publicity surrounding the head-to-head competition, as well as the fact that *The Simpsons* “was actually beating *Cosby* among such key demographics as teenagers and men 18–49,” paid immense dividends for FOX. See Daniel Kimmel, *The Fourth Network: How FOX Broke the Rules and Reinvented Television* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2004), 96–97.
- 30 Cosby, *Childhood*, 42.
- 31 Elaine Kaplan, *Not Our Kind of Girl: Unraveling the Myths of Black Teenage Motherhood* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), xviii. See also Maris Vinovskis, *An “Epidemic” of Adolescent Pregnancy? Some Historical and Policy Considerations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).
- 32 Rickie Solinger, “Teen Pregnancy,” *Girlhood in America: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Miriam Forman-Brunell, 2 vols. (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2001), 2:645–53, 650.
- 33 Poussaint, afterword to *Fatherhood*, by Bill Cosby (New York: Doubleday, 1986), 171.
- 34 Vanessa’s words that she has “never had experience with another man” could be interpreted to indicate that she has had sex with Dabnis (yet not with any other of her previous boyfriends); this interpretation, while plausible, seems unlikely, given the program’s overarching considerations of young black women’s sexuality.
- 35 See Gayle Rubin, *Deviations* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011); and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).
- 36 “Bill Cosby Says: ‘I did not read the script . . . Lisa made the decision,’” *Jet*, 23 Mar. 1987, 62.
- 37 Quoted in Lynn Norment, “Lisa Bonet: The Growing Pains of a Rising Star,” *Ebony*, 1 Dec. 1987, 150+, 154.
- 38 Roger Ebert, “*Angel Heart* (1987),” 6 Mar. 1987, RogerEbert.com.
- 39 Quoted in Margena Christian, “*A Different World* Twenty-Five Years Later: A Look at *The Cosby Show* Spin-Off That Educated Viewers,” *Ebony*, Sept. 2012, 155+, 156–57.

- 40 “Lisa Bonet: How Bill Cosby Will Handle Return of His Prodigal Daughter,” *Jet*, 19 Sept. 1988, 56+, 56.
- 41 Josh Rottenberg, “Lisa Bonet Doesn’t Pray Everyday [*sic*],” *Us Weekly*, 17 Apr. 2000, 74–79.
- 42 Quoted in “Lisa Bonet Dropped from *The Cosby Show*,” *Jet*, 15 Apr. 1991, 52.
- 43 *Ibid.*
- 44 Quoted in “Lisa Bonet: How Bill Cosby Will Handle Return of His Prodigal Daughter,” 57.
- 45 Rottenberg, “Lisa Bonet Doesn’t Pray,” 77.
- 46 Cathy Cohen, *Democracy Remixed* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 50–51. For more on this scandal, see Mark Whitaker, *Cosby: His Life and Times* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2014), esp. 257–58, 358–59.
- 47 For a review of these accusations, see Bill Carter, “Lawyer Defends Cosby over Assault Claims,” *New York Times*, 16 Nov. 2014.
- 48 Bill Carter, “NBC and Netflix Shelve Projects with Bill Cosby,” *New York Times*, 19 Nov. 2014; Michael Del Moro and Dan Good, “TV Land Pulls *The Cosby Show* Reruns amid Sexual Assault Allegations,” *ABC News*, 20 Nov. 2014; Rachel Swarns, “Trying to Separate Bill Cosby from Cliff Huxtable,” *New York Times*, 31 Jan. 2016.

Chapter 4 Feminism, Homosexuality, and Blue-Collar Perversity in *Roseanne*

- 1 Quotations from *Roseanne* and its stars are taken from *Roseanne: The Complete Series* (Mill Creek Entertainment and Carsey-Werner Company, 2013), which includes its entire run of 222 episodes and numerous interviews and video commentary with the cast.
- 2 On the “Meredith Baxter-Birney” image of television motherhood see p. 90. Baxter came out as a lesbian in 2009 and married her wife in 2013, further dismantling the image of the quintessential 1980s sitcom housewife.
- 3 To date Barr has written three autobiographies: Roseanne Barr, *My Life as a Woman* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989); Roseanne Arnold, *My Lives* (New York: Ballantine, 1994); and Roseanne Barr, *Roseannearchy: Dispatches from the Nut Farm* (New York: Gallery, 2011). The following abbreviations—*MLW*, *ML*, and *R*—are used in parenthetical citations. Furthermore, it should be noted that I refer to the actor as Barr, to her sitcom as *Roseanne*, and to her character as Roseanne, while acknowledging the difficulty of maintaining firm distinctions among these overlapping figures and their fictions.
- 4 Barbara Ehrenreich documents Barr’s preference for the term *working class* over *blue collar* because, in her paraphrase of Barr’s words, “it reminds us of the existence of class, a reality that Americans are all too disposed to forget.” Barbara Ehrenreich, “The Wretched of the Hearth: The Undainty Feminism of Roseanne Barr,” *New Republic*, 2 Apr. 1990, 28–31, 29. I use the terms interchangeably. For Ehrenreich’s account of middle-class economic fears during the period roughly contemporary with *Roseanne*’s early seasons, see Barbara Ehrenreich, *Fear of Falling: The Inner Life of the Middle Class* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1990).
- 5 Goranson initiated the role of Becky but left *Roseanne* to attend college, with Chalke replacing her. The two alternated the role for several seasons.
- 6 Responding to a question about how closely her character matched her real-life identity, Barr declared, “That’s me up there, but there’s a deliberate choice of what to expose.” Elaine Dutka, “Interview: Slightly to the Left of Normal,” *Time*, 8 May

- 1989, 82+, 83. Her ex-husband Bill Pentland confirmed that “[Barr’s sister] Geraldine would provide the basis for the character of Jackie and her love/hate friction with Rosie’s husband Dan Conner,” adding as well, “Although our three kids were the primary models for Becky, Darlene, and D.J., Rosie would weave real details, peccadilloes, accents, clothing, etc., from actual people she knew” (*R* xii). This is not to argue that *Roseanne* transparently depicts Barr’s experiences but to point to her clarity of vision for the program, which became a point of contention during its production. I return to this issue in this chapter’s final section. The principal distinction between Barr’s and Roseanne’s primary traits would appear to be that the former is Jewish whereas, as Janet Lee observes, the latter is apparently not; see Janet Lee, “Subversive Sitcoms: *Roseanne* as Inspiration for Feminist Resistance,” *Women’s Studies* 21 (1992): 87–101, 91.
- 7 Susan Dworkin, “Roseanne Barr: The Disgruntled Housewife as Stand-up Comedian,” *Ms.*, Jul.-Aug. 1987, 92+, 205–6; see also Tracy Young, “The Return of the Housewife: Roseanne Barr, Domestic Goddess,” *Vogue*, Apr. 1987, 335+.
 - 8 Rosemarie Tong, *Feminist Thought*, 3rd ed. (Philadelphia: Westview, 2009), 285. See also Rory Dicker and Alison Piepmeier, eds., *Catching a Wave: Reclaiming Feminism for the Twenty-First Century* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2003), for the necessity of expanding feminism’s purview.
 - 9 Merri Lisa Johnson, “Ladies Love Your Box: The Rhetoric of Pleasure and Danger in Feminist Television Studies,” *Third Wave Feminism and Television: Jane Puts It in a Box*, ed. Merri Lisa Johnson (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007), 1–27, 22. Johnson’s quotation of the phrase “an inevitable site of ideological struggle” is taken from John Fiske, “British Cultural Studies,” *Channels of Discourse: Television and Contemporary Criticism*, ed. Robert C. Allen (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 254–89, 259.
 - 10 Diana Kendall, *Framing Class: Media Representations of Wealth and Poverty in America*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), 165. For an overview of social class in television studies, see also Nicole Cloarec, introduction to *Social Class on British and American Screens: Essays on Cinema and Television*, ed. Nicole Cloarec, David Haigron, and Delphine Letort (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2016), 1–16.
 - 11 Ronald Reagan, “Inaugural Address (20 Jan. 1981),” The American Presidency Project, www.presidency.ucsb.edu.
 - 12 Michael Schaller, *Right Turn: American Life in the Reagan-Bush Era, 1980–1992* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 27.
 - 13 Walter Galenson, *The American Labor Movement, 1955–1995* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1996), 53. On the air-traffic controllers strike see Joseph McCartin, *Collision Course: Ronald Reagan, the Air Traffic Controllers, and the Strike That Changed America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
 - 14 *Roseanne*’s final episode reveals that much of the ninth season has been a fantasy sequence, in which the Conners did not win the lottery, and Dan died from his heart attack at Darlene and David’s wedding. But events in a fictional series need not have truly occurred on its narrative level to affect the development of its themes and political interventions. On *Roseanne* and “jumping the shark,” see Jon Hein, *Jump the Shark* (New York: Dutton, 2002), 66–67.
 - 15 For more on the political ethos of family sitcoms, see chapter 6. *Roseanne* portrays Barr’s distaste for Republicans yet leaves Democrats unscathed; Barr, however, has attacked both parties, such as in her 1991 statement: “The Democratic party

- [is] farther away from the people than the Republican party appears to be, and that's why George [H. W.] Bush is president. . . . I *hate* liberals. . . . The liberals are in there fudging every issue, selling out this group of people to make points with that group of people." Nanette Varian, "Penthouse Interview: Roseanne Barr," *Penthouse*, Jan. 1991, 81+, 177 (italics in original). Barr ran for U.S. President on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket in 2012, with peace activist Cindy Sheehan as her running mate.
- 16 Julie Bettie, "Class Dismissed? *Roseanne* and the Changing Face of Working-Class Iconography," *Social Text* 14.4 (1995): 125–49, 137.
 - 17 Kathleen Rowe, *The Unruly Woman: Gender and the Genres of Laughter* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 64.
 - 18 Nikke Finke, "The Blue-Collar Backgrounds behind a Blue-Collar Hit," *Los Angeles Times*, 26 Jan. 1989.
 - 19 On the gendered dynamics of viewing see chapter 2.
 - 20 Barr succinctly defines a tag as the "short scene following the final commercial break featuring the show's credits" and discusses *Roseanne's* innovative use of tags, particularly in breaking the fourth wall between the production and its viewers ("Trick Me Up, Trick Me Down" Video Commentary). The program's tags frequently continue story lines developed in the preceding episode or metadramatically stage the program's fictionality (as when guest star Sharon Stone sighs over her unfulfilled attraction to young Michael Fishman—"There's a whole lot of man walking out that door right now" ["Happy Trailers"])—or sometimes veer into an undefined reality (such as when aliens abduct family friend Arnie ["Aliens"]).
 - 21 Carolyn Bronstein, *Battling Pornography: The American Feminist Anti-pornography Movement, 1976–1986* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 173, 244.
 - 22 On the evolution of pornography from film to video and into its patrons' homes, see Chuck Kleinhans, "The Change from Film to Video Pornography: Implications for Analysis," *Pornography: Film and Culture*, ed. Peter Lehman (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006), 154–67. On the gendered dynamics of VCR viewing in the 1980s, see Ann Gray, "Behind Closed Doors: Video Recorders in the Home," *Feminist Television Criticism: A Reader*, ed. Charlotte Brunson, Julie D'Acci, and Lynn Spigel (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 235–46.
 - 23 Traci Lords, *Underneath It All* (New York: HarperEntertainment, 2003), 240.
 - 24 Quoted in Dworkin, "Roseanne Barr," 108.
 - 25 Quoted in John Lahr, "Dealing with Roseanne," *Life Stories: Profiles from "The New Yorker"*, ed. David Remnick (New York: Random House, 2000), 441–67, 465. This interview originally appeared in 1995.
 - 26 *The Oxford English Dictionary* dates the earliest use of *guppie* to 1984, in *The Official British Yuppie Handbook*.
 - 27 For an account of *Baehr v. Miike* and Hawaii's early role in the fight for gay marriage, see Evan Wolfson, "The Hawaii Marriage Case Launches the US Freedom-to-Marry Movement for Equality," *Legal Recognition of Same-Sex Partnerships: A Study of National, European, and International Law*, ed. Robert Wintemute and Mads Andenæs (Oxford: Hart, 2002), 169–75.
 - 28 Quoted in John Carmody, "The TV Column," *Washington Post*, 11 Dec. 1995.
 - 29 Ron Becker, *Gay TV and Straight America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006), 155.
 - 30 While one should refer to transgender characters with the pronoun with which they identify, it is unclear from this brief scene how Andy views him- or herself;

thus, I employ “his/her” as a marker of the scene’s cloudy depiction of Andy’s gender orientation.

- 31 For an instructive comparison see the similar plotline in *The Cosby Show’s* “Theo and the Joint” episode, in which viewers learn that Theo never smoked marijuana, and the young offender, a classmate of Theo’s, is quickly rehabilitated.
- 32 Joan Collins, *Second Act* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1996), 309.
- 33 Varian, “*Penthouse* Interview: Roseanne Barr,” 82.
- 34 Quoted in Anne Taylor Fleming, “Roseanne’s Tough Act: Is It Too Harsh?” *New York Times*, 17 Jan. 1990.
- 35 On the program’s genesis from *Life and Stuff* to *Roseanne*, see Judine Mayerle, “*Roseanne*—How Did You Get Inside My House? A Case Study of a Hit Blue-Collar Situation Comedy,” *Journal of Popular Culture* 24.4 (1991): 71–88, 72–73.
- 36 For another account of her conflicts with Williams, see Jim Jerome, “Roseanne Unchained,” *People Weekly*, 9 Oct. 1989, 87+.
- 37 Finke, “The Blue-Collar Backgrounds behind a Blue-Collar Hit.”

Chapter 5 Allegory, Queer Authenticity, and Marketing Tween Sexuality in *Hannah Montana*

- 1 Frank discussions of eroticism may be rare in children’s programming, yet many shows depict unusual romantic pairings, such as Kermit the Frog and Miss Piggy of the Muppets franchise. Furthermore, some viewers express their desires—or their fears—of seeing sexuality addressed in these programs. Queer-friendly fans have urged *Sesame Street* (1969–) to “out” Ernie and Bert as a gay couple, and televangelist Jerry Falwell famously accused Tinky Winky of *Teletubbies* (1997–2001) of being gay. Such desires and fears bring up a host of perplexing questions, such as, how could a frog and a pig have sex? Should advocates of gay marriage employ the obviously dysfunctional friendship of Ernie and Bert as a model for children? Do *Teletubbies* have genitalia? As occurs so frequently with attempts to erase sexuality from discourse, its absence ironically solicits its queer, if spectral, presence.
- 2 On the rise of the tween market in the entertainment industry, see Valerie Wee, *Teen Media: Hollywood and the Youth Market* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2010), esp. 166–91, in which she documents that by 2002, tweens had become the “hottest demo[graphic] in Hollywood” (166).
- 3 Various sources document the lucrative payoffs and popularity of *Hannah Montana* and its related merchandise. Anne Becker noted that in 2007 “*Hannah* clothes are already the No. 1 tween brand at Macy’s,” as well as the fact that “*Hannah* has averaged about 1 million tweens 9–14 in its primary time slot—7:30 ET on Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays—since its premiere.” Anne Becker, “*Hannah Montana* Superstar: Disney Plans International Marketing Blitz for Tween Hit,” *Broadcasting and Cable*, 26 Mar. 2007, 3+, 3, 44. Bruce Handy cites Miley Cyrus’s platinum albums and ticket sales, as well as a *Condé Nast Portfolio* estimate that Cyrus would personally hold a billion dollar fortune for her work—although he guesses that this “seriously overestimates her personal cut of the *Hannah Montana* pie.” Bruce Handy, “Miley Knows Best,” *Vanity Fair*, Jun. 2008. See also Ann Donahue, “Tween Idol: After Almost Five Years Building *Hannah Montana* on TV, in Record Stores, and on Tour, Miley Cyrus Makes a Movie—and Maybe a Dance Craze,” *Billboard*, 28 Mar. 2009, 16+.

- 4 I use “Cyrus” to refer to star Miley Cyrus, “Miley” for her character Miley Stewart, and “Hannah” for Stewart’s alter ego Hannah Montana—while acknowledging the purposeful ambiguity between the actor and her roles.
- 5 Bill Osgerby, “‘So Who’s Got Time for Adults!’: Femininity, Consumption, and the Development of Teen TV—from *Gidget* to *Buffy*,” *Teen TV: Genre, Consumption, Identity*, ed. Glyn Davis and Kay Dickinson (London: British Film Institute, 2004), 71–86, 83 (italics in original). See also Bill Osgerby, *Youth Media* (London: Routledge, 2004).
- 6 As a relatively new term in the erotic lexicon, it may be helpful to define *pansexual*. Pansexuals are erotically attracted to people of any sex or gender identity, rejecting any erotic binary based on male and female. Furthermore, pansexuality is a sexual orientation inherently supportive of the transgender community, as pansexuals affirm their potential interest in partners regardless of whether their genitalia align with their gender.
- 7 Quoted in Peggy Tally, “Re-imagining Girlhood: Hollywood and the Tween Girl Film Market,” *Seven Going on Seventeen: Tween Studies in the Culture of Girlhood*, ed. Claudia Mitchell and Jacqueline Reid-Walsh (New York: Peter Lang, 2005), 311–29, 312–13.
- 8 Belinda Luscombe, “How Disney Builds Stars,” *Time*, 2 Nov. 2009, 50–52, 50.
- 9 Quotations of *Hannah Montana* are cited by episode, as published on the following DVDs: *Hannah Montana: Life’s What You Make It* (Walt Disney Studios, 2007); *Hannah Montana: Season 1* (Walt Disney Studios, 2008); *Hannah Montana: One in a Million* (Walt Disney Studios, 2008); *Hannah Montana: Keeping It Real* (Walt Disney Studios, 2009); *Hannah Montana: Miley Says Goodbye?* (Walt Disney Studios, 2010); and *Hannah Montana Forever: Final Season* (Walt Disney Studios, 2011). Additional Hannah Montana story lines include *Hannah Montana: The Movie* (Walt Disney Studios, 2009) and the crossover episodes of *That’s So Suite Life of Hannah Montana* (Walt Disney Studios, 2007) and *Wizards on Deck with Hannah Montana* (Walt Disney Studios, 2009).
- 10 *Hannah Montana* alludes to many past sitcoms, which adult viewers are likely to recognize: Lilly/Lola’s skirt features a cursive L that evokes Laverne’s iconic sweater in *Laverne and Shirley* (1976–83; “It’s the End of the Jake as We Know It”); Miley appropriates Gary Coleman’s catchphrase from *Diff’rent Strokes*, “What you talking about, Willis?” (1978–86; “People Who Use People”); and Miley’s choreographer is named Shawn Nahnah in homage to the 1950s tribute ensemble Sha Na Na and their syndicated program (1977–81; “Papa’s Got a Brand New Friend”)—among many other such allusions.
- 11 David Siegel, Timothy Coffey, and Gregory Livingston, *The Great Tween Buying Machine: Marketing to Today’s Tweens* (Ithaca, NY: Paramount Market, 2001), 2.
- 12 Claudia Mitchell and Jacqueline Reid-Walsh, “Theorizing Tween Culture within Girlhood Studies,” *Seven Going on Seventeen: Tween Studies in the Culture of Girlhood*, ed. Claudia Mitchell and Jacqueline Reid-Walsh (New York: Peter Lang, 2005), 1–21, 14. See also Kathleen Sweeney, *Maiden USA: Girl Icons Come of Age* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), particularly her chapter “Reigning Tweens and Alternative Tweendoms,” 67–91.
- 13 Dan Freeman and Stewart Shapiro, “Tweens’ Knowledge of Marketing Tactics: Skeptical beyond Their Years,” *Journal of Advertising Research* 54 (Mar. 2014): 44–55, 44.
- 14 Benjamin Barber, *Consumed: How Markets Corrupt Children, Infantilize Adults, and Swallow Citizens Whole* (New York: Norton, 2007), 82.

- 15 Ruthann Mayes-Elma, “From Miley Merchandising to Pop Princess Peddling: The *Hannah Montana* Phenomenon,” *Kinderculture: The Corporate Construction of Childhood*, ed. Shirley Steinberg (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2011), 173–86, 175.
- 16 Tyler Bickford, “The New ‘Tween’ Music Industry: The Disney Channel, Kidz Bop, and an Emerging Childhood Counterpublic,” *Popular Music* 31.3 (2012): 417–36, 417.
- 17 In a rare defense of the industry’s executives, William Deresiewicz reviews the tension between “the artists and the suits” and proposes, “When television is at its best . . . it’s not because the suits capitulate. It’s because they’re smart enough, or confident enough, or desperate enough, to bet that creative freedom can itself conduce to profit.” William Deresiewicz, “Ready for Prime Time: Why TV Got Good,” *Harper’s*, Nov. 2016, 82–86, 82.
- 18 Jo Littler, “Making Fame Ordinary: Intimacy, Reflexivity, and ‘Keeping It Real,’” *Mediaactive* 2 (2004): 8–25, 14.
- 19 Melanie Kennedy, “Hannah Montana and Miley Cyrus: ‘Becoming’ a Woman, ‘Becoming’ a Star,” *Celebrity Studies* 5.3 (2014): 225–41, 227.
- 20 Miley Cyrus, with Hilary Liftin, *Miles to Go* (New York: Disney Hyperion, 2009). Quotations from this text are cited parenthetically, with any italics appearing in the original text.
- 21 Becky Ebenkamp, “Hannah and Her Boosters,” *Brandweek*, 8 Sept. 2008, MO40–MO42, MO40.
- 22 Quoted in *ibid.*
- 23 Wayne Barrett, “America’s Tween Idol Rules,” *USA Today Magazine*, Mar. 2008, 78. Barrett cites the *New York Post* for this statement but does not provide any bibliographic details.
- 24 Memorable examples of this dialogic tic include “Melon-headed hottie say what?” (“The Test of My Love”) and “Future of sleaze journalism say what?” (“Don’t Stop ‘til You Get the Phone”).
- 25 Quoted in Ebenkamp, “Hannah and Her Boosters,” MO40.
- 26 Quoted in Amy Larocca, “The Real Miley Cyrus,” *Harper’s Bazaar*, 6 Jan. 2010.
- 27 *Hannah Montana in the Mix* Book and Magnetic Set (New York: Disney Press, 2009), second unnumbered page.
- 28 Nicholas Carah, *Pop Brands: Branding, Popular Music, and Young People* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 8.
- 29 Catherine Driscoll, *Girls: Feminine Adolescence in Popular Culture and Cultural Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 269. See also Morgan Genevieve Blue, who reads *Hannah Montana’s* light feminism as a marketing strategy, in “The Best of Both Worlds? Youth, Gender, and a Post-Feminist Sensibility in Disney’s *Hannah Montana*,” *Feminist Media Studies* 13.4 (2013): 660–75.
- 30 Diane Levin, “So Sexy, So Soon: The Sexualization of Childhood,” *The Sexualization of Childhood*, ed. Sharna Olfman (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2009), 75–88, 84.
- 31 Quoted in Teresa Wiltz, “The Latest Ingenue To-Do,” *Washington Post*, 29 Apr. 2008.
- 32 Quoted in Alyssa Toomey, “What Happened to Miley Cyrus?! Her Biggest Controversies and Scandals,” *Eonline.com*, 27 Aug. 2013.
- 33 Quoted in *ibid.*
- 34 Quoted in Larocca, “The Real Miley Cyrus.”
- 35 Quoted in Joe Coscarelli, “Miley Cyrus on Nicki Manaj and Hosting a ‘Raw’ MTV Video Music Awards,” *New York Times*, 27 Aug 2015.

- 36 Guy Trebay, “Miley Cyrus’s Style: An Exuberant Sexuality,” *New York Times*, 27 Aug. 2015.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Lena de Casparis, “The Gender Debate: Miley Cyrus Gets the Conversation Started,” *Elle UK*, Oct. 2015, 236+, 240.
- 39 Quoted in Coscarelli, “Miley Cyrus on Nicki Manaj.”

Chapter 6 Conservative Narratology, Queer Politics, and the Humor of Gay Stereotypes in *Modern Family*

- 1 This book has demonstrated, I hope, the simplicity of the view that 1950s sitcoms were inherently innocent, as well as the fact that many sitcoms foregrounded modern families for their moment—most notably *Roseanne* (1988–97) of the programs analyzed herein, but also such shows as *All in the Family* (1971–79) and *One Day at a Time* (1975–84), among many others. *Modern Family* establishes a historically myopic and chrononormative view of the governing ethos of American sitcoms, yet such a straw man is critical to its presentation of itself and its story lines.
- 2 Lynne Joyrich, “Epistemology of the Console,” *Critical Inquiry* 27.3 (2001): 439–67, 467.
- 3 Jane Feuer, “Situation Comedy, Part 2,” *The Television Genre Book*, ed. Glen Creeber, Toby Miller, and John Tulloch (London: British Film Institute, 2001), 67–70, 69.
- 4 Gerard Jones, *Honey, I’m Home! Sitcoms: Selling the American Dream* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1992), 6, 4. See also Doyle Greene, *Politics and the American Television Comedy: A Critical Survey from “I Love Lucy” through “South Park”* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008), in which he frames the tension between avant-garde television and political conservatism; and Philip Green, *Primetime Politics: The Truth about Conservative Lies, Corporate Control, and Television Culture* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), in which he dissects the corporate strategies of network television and its conservative tendencies.
- 5 David Grote, *The End of Comedy: The Sit-Com and the Comedic Tradition* (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1983), 105.
- 6 Saul Austerlitz, *Sitcom: A History in Twenty-Four Episodes from “I Love Lucy” to “Community”* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2014), 7.
- 7 Several essays in Mary Dalton and Laura Linder’s *The Sitcom Reader: America Viewed and Skewed* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005) exemplify this analytical perspective; see, for example, Demetria Rougeaux Shabazz, “Negotiated Boundaries: Production Practices and the Making of Representation in *Julia*” (151–62); Judy Kutulas, “Liberated Women and New Sensitive Men: Reconstructing Gender in the 1970s Workplace Comedies” (217–25); and Valerie Peterson, “*Ellen*: Coming Out and Disappearing” (165–76).
- 8 Quotations from *Modern Family* and its producers, writers, and actors are taken from *Modern Family: The Complete Seasons 1–5* (Beverly Hills, CA: Twentieth Century Fox, 2009–14), DVD. This chapter focuses exclusively on the series’ first five seasons.
- 9 Feuer, “Situation Comedy, Part 2,” 70 (italics in original).
- 10 Jane Feuer, “Narrative Form in American Network Television,” *High Theory / Low Culture: Analysing Popular Television and Film*, ed. Colin McCabe (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 101–14, 110.

- 11 Susan Lanser, “Queering Narratology,” *Ambiguous Discourse: Feminist Narratology and British Women Writers*, ed. Kathy Mezei (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 250–61, 250. Lanser writes of literary narratives in this essay, yet her point pertains to screen narrative theories as well.
- 12 Quoted in Bruce Feiler, “What *Modern Family* Says about Modern Families,” *New York Times*, 21 Jan. 2011.
- 13 James Parker, “Family Portrait,” *Atlantic*, Nov. 2011, 42–44, 44.
- 14 Herman Melville, *Moby-Dick, or The Whale*, ed. Harrison Hayford, Hershel Parker, and Thomas Tanselle (1851; Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2001), chap. 49, 226.
- 15 Rob Long, “Three Cheers,” *National Review*, 7 Jun. 1993, 62–63, 63.
- 16 Christina Kallas, *Inside the Writers’ Room: Conversations with American TV Writers* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 87.
- 17 Phil Rosenthal, *You’re Lucky You’re Funny: How Life Becomes a Sitcom* (New York: Viking, 2006), 101.
- 18 Brett Mills, *Television Sitcom* (London: British Film Institute, 2005), 103. See also his *The Sitcom* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).
- 19 Sarah Schulman, *Stagestruck: Theater, AIDS, and the Marketing of Gay America* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), 146.
- 20 Ron Becker, *Gay TV and Straight America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006), 225.
- 21 Thomas Linneman, “How Do You Solve a Problem Like Will Truman? The Feminization of Gay Masculinities on *Will & Grace*,” *Men and Masculinities* 10.5 (2008): 583–603, 589. See also Denis Provencher, “Sealed with a Kiss: Heteronormative Narrative Strategies in NBC’s *Will & Grace*,” *The Sitcom Reader: America Viewed and Skewed*, ed. Mary Dalton and Laura Linder (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), 177–89.
- 22 Quoted in Feiler, “What *Modern Family* Says about Modern Families.”
- 23 Arianna Reiche, “Does *Modern Family* Preach Blatant Sexism?” *Gawker*, 14 Apr. 2010.
- 24 Feiler, “What *Modern Family* Says about Modern Families.”
- 25 Quoted in Curtis Wong, “Jesse Tyler Ferguson Responds after Tuc Watkins Deems *Modern Family* Couple the Gay Equivalent of ‘Blackface,’” *Huffington Post*, 22 Dec. 2014.
- 26 Quoted in Greg Hernandez, “Out Actor Tuc Watkins Challenges Hollywood to Create More Diverse Gay Characters,” *Gay Star News*, 31 Dec. 2014.
- 27 Christina LaVecchia, “Of Peerenting, Trophy Wives, and Effeminate Men: *Modern Family*’s Surprisingly Conservative Remediation of the Family Sitcom Genre,” *Harlot: A Revealing Look at the Arts of Persuasion* 6 (Spring 2011): n. pag.
- 28 For foundational studies of these perspectives, see Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: Volume 1, An Introduction* (New York: Pantheon, 1978); Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990; New York: Routledge, 2006); and Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”* (New York: Routledge, 1993).
- 29 Many gay people self-identify as conservative politically. Reviewing data from the 2012 presidential election, the *New York Times* states that, “Exit polls showed that 76 percent of voters who identified as gay supported Mr. Obama last week, and that 22 percent supported Mr. Romney.” Micah Cohen, “Gay Vote Proved a Boon for Obama,” *New York Times*, NYTimes.com, 15 Nov. 2012. In a similar analysis

- of an October 2012 Gallup poll, Gary Gates and Frank Newport conclude that whereas “45% of LGBT individuals describe their political views as liberal or very liberal, one in five (20%) describe themselves as conservative or very conservative.” Gary Gates and Frank Newport, “Gallup Special Report: The LGBT Vote in the 2012 Presidential Election,” Williams Institute of UCLA Law School, Oct. 2012, williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu. Moreover, in adherence with their belief in limited government, many Republicans—if not their party platform—endorse gay rights, including Theodore Olson, who with David Boies, argued the *Hollingsworth v. Perry* case before the U.S. Supreme Court, which, as discussed previously, serves as a key point in *Modern Family*’s narrative arc.
- 30 See, for example, D. Gilson, “‘Homosexuality’ and Its Discontents,” *The Gay & Lesbian Review*, Jan.–Feb. 2016, 22–24.
- 31 Paul Robinson, *Queer Wars: The New Gay Rights and Its Critics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 1.
- 32 For an instructive theorization of the difference between laughing *at* and laughing *with*, which posits as well the possibility of bridging cultural differences through humor based on stereotypes, see Delia Chiaro, “Laughing At or Laughing With?” *Hybrid Humour: Comedy in Transcultural Perspectives*, ed. Graeme Dunphy and Rainer Emig (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010), 65–83.
- 33 Parker, “Family Portrait,” 44.
- 34 Michelle Haimoff, “Not So Modern Family: Top Sitcoms Make for Sexist, Inaccurate Television,” *Christian Science Monitor*, 27 Jan. 2012.
- 35 Jacques Rothmann, “Send in the (Gay) Clowns’: *Will & Grace* and *Modern Family* as ‘Sensibly Queer,’” *Acta Academica* 45.4 (2013): 40–83, 72.
- 36 Alexander Doty, “*Modern Family*, *Glee*, and the Limits of Television Liberalism,” *FlowTV* 12.9 (24 Sept. 2010).
- 37 LaVecchia, “Of Peerenting, Trophy Wives, and Effeminate Men.”
- 38 One passage in *Modern Family* could be construed as indicative of Mitch’s former promiscuity. Convinced that his father’s friend Shorty (Chazz Palminteri) is gay, he claims: “My gaydar is never wrong, and it is pinging like we’re at a bathhouse” (“Fifteen Percent”). Still, this simile does not prove conclusively that Mitch has patronized bathhouses, just that he knows of them. Other hints of Mitch and Cam’s extramarital flings are simply misdirectional humor, such as when Cam tells Jay that he and Mitch “met at an orgy” to watch Jay’s pained reaction; Cam immediately reveals his joke with a pointed “Come on” (“The Old Wagon”).
- 39 Quoted in Lacey Rose, “*Modern Family* at 100: As the Top Comedy Hits a Milestone, Creators Christopher Lloyd and Steve Levitan, along with Their Wickedly Funny Writing Staff, Reveal Their Writers Room Squabbles (Condoms!), What the Show Would Be Like on Cable, and More,” *Hollywood Reporter*, 18 Oct. 2013, 62+.
- 40 Leo Bersani, *Is the Rectum a Grave? and Other Essays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 29 (italics in original).
- 41 Quoted in Rose, “*Modern Family* at 100.”
- 42 This is not to suggest that *Modern Family* rejects procreation, particularly in the story line of Jay and Gloria having their son Joe. Also, despite Phil’s assertion that his planned vasectomy “will allow for a little more freestylin’ in the boudoir if we’re not having to worry about adding more critters,” he and Claire decide to keep their reproductive options open (“Snip”).
- 43 Quoted in Rose, “*Modern Family* at 100.”

Conclusion

- 1 Leo Tolstoy, *Anna Karenina*, ed. Leonard Kent and Nina Berberova, trans. Constance Garnett (1877; New York: Modern Library, 1993), 3.
- 2 Lionel Shriver, *We Have to Talk about Kevin* (New York: Counterpoint, 2003), 17.
- 3 Quoted in David Bianculli, *Teletiteracy: Taking Television Seriously* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 72. Minow served as head of the Federal Communications Commission during John F. Kennedy's administration.
- 4 Heather Havrilesky, "Parenthood Fumbles, *Modern Family* Triumphs," Salon.com, 13 Mar. 2010.
- 5 David Marc, *Comic Visions: Television Comedy and American Culture*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1997), 166.
- 6 Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 5.
- 7 Deborah Macey, Kathleen Ryan, and Noah Springer, eds., *How Television Shapes Our Worldview: Media Representations of Social Trends and Change* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2014), 2.
- 8 Donald Roberts, "Adolescents and the Mass Media: From *Leave It to Beaver* to *Beverly Hills 90210*," *Teachers College Record* 94.3 (1993): 629–44, 629. See also George Comstock with Hacjung Paik, *Television and the American Child* (San Diego, CA: Academic, 1991).
- 9 Ron Lembo, *Thinking through Television* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 167–214.
- 10 Judith Mayne, *Cinema and Spectatorship* (London: Routledge, 1993), 97.
- 11 Brett Farmer, *Spectacular Passion: Cinema, Fantasy, Gay Male Spectatorships* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 66.
- 12 Horace Newcomb, *TV: The Most Popular Art* (Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1974), 253.
- 13 Rob Long, "Three Cheers," *National Review*, 7 Jun. 1993, 62–63, 62.

