LINEAR TV IN THE NON-LINEAR WORLD

The Value of Linear Scheduling Amidst the Proliferation of Non-Linear Platforms

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Abstract

Linear TV in the Non-Linear World:
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Unprecedented technological innovations in media content consumption have had a profound impact on the network television industry. Television networks' control has waned since the advent of alternative platforms for content viewing. Audiences have been released from the clutches of the linear schedule. They now have the freedom to customize viewing based on their content and platform preferences, and availability.

The purpose of this qualitative study is to assess 1) the current value of television linear scheduling and 2) the effectiveness of traditional strategies in this present phase of channel and platform proliferation. An additional goal is to identify new strategies that are employed by broadcasters to accommodate the audience's changing viewing habits.

Thus, the author primarily interviewed experienced television executives who were currently in-charge of scheduling television shows. Their insights have led to the conclusion that scheduling remains relevant in this age of non-linear viewing. However, its functions adapt and its scope expands beyond linear. There are also key changes in the approaches and thought-processes in scheduling. Furthermore, new systems have been identified, which are currently utilized in attracting audiences to consume content via live television. As television insiders have differing opinions, it is suggested that the effectiveness of these new systems be researched further.

Keywords: television scheduling, television programming, linear scheduling, lead-in, non-linear viewing

Chapter One: Introduction

Introduction

Gone are the days when broadcast television networks were the most dominant force in the media industry in the United States (Hindman & Wiegand, 2008). Various technological innovations led to the decline of broadcast network supremacy. They have also caused the prophecies of the demise of the television medium itself (Van den Bulck & Enli, 2014; Gripsrud, 2010).

Technology gave birth to numerous competitors for broadcasters. This includes the development of cable systems and the emergence of home viewing options such as Personal Video Recorders (PVRs) and Digital Video Discs (DVDs). All of these have given audiences other options other than consuming content solely from live broadcast networks (Hindman & Wiegand, 2008). Nothing, however, compares to the effects of the internet on the mainstream television business (Ferguson, Meyer & Eastman, 2009). The internet has opened new distribution systems by removing barriers (Venturini, 2011), resulting in a profusion of new platforms in content delivery such as Over-The-Top (OTT) and Video-On-Demand (VOD) services. The significant growth of internet-powered portable device ownership (such as smartphones and tablet computers) in US households has also diversified viewing making it more convenient and mobile. About 107.1 million people in the US watched video through their mobile phones in 2015. This number is expected to grow by nearly 28 percent in 2019 (eMarketer, n.d.-a).

In an interview in the documentary *Showrunners: The Art of Running a TV Show*, Jeff Melvoin, founder of The Writers Guild of America Showrunner Training Program, said that the television industry used to be like the solar system. In his metaphor, broadcast network television was the sun and the audience and advertisers were the planets. However, according to Melvoin, this is no longer the case. Now there are other solar systems because there are more content delivery platforms aside from broadcast networks (Doyle, 2014).

This multitude of solar systems has empowered audiences with content accessibility and viewing portability. Audiences are now able to choose and watch their favorite shows on their own pace and schedule. They can also create their own schedule, with the 'anytime-anywhere' availability of television shows on any internet-powered platform or device. In a survey conducted by comScore among US internet users, 56 percent said that they streamed TV online because they preferred to watch it on their own schedule and another 52 percent said it was more convenient (eMarketer, 2014a). Deloitte's Digital Democracy Survey (2015) had the same findings, with a 53 percent preference in streaming TV content versus a 45 percent preference for watching TV content live (Digital Democracy Survey, 2015 as cited in Flomenbaum, 2015). Hence, the concept of "appointment viewing"—watching a show at its real-time broadcast (McMillan, 2014)—seems to be a thing of the past. However, the concept of "binge-watching"—watching one or more episodes of a show in one sitting (Jenner,

2014) — has emerged. The same study from Deloitte reported that 70 percent of US consumers binge-watch (Digital Democracy Survey, 2015).

The traditional advertising-driven business model of broadcast networks is threatened under these technological advancements and viewing behavior changes. Advertisers now have numerous diverse options in placing ads in this multiplatform and multichannel environment. Network shows' live ratings and shares consistently drop year over year. The number of viewers watching a particular show—represented by ratings and shares—directly affects the number of ad placements and commercial rates. This has been the practice since the commercialization of television started almost eight decades ago (Petrillo, 2016).

In the early years, the so-called Big Three networks (ABC, CBS and NBC) generated a collective primetime audience share of 91 percent in the 1978-79-television season (Bradley & Bartlett, 2007 as cited in Strott, 2015). Since then, the broadcast networks' audience shares started to drop: 90 percent in 1980, 42 percent by the new millennium and falling below 35 percent by 2004 (Hindman & Wiegand, 2008). The ratings of the most popular sitcoms and dramas on broadcast networks for each season have declined. CBS' *All In The Family* garnered a 30.5 rating in the 1978-79 season. A decade later, NBC's *The Cosby Show* in the 1988-89 season had 25.3 rating. By the end of the 1990s, NBC's *E.R.* (1998-99) achieved 17.8 ratings. ABC's hit series *Desperate Housewives* rated 10.9 in the 2007-08 season (Defining Network Success Downward, 2009). In the 2014-

15 season, Fox's hit musical drama series *Empire* ended its first season with an average rating of 6.5 (Patten, 2015).

In this era of rapid technological advancements in the media industry, constant innovation is the key for mass media stakeholders (Broadcast Australia, 2010). There is a particularly higher consumer preference, especially among millennials—persons born in the 1980s or 1990s—for OTT services such as Netflix and Hulu (Flint & Ramachandran, 2015). Thus, traditional mass media industry stakeholders responded to the challenges by launching their own standalone subscription-based streaming services like CBS Corporation's CBS All Access on October 2014 (Moraski, 2014) and premium cable channel HBO's HBO Now on April 2015 (Spangler, 2015a). Goldman Sachs analysts said there were more OTT and VOD services launched in the first nine months of 2015 compared to the last nine years combined (Williams, 2015). CBS CEO Leslie Moonves believes that OTT is the future (Richford, 2016), and All Access is paving the way for the company to "a future where consumers may very well pick and choose their own program lineup (Littleton, 2016)."

Now that audiences have found "new, user-controlled 'democracy' (Gentikow, 2010)" with the available technology and they are free from "old sender-controlled 'dictatorship' (ibid)" of the broadcast networks, the linear program schedule is under pressure (Van den Bulck & Enli, 2014). Viewers are exercising further control over what television shows to watch, and when and where they are going to watch them. Unlike before, "[program] sequence was essentially under the control of the broadcasters, with viewers having few other options at their disposal (Uricchio, 2010, p. 24)." These technological innovations have steered the audience towards a television content consumption habit that transcends dependence on television scheduling.

Statement of the Problem

Emboldened by the abundance of non-linear viewing platforms, viewers have become their own program schedulers, defying the schedule imposed by broadcast networks. This makes linear scheduling and its strategies seem "dissipating" (Steel, 2014), "anachronistic… less relevant (Flint, 2015)", "under threat… [and] obsolete (Van den Bulck & Enli, 2014)." Therefore, this study principally aims to understand the significance of linear scheduling in an age where non-traditional viewing is a force to reckon with.

Dubbed "the last creative act on television (Ellis, 2000)", scheduling is a practice of strategically assigning select programs to specific time slots on weeknights (Flint, 2015). Various scheduling schemes were developed through the years such as leading in, counterprogramming, hammocking and blunting to name a few (Adams & Eastman, 2013). With a consequent byproduct of increasing ad revenue, these strategies are used to maximize viewership, support a newly launched program, build a flow or continuity—retain audiences from one program to the next, dominate the market by peeling off audience from competitors, and attract the best products from production studios (Ihlebæk, Syvertsen & Ytreberg, 2014; Soosten & Ferguson, 2013; Uricchio, 2010; Vane & Gross, 1994).

New technologies, however, freed the audience from decades of reliance on the program schedule. This includes, but is not limited to digital video recorders (DVR) and subscription video on demand (SVOD), which is available in half of the total US households (The Nielsen Company, 2016a). High DVR usage and penetration resulted in time-shifted viewing, and this kind of viewing is "less predictable and less amenable to traditional scheduling strategies for creating flow (Ihlebæk et al., 2014)". Continuously increasing SVOD household penetration also reflects the audience's desire to control viewing based on their preferences and availability (The Nielsen Company, 2016b). Hence, the techniques of building a flow are "taking a backseat" because audiences can easily disregard the schedule (Van den Bulck & Enli, 2014). The effectiveness of these scheduling strategies is now contentious, given time-shifting and VOD technologies, and numerous alternative content viewing platforms present in 2016.

Following these dynamics, efforts in scheduling shows have been amplified to attract audiences to watch live television and keep them there (Flint, 2012). Moreover, broadcasters are "frantically reorienting content into some new ways to attract its dwindling and less-demographically-appealing-to-advertisers audience (Marshall, 2004 as cited in Ihlebæk et al., 2014)." Scheduling strategies complementing modern viewing habits are worth exploring considering that most of the above-mentioned strategies were developed when audiences had only the Big Three networks to choose from (Adams, 1993).

Background and Need

Scheduling, interchangeably called programming, is the manner of "choosing and scheduling" programs (Eastman & Ferguson, 2013) for the program grid of a television network. Ellis (2000) said that scheduling has the same concepts as "narrative construction (Ellis, 2000)". The schedulers—in-charge of putting a program in a timeslot—"try to combine variety and connection, repetition and originality into harmonious and mutually supporting arrangements (ibid)." He furthered that ""the locus of power in television" lies in the schedule (Ellis, 2000)."

Moreover, Lotz (2007) said that the schedule is a "central defining feature" of television. The success of a program does not only rely on the content itself but also on the time and day placement on the broadcasters' schedule (Lotz, 2007). Michael Dann, CBS programmer from 1963 to 1970, noted that a show's schedule is more important than the show's content (Kleinfield, 1989).

The schedule plays a vital role in attracting more viewership, obtaining market leadership (Ihlebæk et al., 2014), and achieving higher profits (Reddy, Aronson & Stam, 1998). Lynch (2016) said "the fate of billions of dollars in transactions rests with [the schedulers] (Lynch, 2016a)."

The major source of broadcasting industry's revenue is advertising—the more advertisers spend, the higher the revenue for broadcasters (Petrillo, 2016). Advertising spending heavily relies on audience size delivered to the advertiser. The more viewers watching a show, the more broadcasters can charge, and the more the advertisers are willing to pay for a spot (Eastman & Ferguson, 2013; Ellis, 2000; Reddy, et al., 1998). Therefore, maximizing live television viewership is the utmost goal (Horen, 1980).

"Scheduling is a weird thing: You get it or you don't" CBS top scheduler Kelly Kahl said in an interview with AdWeek prior to the 2016 Upfronts (Lynch, 2016a). But more than odd, scheduling is "a singularly difficult (Head, 1985 as cited in Reddy, et al., 1998)" and an "arcane, crafty, and indeed, crucial (Read, 1976 as cited in Reddy et al., 1998)" task.

There are multiple considerations in creating a schedule (Vane & Gross, 1994). Schedulers have to study numerous elements which include, but not limited to, the show's genre, compatibility with other shows, time period and demographic history, competition among other broadcasters, and "receptivity of the audience" (Eastman & Ferguson, 2013; Vane & Gross, 1994). These factors are aggregated to create a viewing experience for the audience (Ellis, 2000). Through the years, several strategies were developed and used in primetime scheduling.

Adams (1993) measured the effectiveness of four competitive programming strategies (counterprogramming, blunting, offensive, and defensive). He claimed that the competitive strategies did not make any difference and that they did not work for new broadcast network shows. He suggested that broadcasters should focus less on competition and give more emphasis to diversity, program quality and strength to their own schedule (Adams, 1993).

> "There was also no indication that the method of competitive scheduling affects rating patterns, in terms of whether or not a new series improved, harmed, significantly improved, or significantly harmed the ratings for its time slot (ibid, p. 473)."

Reservations about the effectiveness of scheduling strategies were raised further when viewers used remote controls or videocassette recorders (VCR) that disturbed network schedules (Adams, 1993). The latter, in particular, altered viewing habits and program preferences (Henke & Donohue, 1989 as cited in Adams, 2000). Television viewing habits depend on two factors:

> "1) type of time and activity involved (non-disposable time for required activities such as work or sleep vs. disposable time for leisure activities such as watching TV) and 2) television content and gratifications associated with exposure to it (Gantz and Zohoori, 1982, p. 265)."

Audiences are seemingly more accommodating to make changes in their lives to watch primetime entertainment programming than news and fringe time programming. It is so because primetime programming is entertaining and runs original episodes (ibid, p.271).

This was all during a time when television viewing was said to be a "two-stage choice process": the first phase is deciding whether to watch TV or not, and the second phase is selecting which show to watch (Gensch & Shaman, 1980 as cited in Rust & Alpert, 1984).

It can now be argued that the "two-stage choice process (ibid)" is clearly not the current situation given that traditional television is not the only option for viewing television shows. Viewers can decide to watch via digital media players and online streaming services—all accessible via different devices such as laptops and mobile phones. The progression in technology and media industries made scheduling more critical than it was before (Reddy, et al., 1998) because the technology encourages viewers to create their own schedules (Adams & Eastman, 2013). Broadcasters accept that it is "virtually impossible" to create a "foolproof schedule (Flint, 2015). Lotz (2007) said that it may become "devoid of significance" in this era (Lotz, 2007).

Ihlebæk et al. (2014) studied the present-day scheduling practices in the Norwegian television industry in the multichannel and multiplatform environment. Results from their qualitative research revealed that there are adjustments in scheduling, expansion of use, and reduction of the expected results (Ihlebæk et al., 2014).

> "The trends and competitive pressures that have shaped Norwegian scheduling are international in their impact, and thus, the strategies and experiences reported by schedulers should be of international relevance too (ibid, 2014, p. 474)."

The researcher agrees that their study has universality but it is also worth noting that Norwegian broadcasting has a dominant BBC-like traditional public service broadcaster. It is different in the US where commercial television networks dominate American airwaves. These networks operate differently from the BBC and the American public broadcaster, PBS. Hence, there is a need to study the state of scheduling in American television and how schedulers address the various challenges brought about by changes in audience viewing behavior and the proliferation of non-linear viewing platforms.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative study was to determine the value of linear scheduling amidst the proliferation of non-linear viewing and streaming services. Linear scheduling serves a vital function among broadcast networks and it currently faces a great challenge and uncertainty with time-shifted viewers and online platform proliferation. The study also aimed to identify which among the classic scheduling strategies remains relevant, effective and obsolete since these strategies were developed at the time when television networks were the only source of programming. Moreover, the response of television networks to changes in the television industry was probed.

To determine the significance of linear scheduling in this age, interviews were conducted with broadcast network executives who are in-charge of creating the annual schedule. The schedulers who participated in the study have been in the television industry prior to the introduction of streaming services that changed the way in which people consume content. Their insights about linear scheduling and their response to the seismic shift in audience behavior are valuable. Secondary sources such as podcast interviews, trade articles and academic journals were used to support or dispute the participants' statements on linear scheduling.

The collected data from interviews was expected to reveal the current state of linear scheduling and its importance not only within the network but also on content consumption by the audience. Moreover, changes in the practices, rules and strategies in choosing and scheduling shows in the past years are likely to be identified.

Research Questions

The following are the questions which provided the basis for collecting and analyzing data:

#1 What is the value and relevance of linear scheduling amidst the proliferation of non-linear viewing?

#2 What has and has not changed among the practices, rules and strategies used in scheduling shows for primetime TV?

#3 Which remains relevant and effective among the classic strategies used in network scheduling?

#4 How has the scheduling job changed with the time-shifted audience and multichannel and multiplatform environment?

Significance to the Field

Linear scheduling is one of the fundamentals in television. Hence, any prophecies or declarations on the death of television in this digital era also insinuate the same to linear scheduling. Is linear scheduling really irrelevant nowadays?

This thesis will bring in new perspectives on the value of linear scheduling from the collective insights of the experienced program planning and scheduling executives interviewed for the study. Changes in thought-processes in scheduling and the evolution of the scheduler's job were also discussed.

This study will redound to students and professionals interested in pursuing a career in program planning and scheduling, and content strategy. Academicians and future researchers can also benefit from this study. It is the researcher's belief that linear viewing, non-linear viewing, and audience viewing habits will continue to be critical research topics. This is so because the industry hasn't completely figured out yet where it is heading, and where and how to fully monetize content.

The findings of the study will also satiate the academic gap about linear scheduling in American commercial broadcasting in a multichannel and multiplatform environment. Modern scheduling has been well studied among European scholars but there seems to be a few of such in American studies after the researcher conducted a literature search. This study will expand the existing literature on linear scheduling, its effectiveness and its value in the age of non-linear viewing.

Definitions of Terms

Appointment viewing. "The practice of setting time aside to watch particular television programs ("appointment viewing", n.d.)".

Binge watching. The practice of watching one or more episodes of a show in one sitting (Jenner, 2014).

Consumption (Content consumption, consuming content, media consumption). Another term for watching television programs without an identified platform.

Content. Television programs produced by a network-owned studio and/or outsourced from an independent production studio.

Flow (Audience Flow). The process of moving an audience continuously from one television show to the next ("Audience Flow", n.d.).

HUT. Households using television at a particular time

In-season stack. Availability of all episodes of current shows on-demand instead of the standard rolling five or trailing five.

Linear television. It is delivery of content on a schedule—at a specific day and time (The Nielsen Company, n.d.-a, The Nielsen Company, 2013a). Hence, viewers need to watch a television program on its scheduled broadcast and on the channel it's on (IHS Markit, 2011).

Non-linear television. The opposite of linear television, where delivery of content is not restrained by a schedule and content is released or watched based on the consumers' demand (The Nielsen Company, n.d.-a, The Nielsen Company, 2013a).

Over-the-top (OTT). "The delivery of audio, video, and other media over the internet without the involvement of a multiple-system operator in the control or distribution of the content (Over-the-top content, n.d.)"

Platform. An infrastructure where content is delivered or distributed—real-time, delayed, and/or on-demand—to consumers. Also called channel or distribution system.

Primetime. It is a day part, customarily from 8pm to 11PM (ET), Monday through Saturday and 7pm to 11pm (ET) on Sunday.

PUT. Persons using television at a particular time

Ratings. The percentage of the total number of specific population group tuned to the average minute or quarter hour of a specific program (Video Advertising Bureau, n.d.).

Rolling five (aka trailing five). Availability of the last five episodes of a current TV show that is available for viewers on-demand.

Scheduling. The process of strategically assigning select programs to a specific time slots weeknights (Flint, 2015).

Share. The percentage of the total number of households viewing television that are tuned to a specific program during average minute of program (Video Advertising Bureau, n.d.).

Streaming. The means of "listening to music or watching video in 'real time', instead of downloading a file to your computer and watching it later (BBC WebWise, 2012)".

Subscription Video on Demand (SVOD). A type of video-on-demand service that gives consumers "unlimited access to a wide range of programs for a monthly flat rate (Subscription Video on Demand, n.d.)".

Sweeps. The four months of the year (November, February, May, July) when Nielsen collects TV ratings data from all 210 local DMA's using small paper diaries combined with data collected from electronic people meters

Time-shifting. The practice of "recording of programming to a storage medium to be viewed or listened to after the live broadcast (Time shifting, n.d.)".

Video on Demand (VOD). "Systems which allow users to select and watch/listen to video or audio content when they choose to, rather than having to watch at a specific broadcast time (Video on demand, n.d.)." Types of VOD includes Subscription, Transactional and Advertising (Kaysen, 2015).

Limitations

Over-the-air (OTA) broadcasting and Multichannel Video Program Distributors (MVPD) are two different modes of distributing programming in American television. Under OTA, there are broadcast networks and broadcast stations. MVPD’s can be cable systems or telephone companies, and provide basic cable, premium channels and pay-per-view. Among these programming distributors, the study only chose to focus on broadcast network’s scheduling techniques.

The researcher interviewed five schedulers for this qualitative research. The respondents have been working in program planning and scheduling prior to the proliferation of non-linear viewing platforms. The respondent’s hectic schedules limited time for the interviews as well as asking follow-up questions. After the initial phone or Skype interview, clarifications and follow-up questions were done through exchange of e-mails. No other interviews from program planning and research outsiders were conducted to contradict or challenge the insights of the respondents. The researcher expected that the participants’ insights shared on the duration of the interview were accurate, honest and bias-free.

Ethical Considerations

The respondents were not paid to be part of this study. All phone and Skype interviews with them were recorded. A verbal consent was asked for all the interviewees in the beginning of the recording the interview.

The researcher has interest in pursuing a career in program planning, scheduling, strategy and research. The researcher declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research. No financial support was received to conduct this research, authorship and publication of this study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This study aims to identify the current value of strategic, competitive broadcast network scheduling amidst the proliferation of non-linear viewing and numerous content distribution platforms. Changes in practices and strategies utilized by the networks will also be investigated. In the decades of television's existence, audiences have lacked direct control over when and what programs to watch, but technological advancements in telecommunication, particularly the internet, have empowered television viewers to choose and schedule their programs themselves.

To fully understand the state of broadcast network television in the US, the literature review will explore its history, the challenges it faced and continues to face, and its evolution. The development of US television in this study is divided into three phases: *broadcast oligopoly, multi-channel competition,* and *channel and platform proliferation*.

The phase division was inspired by a study conducted by Karoline Andrea Ihlebæk, Trine Syvertsen and Espen Ytreberg titled *Keeping Them and Moving Them: TV Scheduling in the Phase of Channel and Platform Proliferation* (2014). In their study, they divided television history in European countries into the phases of monopoly, competition and proliferation. In the early years of broadcasting in Europe, public service broadcasters dominated the television industry in their respective countries (*phase of monopoly*). Commercial broadcasters began to be established after the governments eased broadcast policies (*phase of competition*). In the current age of technology, there has been an explosion of new distribution platforms and channels for content beyond the traditional television set (*phase of proliferation*).

Changes were made to the above-mentioned concepts to apply to the American television model since Ihlebæk et al.'s study is based on Norwegian broadcasting practices. These phases also complement television scholar Amanda D. Lotz's self-created phases of television in her book *The Television Will Be Revolutionized*: network era, multi-channel transition and post-network era. This study employed a different concept than Lotz for the same reason Ihlebæk et al. mentioned in their paper: "We have nevertheless chosen to conceptualize the current situation with a concept less inclined to suggest a break with the past." This concept "indicates a more continual and gradual development (Ihlebæk et al., 2014)" of broadcast television through the years.

Phase of Broadcast Oligopoly

Public state broadcasters like the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) dominated the long history of television in European countries, hence Ihlebæk et al.'s "phase of monopoly". It is, however, different in the US where three television broadcasters ruled the airwaves: ABC, CBS and NBC also known as the "Big 3". In this light, the researcher used "phase of broadcast oligopoly", instead of monopoly. Lotz called this phase the "network era" (2007) that spans from 1952 through the mid-1980s.[1]

During the mid-1920s, American inventors started to work on transmitting images through the electromagnetic spectrum. Charles Jenkins invented the mechanical television system and was first to demonstrate it publicly (Von Schilling, 2003; Karwatka, 1998). But his invention was overtaken by the first electronic television system developed by Philo Farnsworth in 1927 (Philo T. Farnsworth, 1998). Commercial radio networks Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and Radio Corporation of America (RCA) owned-National Broadcasting Company (NBC) launched experimental television broadcasts (Herman, n.d.) in New York. These radio networks ventured into television programming and were "the direct entertainment predecessors of today's TV (Brooks & Marsh, 2007)". In the early 1940's, the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) became a third player in the television market[2]. ABC was originally one of RCA's two radio networks (NBC Red and NBC Blue). RCA sold NBC Blue to a candy industrialist Edward J. Noble in 1943 after the Federal

[1] Lotz (2007) dated the start of network era in 1952 after taking into account "the passage of the channel allocation freeze (during which the FCC organized its practice of frequency distribution), color television standard adoption, and other institutional aspects that regularized the network experience for much of the country (Lotz, 2007, p9)."

[2] DuMont was the first third network, and it challenged the duopoly of NBC and CBS (Brooks & Marsh, 2007; Von Schilling, 2003). However, the lack of affiliates to carry their programming, government regulation against network ownership of more than five television stations and the fall-out with partner Paramount Pictures (which owned stations) led to its demise (Brooks & Marsh, 2007).

Communications Commission (FCC) barred companies from owning more than one network. It was renamed American Broadcasting System before it settled on its current name (National Broadcasting Co., Inc. (NBC); (2016); American Broadcasting Company (ABC), 2016).

It was not until RCA showcased television at the 1939 New York World's Fair that television sets gained public attraction (Von Schilling, 2003).[1] The development of commercial television, however, was halted during World War II in the 1940s. Electric companies like RCA, Bell Labs and Eastman Kodak focused on military and war production (Abramson, 2003; Blumental & Goodenough, 1998; Von Schilling, 2003).

After the war, television broadcasting resumed. The television and radio landscape significantly changed as the number of radio stations increased, and more television stations were built. Television had started to become more prominent than radio, especially at the network level (Moore, Bensman, & Van Dyke, 2006). In 1949, two percent of US households owned a television set. Two years after television stations on the West Coast gained access and carried network programming from the East Coast in 1951, it was 50 percent. By the early 1960s, more than 87 percent of US households had a television set (Brooks & Marsh, 2007; Lotz, 2007).

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[1] Television set sales were disappointing given its expensive price at $200 to $600 (Moore et al., 2006).

Programming Early television program formats were derived from network radio like variety, music, fashion, sketch and magic shows. Sports like baseball, boxing and football were also televised to attract potential television set buyers. There was also network news, which was 15 minutes long until 1963[1]. Programming was live and experimental since networks were testing which program formats worked in the television medium (Brooks & Marsh, 2007; Moore et al., 2006).

Programs were initially scheduled in the evenings, also known as primetime, then extended to afternoons and then to other day parts. Advertisers, sponsors and networks created mostly, if not all, family-oriented programs for primetime to cater to the general audience. Initially, sports dominated the airwaves in the evenings but was eventually dropped and moved to weekends after the female audience reached half of total viewers (Moore et al., 2006).

Similar to programming on radio networks, the television programs were budget-constrained unless an advertiser exclusively sponsored or produced it (Brooks & Marsh, 2007). Advertising agencies were also given free airtime to allure them to try television. The first regularly scheduled network series, *Kraft Television Theatre* on NBC, was initially produced by advertising agency J. Walter

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[1] CBS started the first network news program in 1944. They were broadcasting every Thursday and Friday—the two nights the network was on-air. However, it was NBC which launch a regular weeknight newscast titled *Camel Newsreel Theatre* in February 1948 after expanding their programming to seven days. Two months later, CBS followed suit launching *CBS Evening News* (Brooks & Marsh, 2007; Ponce de Leon, 2015).

Thompson Co. for food manufacturer Kraft, in 1947 (Kraft Foods, 2003). In 1959, networks took over control of their programming after an advertiser-sponsored quiz show scandal went public. It was discovered that the quiz shows had been rigged to provide more entertainment value to the audience (Moore et al., 2006; Vane & Gross, 1994)

In 1948, the Big Three provided four hours of programming on weeknights (Blumental & Goodenough, 1998). Reaching a "heterogeneous mass culture" was the goal of programming in the phase of broadcast oligopoly but there was no effort to produce different types of programming and to create a brand. Programs commonly spoke to the white middle-class (Lotz, 2007).

Networks initially ordered at least 13 original episodes of a series during the 1950's and 1960's. Series usually lasted for three months, and often extended for a full year (Brooks & Marsh, 2007). Hit shows like CBS' anthology drama series *Studio One* (1948-1958) and ABC's western drama series *The Lone Ranger* (1949-1957) season episodes reached 55 (1950) and 52 (1949, 1952, 1954) respectively (Studio One in Hollywood, n.d., The Lone Ranger, n.d.).

In the 1970s, the number of series episodes was reduced to 32 per year due to high production costs (Adams & Eastman, 2009) and eventually went down to 22 to 24 weekly installments (Adalian, 2015).

Audience Measurement In the advertising-based business model of network television, networks generate income by attracting an advertiser's target demographics through their programs, and selling these viewers to the advertisers. The higher their viewership is, the higher rate they can charge to advertisers (Blumental & Goodenough, 1998; Webster, Phalen & Lichty, 2000). Viewership is determined by television ratings, which "if reliable and valid, become the 'common currency' for the market's commercial airtime (The Nielsen Company, n.d.-b).

In the early years when there were only a few thousand television set owners, NBC had a record of these owners since their parent company RCA sold the sets. Every week, NBC sent out postcards containing the schedule of programs for telecast to households with television. Television owners were also asked about their opinion of the programs. This was the first form of television ratings (Brooks & Marsh, 2007).

As more households owned television sets, networks wanted to know which shows the viewers were watching. "Ratings became more important as the mass audience became available to advertisers (Moore et al., 2006)."

Ratings provider Nielsen[1] started measuring the television audience in 1950. They used the same technology for their radio audience measurement, known as the audimeter. From a moving roll of punched paper tape to record viewership, the audimeter evolved and was later connected by telephone and transmitted information to computers in Nielsen's offices. It recorded

[1] Arbitron was another primary resource for television ratings. Nielsen acquired the company for $1.3 billion in 2012 (Launder & Vranica, 2012).

information on whether the television was on or off, and the television channel the viewer was watching (Vane & Gross, 1994).

Nielsen also used diaries in addition to the audimeter. People with audimeters were required to note in their diaries which family member was watching which program at a given time. This helped Nielsen collect demographic information (sex, age). Households to be metered were selected through random sampling (ibid).

Nielsen developed the concept of sweeps months in 1954. Small TV ratings booklets were sent to sample households across the country, and viewers were asked to record everything they watched for a week. Nielsen then "swept" all those completed booklets from East to West and collected the data to release TV ratings. These were done four times a year (November, February, May and July) and networks and stations used the data from Nielsen to set advertising rates for the following quarter (Fletcher, 2009; Moore et al., 2006; Vane and Gross, 1994).

Revenue Unlike film, newspapers, and magazines, accessing network television programming in the phase of broadcast oligopoly did not require tickets or subscriptions. Households only needed to have the television set and an antenna to receive the over-the-air (OTA) signal (Lotz, 2007).

When television was in its early state, networks relied and made money on single and exclusive advertiser-sponsored programming. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, this system was abolished in favor of the advertising-based business model. The quiz show scandals and higher profitability were some reasons the networks opted to implement a magazine-like format of advertising. In this system, networks began selling thirty-second commercial spots to various advertisers. A majority of these spots were sold in packages before the beginning of the television season in September (See *Television Season* below). Programs were intermittently interrupted and advertisements were interjected. This has been the standard in network television (Lotz, 2007; McDowell, 2006; Moore et al., 2006).

Commercial spots are mostly sold during the upfront presentation season, which is held in May. The first upfront was initiated by ABC in spring of 1962 (Reynolds, 2015). During the upfront, television executives make their pitches and present their upcoming shows, and advertisers buy spots for these programs three months in advance – or up front, hence the name. In the early upfronts, there were no ratings with which to set ad rates, with limited methods to know the audience size and demographic. Hence, advertisers relied on the networks' promises of reaching a certain audience in purchasing advertisements (Adams and Eastman, 2009; Lotz, 2007).

Network-Affiliate Model The television networks were built in the same structure as the radio industry (Moore et al., 2006). Traditionally, like radio, television networks decided on programming for primetime, daytime, morning, late night, news, and sports. These programs were simultaneously sent out to local television stations (either an affiliate or owned and operated (O&O) station) in various cities and towns. The stations then retransmit the broadcast signal to the households within their market area at a specific time and day (Blumental & Goodenough, 1998; Moore et al., 2006; Vane & Gross, 1994).

The relationship of the network and its affiliate is "quid pro quo". Networks need maximum reach among the US households and having affiliates in every market helps them to do so. Through this, networks can charge higher advertising rates since they have nationwide reach. They could then recoup their high-budgeted programming costs (Blumental & Goodenough, 1998; Lotz, 2007).

On the other hand, stations had to fill their schedules with programs since they didn't have the budget to produce locally from early morning to late night. Networks give them that option with no required direct cash payment (Blumental & Goodenough, 1998).

National and regional commercials within programs drive the majority of network television revenue. Television stations are allocated a few minutes (station breaks) to sell to local advertisers to generate revenue. Stations, in the phase of broadcast oligopoly, also received compensation for the airtime they provided to networks (Blumental & Goodenough, 1998; Vane & Gross, 1994).

Scheduling Television is one of the media industries that has a 'flow' model (Miège, 1989 as cited in Lotz, 2007). The model relies on "the use of a programming grid that creates daily interaction and cultivates viewer loyalty", among others (Lotz, 2007).

The programming grid is divided into several parts called dayparts[1]. Dayparts are crafted and aligned, at most, with daily routines and lifestyle of the audience in mind. Programs are prudently selected and strategically placed in a specific day and time by television programmers or schedulers, leaving television viewers less direct control and options in terms of programming (Eastman & Ferguson, 2009; Lury, 2005; Scannel, 1988; Uricchio, 2010).

During primetime hours (8:00-11:00PM[2][3][4]), network schedulers devise programming (ibid). Some of their mandate is to "[orchestrate] a continuous flow of texts" and to "[keep] viewers pinned to their seats" on their respective channels (Uricchio, 2010).

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[1] Time Periods and Dayparts: 6:00-9:00AM: Early Morning; 9:00AM-12:00NN: Morning; 12:00NN-4:00PM Afternoon; 4:00-7:00PM Early Fringe; 7:00-8:00PM Prime Access; 8:00-11:00PM Prime Time; 11:00-11:35PM Late Fringe; 11:35PM – 02:00AM Late Night; 2:00 – 6:00AM Overnight (Vane & Gross, 1994)

[2] Primetime used to be from 7:00pm to 11:00pm. However, the FCC instituted the Prime Time Access Rule (PTAR) in 1970 giving the 7:00pm hour (except on Sundays) to local television stations to encourage them to produce shows catering to their communities. Networks are prohibited from supplying programs in this hour. PTAR created a new daypart called Prime Access (Blumenthal & Goodenough, 1998; FCC, 1995; Moore et al., 2006, Vane & Gross, 1994). In 1995, the FCC scrapped PTAR (FCC, 1995; Moore et al., 2006).

[3] Among the four major broadcast networks, Fox Broadcasting Corporation only programs from 8:00pm to 10:00pm. In its early years, Fox avoided to be technically called a 'network' and to fall under the then FCC's Financial Interest and Syndication (Fin-Syn) rules. By FCC definition, a network is a distributor of more than 15 hours of programming per week, among others. The rule prohibited networks from syndicating or accepting financial interest in any programming that they distribute. Prior to Fox's establishment, its sister company Twentieth Century Fox under News Corporation is already an established motion picture and television production. If Fox would be a network, changes to News Corp.'s lucrative television production division are necessary. Hence, Fox programmed two hours for six days (Monday – Saturday) and three hours on Sunday with a total of 15 (Harrison, 1991). Fin-Syn rules were abolished in 1995 (Andreeva, 2014), and Fox primetime programming hours remained.

[4] Sunday primetime is from 7:00pm to 11:00pm except for Fox, 7:00-10:00pm.

In the 1940s, new live shows aired every week mostly in the afternoons and/or evenings. Networks and stations had fewer broadcast hours due to technological constraints. Prior to airing, stations ran test patterns for about thirty minutes to give their viewers enough time to adjust their television sets and make the pictures clear (Moore et al., 2006).

Network programming airs weekly programs and does not strip—scheduling series Monday through Friday at the same time each day unlike its network evening news. Television programming experts Susan Tyler Eastman and Douglas A. Ferguson (2009) on networks' decision to do weekly programming:

> "To strip original prime-time programs… would require building up a backlog of these expensive shows, which would tie up far too much capital. Moreover, networks want maximum latitude for strategic maneuvers in the all-important prime-time schedule. If a broadcast network stripped its three primetime hours with the same six half-hour shows each night, it would be left with only six pawns to move around in the scheduling chess game instead of the two dozen or so pawns that the weekly scheduling of programs of varying lengths makes possible (Eastman & Ferguson, 2009, p. 15)."

Television Season Most network shows debut in mid to late September and early October every year (Adams & Eastman, 2009; Brooks & Marsh, 2007; Vane & Gross, 1994). Programming spans from fall to spring season (September through May) with a total of 40 weeks. This has been called the television season. The 40 weeks were filled with 22 original episodes and reruns. The remaining 12 weeks, also known as offseason, are during summer (late May to August) where reruns, specials, movies, sports coverage and holiday programming were aired

(Adams & Eastman, 2009; Lotz, 2007). Reruns eased the financial burden among networks from providing costly original programming year-round (Lotz, 2007).

The television season begins in the fall to coincide with the automobile industry's[1] launch of new car models every fall (Fox, 2012). Also audiences are back from summer vacation hence making it more sense to premiere shows (Engber, 2005). Typically, viewership declines during summer as audiences are on vacation and prefer to be outdoors late since daylight extends until nighttime (Moore et al., 2006; Vane & Gross, 1994).

Network schedulers also consider their affiliates during sweep months: November, February, May and July. Hence, broadcast networks launch shows mid-September for the November measurement. New episodes are aired with reruns intermittently placed in between so by the end of the television season, series finales will get high ratings in time for the May measurement (Lotz, 2007).

In the 1950s and 1960s, most of the new shows debuted in the fall survived for at least three months and often for the whole year. Even unsuccessful ones lasted long. But years later as TV grew, not all shows stayed on-air for the 40-week television programming season. Shows were dropped from the grid a few weeks after premiere—some cancelled after opening night due to unacceptably low performance in the highly competitive game of attracting viewers (Brooks & Marsh, 2007).

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[1]Television's major national advertiser

Launching Shows Schedulers believe that new shows should be surrounded by top-rated shows to ensure that they will get the same or higher level of viewership as the hit show/s (Adams & Eastman, 2009; Vane & Gross, 1994). According to Tony Barr, a longtime programmer who worked for both ABC and CBS, "the technique of placing new shows behind hit shows is probably as old as broadcasting itself (Vane & Gross, 1994)."

One favorite strategy is launching a new show after a huge event like the *Super Bowl* and then moving it to its regular time period (RTP). The newcomer show will gain intense publicity, exposure, and audience familiarity that will be beneficial when it moves to its RTP (Vane & Gross, 1994). Another commonly used strategy is placing a newcomer in top-rated time slots for one-time-only (OTO) airing then moving the show to a weaker time slot (Adams & Eastman, 2009).

Factors Considered in Scheduling As primetime hours start, networks aim to attract the largest possible number of their target audience by placing their biggest show at the 8:00pm time slot. (There's a belief that winning the first hour usually results in winning the entire night.) It's the scheduler's job to create an audience flow, to make sure that the audience remains watching from one program to another, until the last hour of primetime (Adams & Eastman, 2009).

Schedulers do more than place shows in time periods to create a successful program lineup. They need to understand their network and their competitors' coverage patterns, target market, and audience demographics, desires, needs and habits before placing a show in a specific air time (Eastman & Ferguson, 2009; Vane & Gross, 1994).

Time slot also matters in placing a show. Broadcast networks produce shows that have a universal appeal, but there are shows that cater to a specific demographics group. Therefore, "a program must be placed in a time period in which its core viewers are available (Vane & Gross, 1994)" or the show will just be scheduled to its demise. Schedulers need to understand the time slot's demographic history as well as its time slot ratings (Adams & Eastman, 2009). "(A) series placed in a top-rated time slot probably will be a top-rated series, and conversely, a series placed in a weak position will be weak (ibid).

Moreover, compatibility among shows (similarity in appeal, themes, storylines, etc.) is deliberated before being placed together on a night to assure that viewers continue to watch from one program to the next (Adams & Eastman, 2009; Eastman & Ferguson, 2009). Program themes are also considered in scheduling shows. The universality and family orientation of television programming result in scheduling shows that are "likely to be acceptable to, although perhaps not most favored by, the widest range of viewers— a strategy CBS vice president of programming Paul Klein described as that of 'least objectionable programming' (Lotz, 2007, p. 12)."

In 1975, the government complained about the rampant violence on television in time periods where children were usually tuning in. Hence, they obliged the networks to "sanitize" their 8:00-9:00pm time slots, dubbed as Family

Viewing Time, and to assure that shows scheduled are appropriate for the general audience (Brooks & Marsh, 2007).

Program Strategy Scheduling shows holistically and strategically began in the early 1960s as networks saw its advantages and disadvantages. A classic example is the *Voice of Firestone*, a sponsored music television program. Firestone Tire Company wanted the program on-air but NBC and later ABC cancelled the show because of its low ratings and its negative effect on ratings of the programs' before and after the show (Vane & Gross, 1994).

CBS' *The Dick Van Dyke Show* rated poorly in its early days but it became the number three show after programmer Michael Dann scheduled it behind the hit show, *The Beverly Hillbillies*. In an interview, he said that he learned about this strategy after putting an ordinary show behind top-rated *I Love Lucy* and became a number two show. He since then placed new comedy shows in between two successful shows (Grimes, 2016).

In the next decades, scheduling strategies were devised and used to create flow of programs, form a habit, increase viewership, dominate the market, and attract the best products from production studios (Ihlebæk et al., 2013; Soosten & Ferguson, 2013; Vane & Gross, 1994).

The following are the strategies employed by schedulers:

1. Anchoring (also known as leading-off). Starting the night with a strong show, setting the tone for the entire evening's programming.

2. Leading-In. Placing a strong show before a weaker or new show to give it a boost
3. Hammocking (also known as sandwiching). Scheduling a show in between two hits
4. Blocking (also known as stacking). Placing a show within a group of shows with similar genre (comedy, drama) for the entire night
5. Doubling. Airing two different episodes back to back, usually a rerun followed by a new episode
6. Lynchpinning (also known as tentpoling) placing a hit program on weak evenings to establish the night for the network, hoping the show will "hold or brace the ones before and after it (Adams & Eastman, 2009)"
7. Bridging. Placing half-hour shows against hour-long shows of the competing network
8. Counterprogramming. Placing a show with a completely opposite appeal than the competing show to pull viewers from competitors
9. Blunting. Placing a show against the competition with the same genre, appeal; this strategy doesn't last long because one show will outshine the other
10. Stunting. Attracting audience by doing special, crossovers, guest stars, cliffhangers, controversial storyline that will create hype
11. Supersizing. Cancelling a show without a replacement and airing a hit show with an extended length labelled as a special instead

12. Stripping. Placing the same show in the same time period weeknights

13. Rerunning. Airing a previously aired episode; more of a financial strategy than programming (Adams & Eastman, 2009; Eastman & Ferguson, 2009; Vane & Gross, 1994)

Due to competition among broadcast networks, schedulers frequently made last-minute changes to their programming grids “to catch rival networks off guard” in the late 1970s. Their scheduling moves were well designed and planned, and kept secret until execution (Adams & Eastman, 2009).

Phase of Multi-Channel Competition

The European television landscape transitioned from a monopoly phase to a competition phase after a new distribution system was developed and government regulations were loosened. In this phase, more television networks and channels were established resulting in competition with the public broadcasters. In the US, the development of cable systems created numerous channels of programming thus a phase of multi-channel competition. Following Lotz’s time period for her multi-channel transition, the phase of multi-channel competition is between the half decades of the 1980s and the 2000s. In this period, television consumption gradually changed but the norms in industry operations remained the same as in the phase of broadcast oligopoly (Lotz, 2007).

Cable television was invented in the late 1940s primarily to deliver network programming to communities where television antennas could not receive OTA signals due to distance from transmitters, as well as geographic features such as mountains. It wasn't until the early 1980s that cable systems thrived after deregulation (Brooks, 2007; Savage & Wirth, 2005; Vane & Gross, 1994).

Unlike broadcast television that sends OTA programming without a subscription charge, cable television is a paid service. Households need to pay a monthly fee to access cable's 24-hour programming. Cable networks provide programming to cable system via satellite, the cable system then distributes it to households through wires (Vane & Gross, 1994).[1]

There are two types of cable networks: basic and premium. Basic cable makes the majority of channels available in cable systems. They charge lower subscription fees and their programming contains commercials. Premium cable, on the other hand, has higher subscription fees and is commercial-free (Vane & Gross, 1994).

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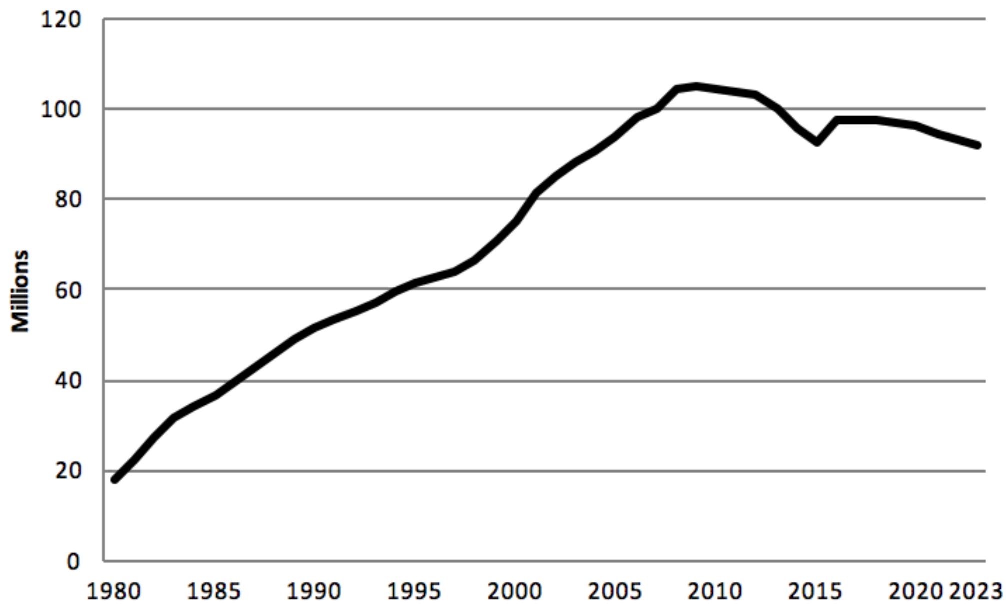
[1]Before satellites were used for cable network programming distribution to cable systems (Vane & Gross, 1994), they were initially government-owned and used for its project. Deregulation in the early 1970s led to the use of satellites in broadcast television delivery and electronic news gathering (Parsons & Frieden, 1998). In 1976, electrical engineering professor from Stanford University H. Taylor Howard "designed a large dish-shaped antenna system in the backyard of his home. He used the dish to pick up programs that cable television content providers were broadcasting via satellite to cable companies for distribution to subscribers." Howard then shared his technology with other engineers. When these receivers become more publicly available and more people are gaining access to programming for free, content providers like HBO started to scramble their signals. Engineers, however, found ways to continue to receive signals using "smaller and cheaper receivers". This led to the rise of direct-to-home satellite television providers (Feder, 2002) like DirecTV (1994) and DISH Network (1996). These satellite TV providers attracted households unserved by cable TV providers. The better image quality and higher volume of channels available made it more appealing to consumers. Competition among satellite TV providers also made subscription more affordable (Parsons & Frieden, 1998).

The majority of cable networks gear their programming based on their brands and specific target demographics like children (Nickelodeon, Disney Channel), sports (ESPN), news (CNN). Cable networks are narrowcasting instead of broadcasting (Bazilian, 2011; Poggi, 2014; Vane & Gross, 1994).

From 14,000 nationwide cable subscribers in 1952 (California Cable Telecommunications Association, n.d.), subscriptions grew to 18.1 million by 1980. Three decades later, 104.5 million have subscriptions to cable (See Figure 1) (IBISWorld, 2016).



Years	Millions	Years	Millions
1980	18.1	2002	85.4
1981	22.5	2003	88.5
1982	27.2	2004	90.8
1983	31.4	2005	93.9
1984	34.2	2006	98
1985	36.7	2007	100.2
1986	39.7	2008	104.1
1987	42.6	2009	104.7
1988	45.7	2010	104.5
1989	49.3	2011	104.0
1990	51.7	2012	103.2
1991	53.4	2013	100.2
1992	55.2	2014	95.9
1993	57.2	2015	92.4
1994	59.5	2016	97.3
1995	61.6	2017	97.5
1996	63.0	2018	97.5
1997	64.2	2019	97.1
1998	66.5	2020	96.0
1999	70.8	2021	94.7
2000	75.1	2022	93.3
2001	81.4	2023	92.0

Figure 1. Number of Cable Television Subscribers (1980-2023)
Note. IBISWorld. (August 2016). *Number of cable TV subscriptions.* Retrieved from http://clients1.ibisworld.com/reports/us/bed/default.aspx?entid=4625

Effects on Broadcast Networks Cable networks have impacted the broadcast networks and became their direct competitors for viewership and advertising revenue despite the difference in programming delivery (Petrillo, 2016; Krugman & Rust, 1993). In the fall of 1990, Michael O. Wirth wrote in the Journal of Media Economics: "The cable industry is having an increasingly negative impact on the television broadcasting business (Wirth, 1990)."

As the number of households subscribing to cable rose along with the number of cable networks, the primetime audience share for broadcast networks started to decline (Moore et al., 2006). The once three sources of television programming – ABC, CBS and NBC aka the Big 3—in the phase of broadcast oligopoly had grown into hundreds of channels, offering television content for every possible demographic there is (Brooks, 2007).

The decline in viewership was seen in the mid-1970s but the broadcast networks contradicted it citing problems in ratings methodology. However, in the mid-1980s, it became clearer that cable networks were taking away viewership from primetime broadcast networks. By the mid-2000s, cable's combined ratings in primetime surpassed all the broadcast networks (See Table 1) (Adams & Eastman, 2009).

Table 1

Primetime HH Rating (% of US TV Households Viewing) by Season, 1984-2009

Season	Network Affiliates[1]	Independent[2]	Public[3]	Premium/ Pay Cable[4]	Ad Supported/ Basic Cable[5]	Other Cable[6]	All Other Tuning[7]
1984-85	44.8	9.7	2.6	4.0	3.6		
1985-86	45.1	10.1	2.5	3.4	3.9		
1986-87	43.3	10.5	2.7	3.3	4.7		
1987-88	40.1	11.5	2.5	3.8	6.0		
1988-89	38.7	11.7	2.4	3.9	7.5		
1989-90	36.5	11.9	2.2	3.6	9.0		
1990-91	38.4	7.8	2.3	3.4	11.6		
1991-92	41.0	5.5	2.1	3.1	12.8		
1992-93	40.4	5.7	2.2	3.0	13.6		
1993-94	40.5	6.1	2.2	3.0	14.1		
1994-95	37.8	6.4	2.2	3.1	15.9		
1995-96	35.7	6.6	2.1	3.3	18.0		
1996-97	33.2	6.7	2.1	3.7	19.8		
1997-98	31.4	6.7	2.0	3.9	22.3		
1998-99	31.3	7.2	2.0	4.2	24.1		
1999-00	34.7	2.1	2.0	3.5	24.0	1.9	
2000-01	32.6	2.4	1.9	3.5	26.0	2.1	
2001-02	30.3	2.5	1.6	3.5	28.2	2.1	
2002-03	29.6	2.6	1.7	3.6	29.4	2.4	
2003-04	28.9	2.9	1.6	3.4	30.9	2.9	
2004-05	27.8	3.7	1.6	3.1	32.8	3.2	
2005-06[9]	29.1	2.0	1.5	2.8	33.5	3.4	0.5
2006-07[10]	28.1	1.2	1.4	2.6	33.8	3.0	2.4
2007-08[10]	26.9	1.0	1.2	2.6	35.1	3.0	3.8
2008-09[10]	25.6	1.0	1.1	2.8	36.3	3.1	3.8

Note. From "Where Did the Primetime Broadcast TV Audience Go," by TV by the Numbers, 2010. Retrieved from http://tvbythenumbers.zap2it.com/business/where-did-the-primetime-broadcast-tv-audience-go/

[1] *Network Affiliates:*
1984-90: ABC, CBS, NBC affiliates
1991-1999: ABC, CBS, NBC, FOX Affiliates
1999-December 25, 2005: ABC, CBS, NBC, FOX, WB, UPN, PAX affiliates
December 26, 2005-January 29 2006: ABC, CBS, NBC, FOX, WB, UPN, UNI, PAX affiliates
January 30, 2006-February 26, 2006: ABC, CBS, NBC, FOX, WB, UPN, UNI, TEL, PAX affiliates

February 27, 2006-August 27, 2006: ABC, CBS, NBC, FOX, WB, UPN, UNI, TEL, TF, PAX affiliates
Table 1 (Continued)
August 28, 2006 – September 3, 2006: ABC, CBS, NBC, FOX, WB, UPN, UNI, TEL, TF, AZA, PAX affiliates
September 4, 2006 – 2008: ABC, CBS, NBC, FOX, CW, UNI, TEL, TF, AZA, ION, MNT affiliates
2008 – Present: ABC, CBS, NBC, FOX, CW, UNI, TEL, TF, AZA, ION, affiliates
[2]*Independent:*
1984-90: Commercial independent stations including FOX affiliates and TBS
1991-99: Commercial independent stations including WB, UPN affiliates and superstations except for TBS.
1999-2006: Commercial independent stations including Telemundo and Univision affiliates. Excludes TBS
2006-present: Commercial independent stations including Telemundo and Univision affiliates. Excludes TBS
[3]*Public:* PBS affiliates
[4]*Premium/Pay Cable:*
1999-2009: Viewing to premium pay cable services.
1984-99: Cable Subscribers receiving at least one premium channel. This does not include Pay-Per-View (PPV)
[5]*Ad Supported/Basic Cable:*
1984-99: Tuning to basic cable including PPV
1991-1999: Tuning to basic cable including TBS and PPV.
1999-2009: Viewing to advertiser supported cable networks including TBS, WGN
[6]*All Other Cable:*
1984-99: Tuning to basic cable including PPV
1999-2009: tuning to cable networks that are neither ad-supported nor premium pay, includes PPV, interactive and home shopping channels, and audio only feeds.
[7]*All Other Tuning*: Tuning where the source was not encoded and Nielsen was not able to measure what was watched.
[8]Effective 1991, FOX changed from Independents to Network Affiliates and TBS changed from Independents to Basic Cable.
[9]Combination of Live data and Live+7 data
[10]Live+7 data

Advertisers reallocated millions of advertising dollars to multiple cable channels since viewers were moving from broadcast networks. From $58 million in the 1980s, cable television ad spending had grown to a $23.6 billion business in 2014 (See Figure 2). Dean Krugman and Roland Rust's *The Impact of Cable*

Penetration on Network Viewing (1987) showed the strong relationship of the growth of cable penetration to the decline of network ratings as well as revenue share (Krugman & Rust, 1987).

Changes in the Network Industry

Programming Cable networks positioned themselves as niche channels – programming based on their brands and specific target demographics and fractionalizing audiences (Thomas & Litman, 1991 as cited in Krugman & Rust, 1993). Since cable networks are not as regulated by the FCC as broadcast networks, cable shows are raunchier, racier and more provocative (Bazilian, 2011; FCC, 2015a; Poggi, 2014) making network programming look "stale and derivative (Brooks, 2007)."

In response to this, two formats began flourishing again in primetime network programming: soap opera and reality/game shows (ibid). Due to tough competition among other cable channels and continuous increases in production costs, the number of episodes per season was also trimmed down to 26 in the late 1980s to 20 or 22 episodes in the 1990s (Adams & Eastman, 2009).

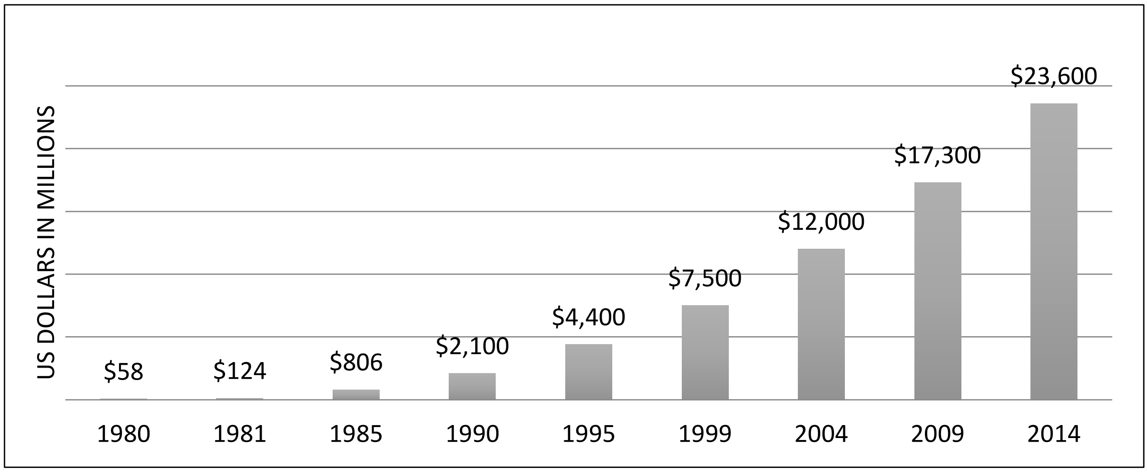


Figure 2. The Growth of Cable Network Advertising Revenue (1980-2014)
Note. 1980-1995 data from Paul Kagan Associates, Reported in "The CAB" Defender of Faith", Cable Television Business (April 15, 1989), p. 23; 1999 – 2014 data from Historical data of net ad revenue collected by SNL Kagan, 2015

Audience Measurement During the phase of broadcast oligopoly, national primetime television ratings were measured from the data that Nielsen collected from handwritten diaries done by its samples. This method changed in the phase of multi-channel competition as Nielsen introduced the People Meter, an electronic meter, which allowed the networks to get more specific demographic data from its viewers and to get it faster than diaries. They replaced all audimeters in large cities in the late 1980s (Moore et al., 2006; Vane & Gross, 1994).

A Nielsen household sample gets a remote-like device and a "black box" computer that is placed near the television set. Every family member (and guests) in the household is assigned to a particular button on the device, and they are tasked to press their corresponding button whenever they start and stop watching television. Through this, the system can identify the viewer's age and sex, the channel, and the show they are watching. All information is collected at 3:00am and is transmitted to Nielsen's main computer (Eastman & Ferguson, 2009; Vane & Gross, 1994).

Network television ratings are known as the Nielsen Television Index. Station television ratings, on the other hand, are known as the Nielsen Station Index. It is a daily data report from local people meters (LPM) in the largest television markets. A combination of people meters and diaries, however, are used in mid-sized markets, and diaries in small markets. Data collections for diaries are still done in sweeps (ibid).

Regulations Several regulations were relaxed in aid of the broadcast networks as they faced tougher competition among cable channels (Adams & Eastman, 2009). The FCC revised its rules in 1999 and allowed a company to own any number of television stations as long as their coverage did not exceed more than 39 percent of the total US TV households. Initially, a company was limited to owning no more than five television stations (Adams & Eastman, 2009; FCC, 2015b). Moreover, the FCC ruling which limits networks in financing and syndicating programming, also known as Fin-Syn rules, were lifted in 1995. The Fin-Syn rules were established in 1970 to prevent broadcast networks from financing, producing, and owning any content they aired in primetime (Pepe, 1994).

Prior to the abovementioned rules, the FCC had already set rules to protect television stations against the effects of cable systems. In 1965, the commission established 'must-carry' rule, years before the spread of cable systems. The rules obliged all cable systems to carry all available broadcast signals (Toto, 2000; Vane & Gross, 1994).

In 1992, cable systems were then required by Congress to seek permission from broadcasters to retransmit broadcast signals among its subscribers. Under the US Cable Television Consumer Protection and Competition Act, the retransmission consent rule gives broadcast stations the authority to either grant or deny permission (FCC, 2014; American Cable Association, n.d.). The FCC said, "[T]he absence of this requirement (retransmission consent) was distorting the video marketplace and threatening the future of [OTA] television broadcasting (FCC, 2015c)." Broadcast stations, however, can demand monetary or other compensation from cable systems to proceed with an agreement, which is renegotiated every three years. Cable operators are prohibited from retransmitting a signal without reaching an agreement with the broadcaster (American Cable Association, n.d.).

Network-Affiliate Model Networks paid television stations a compensation fee to carry their primetime programming and advertising in the phase of broadcast oligopoly (Moore et al., 2006). However, the loss of network viewership resulting in a revenue drop led the networks to refuse to pay stations and opted to give them more commercial airtimes to sell locally (Vane & Gross, 1994). As stations started receiving compensation from retransmission consent agreement with cable operators, networks wanted to have a fair share of it. CBS CEO Leslie Moonves said that it was the primetime programming that generates revenue and not the local programming. Now, networks require local stations to pay them to continue receiving primetime programming, which is called reverse compensation (Stelter, 2011).

> "The networks say they need the new fees from stations to keep supplying prime-time programs and sustain profitability for their parent companies, imitating the cable channel model of a dual revenue stream of advertising and subscriber fees (ibid, para. 6)."

More Broadcast Networks Three new broadcast networks were established and challenged the broadcast oligopolies.

First was Fox Broadcasting Company. In 1987, Rupert Murdoch, News Corporation Chairman and CEO, and his colleague Barry Diller, Chairman and CEO of Fox, Inc. launched Fox Networks (Brooks, 2007). Fox's first show was *The Late Show* hosted by Joan Rivers. She was the permanent guest host of NBC's *The Tonight Show* in the absence of regular host Johnny Carson before moving to Fox. Rivers' popularity attracted many stations to sign with Fox as affiliates. The show, however, was a flop and was cancelled a year after its launch. Fox started airing original programming on the weekends then slowly launched more shows across different nights. Different from the other networks, Fox's brand and programming was geared towards youth. Some of the notable shows they aired were *Married…with Children, The Tracey Ulman Show, The Simpsons* and *Beverly Hills 90210* (Acuna, 2012).

Fox executives acknowledged that the rising cable household penetration during the network's establishment helped them to launch Fox. "For a network that relies predominantly on UHF television stations, cable is a true asset to us… [It] makes our signal more available on an equal footing with the three networks in those markets," said Jamie Kellner, President and Chief Operating Officer, Fox Broadcasting Corporation (Harrison, 1991).

Fox went on to become a successful fourth broadcast network. From 2004 to 2012, it defeated ABC, CBS and NBC among 18-49 demographic, and was the most watched broadcast network in total viewership during the 2007-2008 television season (Fox Broadcasting Company, 2012; Moraes, 2008).

In 1995, two new networks debuted; UPN (United Paramount Network) and The WB (Warner Bros.). Deregulation of ownership restrictions and abolishment of Fin-Syn rules gave their parent companies, Chris-Craft Industries/United Television and Paramount Pictures (UPN) and Time Warner (WB), the power to purchase and manage more television stations around the country than broadcasters were previously allowed to (Hilmes, 2003).

Both networks used their respective studios properties like Paramount's *Star Trek* franchise and Warner Bro.'s *Looney Tunes* and movies in their programming. UPN focused on programming aimed at young male audiences as well as African-Americans (*Moesha, The Parkers, The Hughleys*) while The WB appealed more to women with teen melodrama (*Charmed, Buffy the Vampire Slayer, Dawson's Creek*) (ibid).

After eleven years of financial struggle, UPN and The WB merged to form The CW Network in 2006, targeting audience 18-34. It's a 50-50 venture between CBS Corp., the owner of UPN, and Warner Bros. Entertainment (Associated Press, 2006).

Viewing Disruptive Technologies The remote control and videocassette recorders (VCR) emerged in the phase of multi-channel competition and disrupted viewing patterns. Almost 78 percent of viewers in the late 1980s and early 1990s used a remote control and VCR to defy network scheduling (Adams, 1993).

Remote control gave viewers the power to rapidly change channels and offer instant freedom from network programming (Gleick, 2005; Lury, 2005). Before this device was invented, viewers needed to walk from their couch to turn the dial on the set to change channels so they just didn't bother to switch channels anymore (Vane & Gross, 1994). Now, viewers could browse all the television channels with the remote control in their hands. This led to the concept of channel surfing. Eastman & Ferguson (2009) cited few ways the audience uses the remote control:

> "*grazing*, hunting up and down the channels until one's attention is captured; *flipping*, changing back and forth between two channels; *zapping*, changing the channel or stopping a taping to avoid commercial interruption; *zipping*, fast forwarding a recording to avoid commercials or to reach a more interesting point (Eastman & Ferguson, 2009, p.17)."

Former NBC marketing executive John Miller said that stations now make sure that they are maximizing every second of airtime they have. “It is the only real estate we have”, he said (Gleick, 2005). Viewers tend to be passive in switching channels unless they are provoked to do so by some factors—or “tuning inertia (Eastman & Ferguson, 2009)”. Thus, dead air and blackout are avoided given the convenience of switching channels brought about by remote controls (Gleick, 2005).

VCRs, on the other hand, liberated the audience from the scheduling constraints imposed by broadcast networks (Glinis, 2015; Krugman & Rust, 1993; Van de Bulck, 1999). In Van den Bulck’s *VCR-Use and Patterns of Time Shifting and Selectivity* (1999), he cited television scholar Mark Levy saying viewers have more control over when to watch television. They are able to record a program and then watch it at a more convenient time, and able to record a program while watching another program from a competing network (Van den Bulck, 1999). Viewers have “better control of viewing conditions and choices” such as skipping through commercials (Lin, 1992). This led to the concept of ‘time shifting’, a process coined by Levy (Van den Bulck, 1999). Ownership of VCRs in American households was only two percent in 1980 (Levy, 1980; 1981) and it grew to 96.3 percent before 2000 (Stanger & Jamieson, 1998). An average of five hours of programs per week were recorded through VCRs in the early 1980s but videocassette rentals and purchases surpassed time shift recording as the major use for VCRs (Carey & Elton, 2010).

Moreover, Van den Bulck's study (1999) found that there was no reduction in time of television viewing as the "VCR is mainly used as a time-filling device." He also suggested that VCRs should be looked at as another channel even though it is a different form (Van den Bulck, 1999). A decline in advertising revenue, on the other hand, was feared since viewers now had the power to skip commercials on the recorded shows (Glinis, 2015).[1]

Scheduling Most of the scheduling strategies developed in the broadcast oligopoly phase were still adopted since they created audience flow (Vane & Gross, 1994). Scheduling was also used for a different network agenda. An example is NBC's counterprogramming move on CBS series *Muddling Through* starring Jennifer Aniston. NBC executives wanted Aniston to star in their comedy show *Friends*, so they killed her CBS show by scheduling popular TV movies against it (Flint, 2015).

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[1]Video home recording wouldn't be possible if the US Supreme Court ruled against the sale of videotape recording machine Betamax in 1984. Big media companies (Universal and Disney) sued Betamax manufacturer Sony Corporation in 1976. The plaintiffs said Betamax allows consumers to make unauthorized copies of television programming hence Sony Corp. was liable for copyright infringement (Feder, 2004). The California District Court ruled in favor of Sony while the US 9th Circuit Court of Appeals differed. In January 1984, the US Supreme Court, in a split 5-4 vote, declared that Sony can continue to sell its Betamax machines as it does not constitute contributory copyright infringement (Hurley & Baker, 2014; Feder, 2004; Madrigal, 2012). This landmark case helped in the proliferation of video home recording devices and time-shifting viewing ("The Times editorial board," 2014). The use of VCRs and DVRs "-- or any other device that could copy or record -- would have had to be radically altered" if the high court ruled otherwise (Madrigal, 2012).

In the phase of multi-channel competition, the effects of "tuning inertia", the "salience of scheduling (Eastman & Ferguson, 2009)" and the "daily interaction and… viewer loyalty" during the former phase (Lotz, 2007) eroded.

Network schedulers faced tougher competition due to the increase in original programming on cable channels (Lotz, 2007). Therefore, broadcasters aim to get the audience to sample their new shows. ABC's research and marketing head Alan Wurtzel said that half of all households who have seen a program will get hooked by one of the first two episodes based on their research from 1988 to 1990 (Vane & Gross, 1994).

Sweep months became less important to national advertisers as LPMs were introduced as new method of measuring audience nationally. Networks, however, continued to schedule stunt programming during end of sweep periods because of their commitment to their affiliates and their interest in generating more revenue for their O&O stations (Lotz, 2007).

Cable Scheduling Cable channels also challenged the established scheduling practices of broadcast networks (Lotz, 2007). Unlike broadcasters that air reruns intermittently between new episodes of a show to extend through the 40-week television season, cable channels aired new episodes of their shows for 12 to 13 consecutive weeks then taking as long as a 21-month-hiatus (ibid). Moreover, cable channels started to premiere originals shows in June and July – a move that led to audiences to switch to cable channels since broadcast networks air mostly reruns during summer (Farhi, 1999).

Cable schedulers also used new variations of the scheduling strategy, bridging. They begin and end a show at odd times—unlike the by-the-hour show times (8:00pm, 9:00pm, 10:00pm) of broadcast networks. They also use long-form programs (movies, specials) that start during prime access hour (7:00pm) and extend until primetime. As viewers channel surf during commercial breaks, they stay and never switch back if they find something more entertaining than the network show they were previously tuned in (Vane & Gross, 1994).

Summer Programming The traditional television season (40-week season) began to be disrupted in the early 2000s (Lotz, 2007). Around 2005, broadcast networks started to claim that they were programming for 52 weeks, year-round.

> "The networks began saving their second showing of the best episodes of a few hit series to be rerun in summers, instead of using them up during the regular 40-week season, and began touting that network summers were filled with original series (Adams & Eastman, 2009)."

As early as 1990, broadcast networks tried to launch series with generally four to six episodes in summer (Adams & Eastman, 2009). There were some successes but rather than capitalize during summer months, they moved the shows to regular season like CBS low-budgeted limited series *Northern Exposure* and *Top Cops* in 1990. Fox's *Beverly Hills 90210* was moved to summer of 1991 after its poor first season in fall 1990. The teen drama became a huge success afterwards and was moved back again to the regular television season (Carter, 1992).

In the summer of 1997, Fox took a huge step in airing a big-budgeted action series *Roar*. Fox Entertainment President Peter Roth said during the launch that the show was "a sign of the future for all the networks. Network television can no longer shut down for the summer and drive viewers to cable." This radical move failed and Fox terminated the show, their summer original programming strategy and Roth, a few months later (Farhi, 1999).

Instead of launching original programming in summer, NBC took a different direction and promoted repeats with their campaign slogan: "If you haven't seen it, it's new to you." This was based on the network executives' assumption that "[w]ith viewing choices exploding…viewers probably haven't seen all of a show's episodes in their original run (ibid)." The New York Daily News said the campaign was "meant to put a positive spin on the always-annoying summer rerun barrage (Bianculli, 1997)." Later, broadcast networks realized that this campaign was driving away the audience to cable. Therefore, broadcast networks opted to schedule inexpensive shows such as game shows, reality shows, and newsmagazines, along with reruns (Farhi, 1999).

Preventing Channel Switch Broadcast networks and cable networks devised a way to make the audience stay during credit sequences as remote controls made it convenient for the audience to zap out instantly. By the end of the program, credits are squeezed into a frame and placed on a corner of the screen, and teasers or previews (for the upcoming show, show's next episode or advertisements) began playing in the free space. The practice is called 'squeeze and tease'. Another one is called 'seamlessness' where a program immediately starts against the preceding show it follows. This prevented the viewer from touching the remote control to change channel and also kept the audience watching whatever network they started with (Adams & Eastman, 2009). Moreover, viewers were given a short prologue at the beginning of the show's episode before cutting away to the title card or title sequence (Lury, 2005).

Phase of Channel and Platform Proliferation

Technological advances in telecommunication led to the digitization of television causing profound changes in content delivery and consumption. In Ihlebæk et al. (2014), "drastic multiplication of content, television channels, and new platforms" separated the phase of proliferation from the phases of monopoly and competition (Ihlebæk et al., 2014). Lotz (2007) called this phase the post-network era, which began in the mid-2000s. She said that during this era "…the changes in competitive norms and operation of the industry have become too pronounced for old practices to be preserved; different industrial practices are becoming dominant and replacing those of the network era (Lotz, 2007, p.7)."

Internet, Mobile Devices Penetration A report from the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) (2015), a United Nations agency, estimated that 3.2 billion people in the world were using the internet at the end of 2015—a 700 percent increase from fifteen years ago (ITU, 2015). In a separate ITU report, the percentage of individuals using the internet in the US grew from 43.0 percent to

87.4 percent by 2014 (ITU, 2014). Statista data shows that there are 259.2 million internet users in the US in 2015, and is projected to continue to grow (See Figure 3).

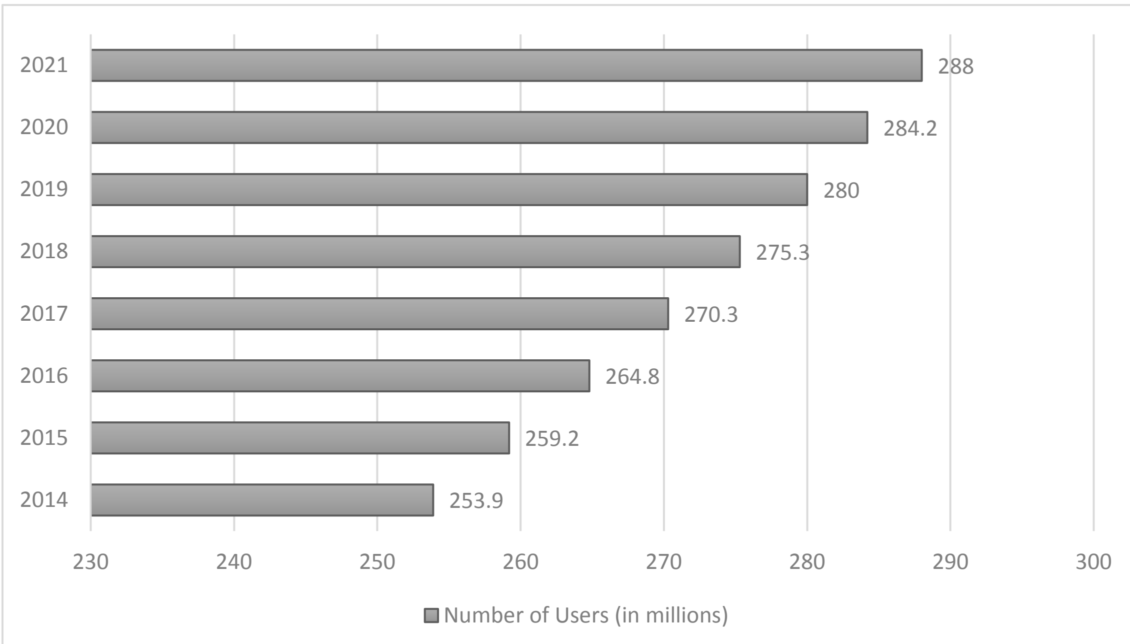

Figure 3. Number of Internet Users in the United States (2014-2020)
Note. Statista. (n.d.-a). Number of internet users in the United States from 2014 to 2021 (in millions). In *Statista - The Statistics Portal*. Retrieved October 14, 2016, from https://www.statista.com/statistics/325645/usa-number-of-internet-users/.

In recent years, portable device ownership in US households has grown significantly, particularly with smartphones and tablet computers. According to the Pew Research Center (2015), 68 percent of American adults have a smartphone and 45 percent have tablet computers in 2015—a 94 and 337.5 percent increase, respectively, compared to May 2011 data. Meanwhile, 75.1 percent of mobile phone users accessed the internet on their device in 2015 (eMarketer, n.d.-b).

Rise of Over-The-Top Services The internet has been the most dominating force for change in broadcast television in the US since it has opened new media distribution systems by removing barriers (Venturini, 2011). Ferguson, Meyer & Eastman (2009) says "[a]lthough cable, home satellite, and telephone delivery of television have certainly had a huge impact on audience behavior, this impact pales in comparison to the profound and sweeping effects of the internet on television… (Ferguson et al., 2009, p. 192)."

Online media streaming is said to have started on September 5, 1995 when ESPN SportsZone live streamed the radio broadcast of the Seattle Mariners versus New York Yankees baseball game to its subscribers worldwide (Zambelli, 2013). Since then, several companies tried to capitalize on live streaming technology and solve various problems (like decompressing digital videos and file sizes, and setting rules on sending data over the internet) to distribute media content to far more people without enduring the issue of buffering and connectivity (ibid).

One disruptive force in the traditional television business in recent year is the over-the-top (OTT)[1] service, and Netflix is a leader in the category (Koblin, 2016; Spangler, 2015b). Netflix started as a DVD rental-by-mail service in 1997 and a decade later, the company moved into online video subscription service

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[1] OTT is a media delivery service over the internet and not through traditional distribution such as cable and satellite (Over-the-Top Application, n.d.).

(CNN, 2014; Netflix, n.d.). It accounted for more than 30 percent of all internet down-streaming traffic during peak hours in North America in 2014 (Auletta, 2014). As of 2016, Netflix has 81.5 million subscribers worldwide and 44.7 million in the US (Statista, n.d.-b; NCTA, n.d.).

In addition to Netflix, other streaming services now available in the market are Hulu[1] and Amazon Prime. According to Goldman Sachs, there were more OTT and VOD services launched in the first nine months of 2015 than in the last nine years combined (Williams, 2015).

In an interview, Netflix Chief Executive Reed Hastings said, "the new wave of streaming options from traditional outlets validated his company's long-held belief that the internet was replacing traditional television, apps were replacing channels, remote controls were disappearing and screens were proliferating (Steel, 2014, para. 8)."

In an eMarketer (2014) report, starting in 2013, US adults spent more time with digital media than with television. Digital media "includes all online, mobile and other non-mobile connected-device activities, such as video streamed through [OTT] services (eMarketer, 2014b)." In 2015, 139.8 million people in the US watch video through their mobile phone. It is expected to grow by 28.3 percent in 2020 (See Figure 4).

[1] Hulu is a joint venture of traditional media conglomerate subsidiaries Disney-ABC Television Group (The Walt Disney Company), Fox Broadcast Company (21st Century Fox) and NBCUniversal Television Group (Comcast) (Hulu, n.d.)

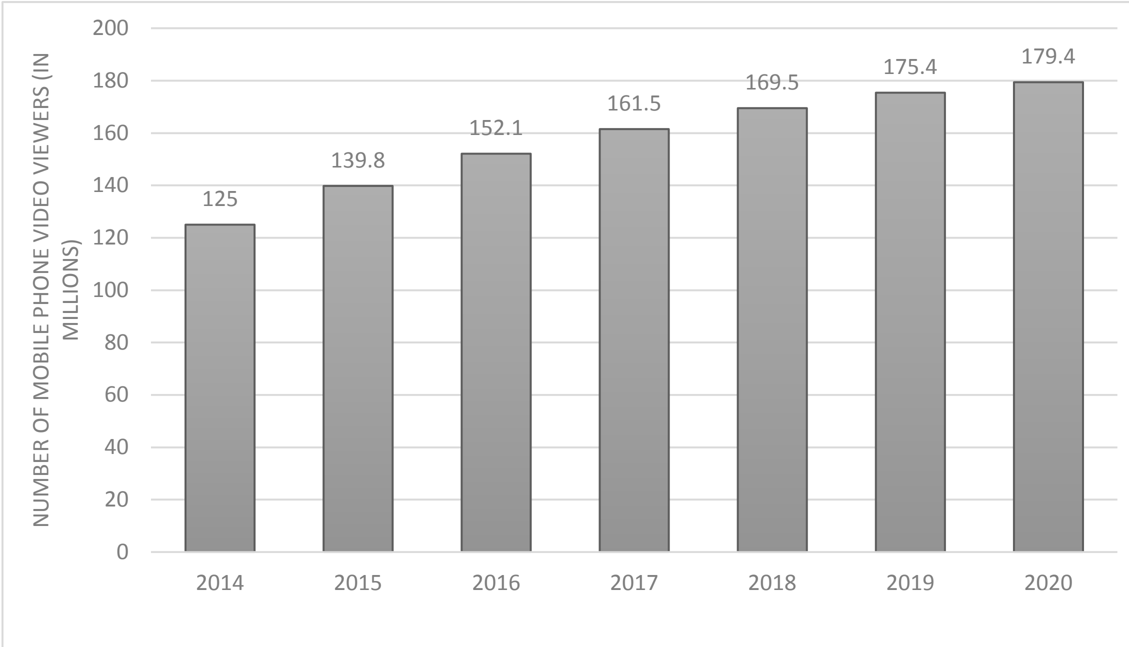


Figure 4. Number of Mobile Phone Viewers in the United States (2014-2020)
Note. eMarketer, & Squarespace. (n.d.). Number of mobile phone video viewers in the United States from 2014 to 2020 (in millions). In Statista - The Statistics Portal. Retrieved October 15, 2016, from https://www.statista.com/statistics/209348/mobile-video-viewers-in-the-united-states/.

A 2016 study from The Boston Consulting Group (BCG) (2016) titled *The Digital Revolution Is Disrupting the TV Industry* found that:

> "By 2018, online video will likely account for nearly 80 percent of fixed-data traffic and close to 70 percent of mobile traffic… The share of non-linear viewing is currently reported to be just over 20 percent in the US but this number is expected to double to more than 40 percent by 2018 and continue on this aggressive growth trajectory (BCG, 2016, para. 5-6)."

The BCG (2016) report furthered that the time spent watching television shows online jumped 50 percent from December 2013 to December 2014 (BCG, 2016). In a survey among US internet users in August 2014, 56 percent said they watch TV online because they prefer to watch it on their own schedule, and 52 percent said it is more convenient to do so (See Figure 5) (MediaPost, n.d.).

The New VCR: DVR The full transition to digital television in the US occurred on June 12, 2009—two decades after its inception. All television stations in the country were ordered to switch from analog to digital broadcasting (Carter, 2010). After the transition, digital video recorders (DVR) replaced VCR. Much like VCR, these systems (such as TiVO) are used in recording, storing and playing back television programs. It uses mass storage devices like hard drives, flash drive and memory cards rather than videotapes (DVR, n.d.).

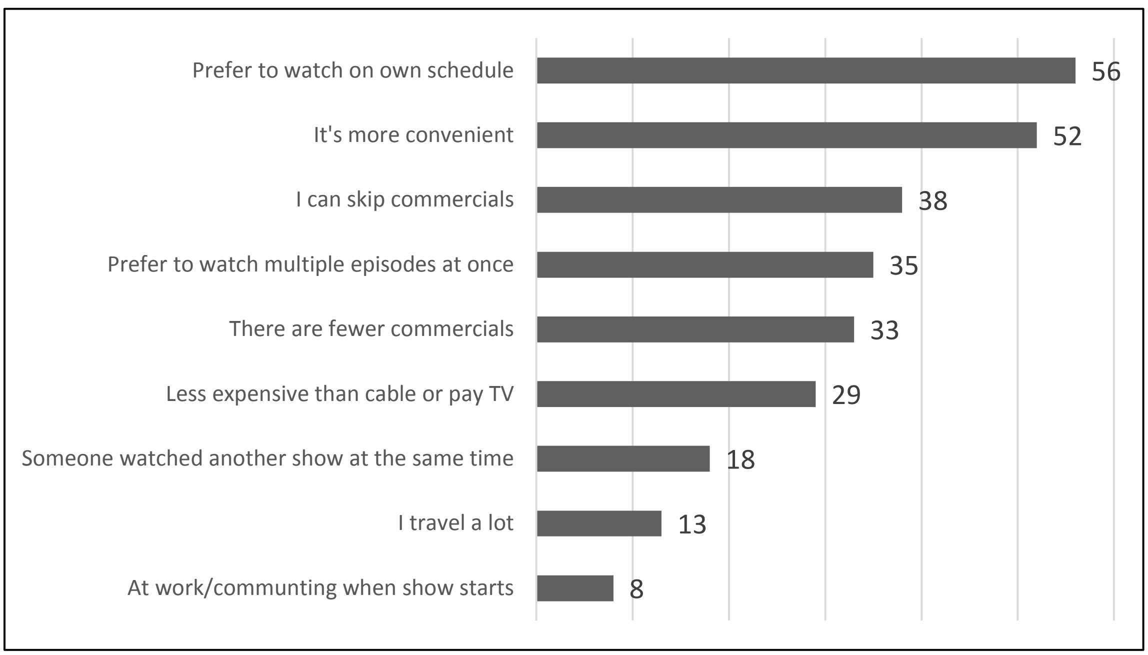


Figure 5. Leading Reason for Watching Original Television Programming on the Internet in the United States (As of October 2014)
Note. MediaPost. (n.d.). Leading reasons for watching original TV programming on the internet in the United States as of October 2014. In Statista - The Statistics Portal. Retrieved October 15, 2016, from https://www.statista.com/statistics/333960/reasons-watching-tv-online/.

DVR provides an enhanced viewing experience compared to VCR with its features that interrupt live television such as pause live television, instant replay, and fast-forward through television advertising. It also provides updated television schedules and list of downloaded shows where its users can select programs to watch (Eastman & Ferguson, 2009; Lury, 2005; Wilbur, 2008).

DVR, similar to VCR, empowers the viewers to disregard the programming imposed by broadcast networks and cable channels, and to create their own schedule based on their "particular tastes and routines of viewing (Lury, 2005)." According to The Nielsen Company (2016)'s Total Audience Report, half of the US television household has a DVR in the first quarter of 2016 or 158 million US adult users per month (The Nielsen Company, 2016a).

Effects on Broadcast Networks

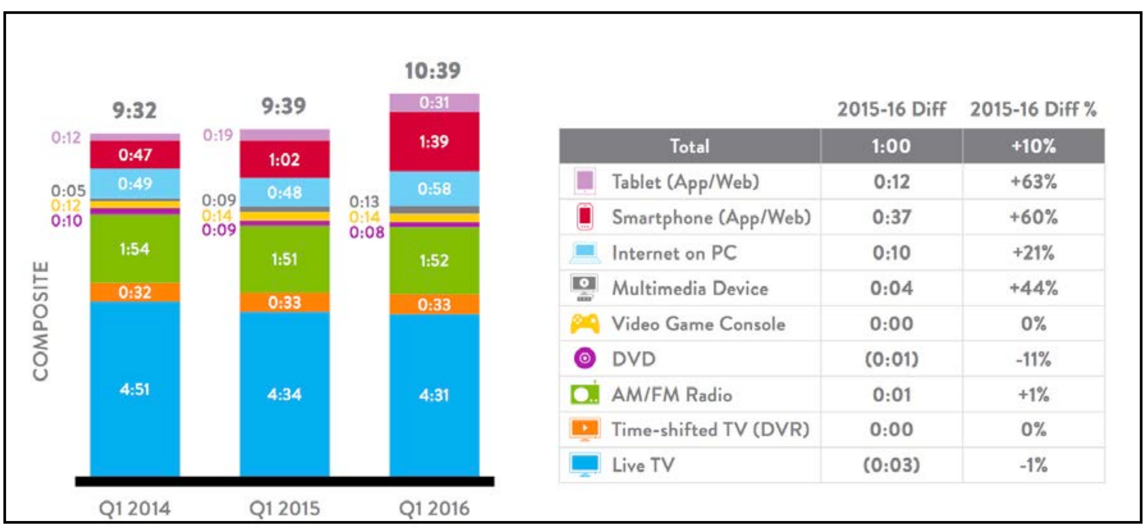
Viewership. The audience size (Gripsrud, 2010) and time spent on broadcast and cable television have shrunk (eMarketer, 2014b) with the growth of internet household penetration, and usage and the portability of mobile devices in conjunction with the rise of digital media such as media streaming services. The internet has become competition to the broadcast industry for the audience's attention (Moore et al., 2006).

The internet has taken an amount of time consumers spend on traditional media like television (Venturini, 2011). There is a decline in television viewing time but it depends on the manner internet is used and the user (Liebowitz &

Zentner, 2012). An example is the valued 18 to 34 male demographic that are spending more time on the internet and are watching less television (Moore et al., 2006)

Based on Nielsen's Q1 2016 Total Audience Report (See Figure 6), US adults spent an hour more consuming media each day in the first quarter of 2016—a total of 10 hours and 39 minutes—compared to the same time period in 2015 (9 hours and 39 minutes). 42 percent of the overall media consumption is done by watching live TV (4 hours and 31 minutes). Nielsen data show that live TV consumption per day dropped by three minutes compared to the first quarter of 2015. The decline between 2013 and 2014 was more profound where it registered a drop of 16 minutes (Lynch, 2016b).

Nielsen's data, however, implies that "consumers aren't pulling away from linear TV, but instead are making additional time for these new devices (ibid)." The substantial increase in daily media consumption came from internet-powered devices usage such as smartphones and tablets, which have increased



	2015-16 Diff	2015-16 Diff %
Total	1:00	+10%
Tablet (App/Web)	0:12	+63%
Smartphone (App/Web)	0:37	+60%
Internet on PC	0:10	+21%
Multimedia Device	0:04	+44%
Video Game Console	0:00	0%
DVD	(0:01)	-11%
AM/FM Radio	0:01	+1%
Time-shifted TV (DVR)	0:00	0%
Live TV	(0:03)	-1%

to 37 minutes and 12 minutes respectively. Internet use on personal computers and multimedia devices (such as Apple TV and Roku) were up 10 minutes and four minutes respectively (ibid).

Figure 6. Average Time Spent Per Adult Per Day Based on the Total US Population
Note. From "The Total Audience Report: Q1 2016," by The Nielsen Company, 2016. Copyright © 2016 The Nielsen Company.

The increase in online video subscription consumption affects traditional television viewing. "The uptick in [SVOD viewing] means it's likely that there will be an impact on traditional TV ratings", said Nielsen global president Steve Hasker (Ramachandran, 2014). According to a study conducted by Michael Nathanson of MoffettNathanson, Netflix caused about half of the three percent decline in television viewing in 2015 (Spangler, 2016).

Advertising. The main driver of revenue for a television network is advertising. In 2016, television advertising revenue in the US is projected to be at $73 billion and is expected to increase to $81.7 billion in 2020 (The Hollywood Reporter & Yahoo, n.d.),

The high penetration of DVR among US households and growth of time-shifted viewing threaten advertisers (Wilbur, 2008) since viewers are capable of skipping commercials on television and might not watch any ads (Flint, 2012). Ad revenues and commercial viewing are correlated because commercial viewing declines due to DVR playback correspondingly results in ad revenue declines as well (Ferguson et al., 2009). Hence, the old practice of TV program product placements becomes more important for brand marketers to assure that they reach their target audiences with messages about their brand, products and services (Moore et al., 2006; Smith, 2015).

Advertising dollars began to migrate from television to digital platforms as media consumption through the internet surged (Ember, 2015; Meola, 2016). Advertising Age reported that 2015 ad spending by the top 200 US advertisers on "measured media"—traditional channels such as television, radio and print—decreased by 2.3 percent compared to 2014. Meanwhile, their ad spending on "unmeasured media" – digital media channels such as mobile and online videos – increased to 9.1 percent (Johnson, 2016; Meola, 2016). An example is Interpublic Group ad buying firm Magna Global's move to shift $250 million ad spending from television to the global video-sharing website, YouTube between October 2016 and December 2017 (Vranica, 2016).

An eMarketer (2016a) study showed that the traditional TV ad spending share will continue to decline. From 39.1 percent share in 2014, they projected that it will decrease to 32.9 percent by 2020. The digital ad spending share, on the other hand, will continue to soar from 28.3 percent in 2014 to 44.9 percent in 2020. The market research company forecast also showed that digital would have a 38.4 percent share surpassing television with 35.8 percent in 2017 (eMarketer, 2016a). Magna Global estimated that digital media will be the leading advertising medium in the US in 2016 with nearly $68 billion ad sales compared to TV's $66 billion (Ember, 2015).

Table2

United States Total Media Advertising Spending, by Media (2014-2020)

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Television[1]	39.1%	37.7%	36.8%	35.8%	34.8%	33.7%	32.9%
Digital	28.3%	32.6%	35.8%	38.4%	40.8%	43.1%	44.9%
—Mobile	*10.9%*	*17.3%*	*22.7%*	*26.2%*	*28.8%*	*31.0%*	*32.9%*
Print	17.4%	15.4%	13.9%	12.9%	12.2%	11.6%	11.1%
—Newspapers[2]	*9.1%*	*8.0%*	*7.2%*	*6.6%*	*6.1%*	*5.7%*	*5.5%*
—Magazines[2]	*8.3%*	*7.4%*	*6.8%*	*6.4%*	*6.1%*	*5.8%*	*5.6%*
Radio[3]	8.4%	7.8%	7.4%	7.0%	6.7%	6.4%	6.1%
Out-of-home	4.0%	4.0%	3.9%	3.8%	3.7%	3.5%	3.4%
Directories	2.8%	2.5%	2.2%	2.0%	1.9%	1.7%	1.6%

Note. From "Digital Ad Spending to Surpass TV Next Year," by eMarketer. March 2016. Retrieved from http://www.emarketer.com/Article/Digital-Ad-Spending-Surpass-TV-Next-Year/1013671

[1]Excludes digital

[2]Print only, excludes digital

[3]Excludes off-air radio & digital

Globally, Magna Global expected digital ad spending would overtake television by the end of 2017. Publicis Groupe's ZenithOptimedia, meanwhile, projected digital media to pass TV in 2018 (Ember, 2015).

Cord-Cutters, Cord-Nevers The ubiquity of the internet in US households and increase in the number of programming options available online led to the phenomenon called cord-cutting. Cord-cutting is the cancellation of pay-tv subscription (cable and satellite TV subscriptions) "in favor of alternative internet-based or wireless service (cord cutter, n.d.)"

According to a report by market research firm Convergence Consulting Group, more than one in five US households has either cut the cord or never subscribed to pay-tv–called cord-nevers—in 2015 (Pressman, 2016). Digital TV

Research (n.d.) projected that 33.3 million households will not be paying for TV services by 2021 (See Figure 7) (Digitial TV Research, n.d.).

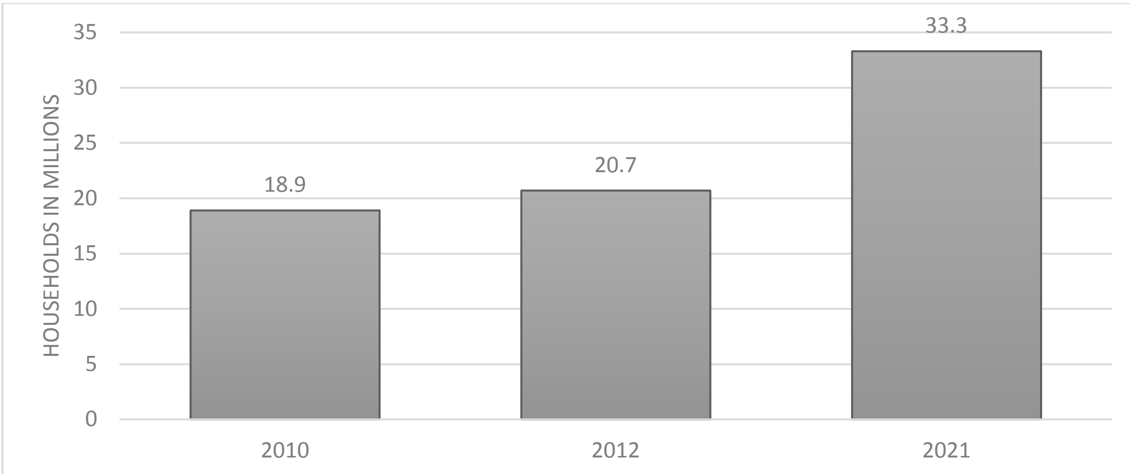


Figure7. Number of Households Not Paying for TV Services in North America
Note. Digital TV Research. (n.d.). Number of households not paying for TV services in North America in 2010 and 2021 (in millions). In *Statista - The Statistics Portal*. Retrieved July 11, 2016, from http://www.statista.com/statistics/482958/number-cord-cutting-tv-households-north-america/.

More than 1.13 million households cut their subscription in 2015 based on Convergence Consulting Group data (Farrel, 2016; Pressman, 2016). In the second quarter of 2015, a 600,000-subscription drop was recorded, making it the biggest loss in history according to research firm SNL Kagan (Schwindt, 2015). A Q2 2015 report on losses of pay-TV subscribers resulted in the decline of share prices among cable and satellite providers such as Time Warner Cable and Charter Communications (Snider, 2015; Zach Equity Research, 2015). Programming behemoths such as Time Warner, Disney, and 21st Century Fox (Badkar, 2015) were also affected by cord-cutters and experienced a drop in share prices. This is because “[f]or years, a key driver of media companies’ earnings and stock prices has been the promise of steadily rising subscription fees from pay-TV providers (Flint & Ramachandran, 2015)."

According to The Wall Street Journal, OTT services such as Netflix, Hulu, and Amazon Prime are more preferred by consumers, particularly millennials, than traditional cable or satellite subscription (Flint & Ramachandran, 2015). Convenience (60.1 percent) is the top reason why former pay-TV subscribers are now using OTT services, based on a consumer survey by TiVo subsidiary Digitalsmiths. Cheaper prices compared to cable subscriptions (51.1 percent) and ability to watch certain TV shows and whole seasons (47.0 percent) came in second and third respectively (Perez, 2015).

Changes in the Network Industry

Audience Measurement Traditionally, Nielsen only measured viewership of live broadcasts at the actual time of transmission (The Nielsen Company, n.d.-b). As DVR penetration increased among US households and time-shift viewing become more a standard practice among viewers, Nielsen introduced its Active/Passive (A/P) meters in 2005 (The Nielsen Company, 2013b) and started collecting and releasing different data streams of television ratings. Aside from the live ratings, there's 'live plus same day' (L+SD) which includes live viewership and DVR viewing the same night until 3am the next morning. There's 'live plus 3' (L+3) and 'live plus 7' (L+7) which includes live and DVR playback three days and seven days, respectively, after broadcast (Ferguson et al., 2009; Spotted Ratings, 2013).

There are also commercial ratings, which show the viewership for advertising commercial spots (The Nielsen Company, n.d.-b). In 2007, Nielsen started to measure the average viewing for commercial ads in live broadcast, and three (C3) and seven (C7) days DVR playback. These commercial ratings have become the basis in buying and selling network primetime advertising (The Nielsen Company, 2009; Clarken, 2014).

Moreover, Nielsen started to track the activities and reach of conversations related to television viewing on social media site Twitter[1] in 2013 (The Nielsen Company, 2013c). Three years later, they expanded to include TV-related conversation on social networking site Facebook and started calling their aggregated service, Social Content Ratings (The Nielsen Company, 2016c). Nielsen said:

> "By measuring program-related conversation across social networking services, TV networks and streaming content providers can assess the effectiveness of social audience engagement strategies and better understand the relationship between social activity and tune-in (ibid, para. 6)."

Traditional media conglomerates, however, are complaining about Nielsen's lack of inclusion of other non-linear viewing such as VOD, connected TV devices and mobile devices (Steel, 2016). Hence, Nielsen developed a new digital viewing measure called Total Audience Measurement. It measures "every

[1] Social media site Twitter has become a haven among US television viewers to talk about TV shows. In Q2 2013, 19 million unique people sent out tweets about live TV, according to SocialGuide.

video view and ad exposure on every digital screen" and "viewing on connected devices, including [SVOD] content (Lynch, 2015; The Nielsen Company, 2015)" which are mostly not included into the current ratings system. Nielsen's Total Audience Measurement is expected to be used in negotiations starting with the 2017-18 upfronts (Lafayette, 2016). A core component of Total Audience Measurement is Digital Content Ratings. This measures viewership across desktop and mobile devices for all content (video, audio and text), and has similar metrics to television ratings (The Nielsen Company, 2016d; Lynch, 2016c).

Furthermore, the leading rating company provider is going to measure out-of-home viewing in addition to in-home viewing which they currently measure. They will use their Portable People Meter (PPM) and panelists in locations where TV is watched such as bars, office, hotel rooms. Nielsen is also ceasing the use of all paper TV diaries in 140 DMAs. The company intends to provide electronic measurement in its local television ratings across all 210 DMAs by early 2018. Aside from that, they are doubling their sample size across local TV markets (Katz, 2016; The Nielsen Company, 2016e; The Nielsen Company, 2016f).

Another media measurement firm comScore[1] is set to roll out a new cross-platform measurement service which "will have person-level reporting across linear TV, time-shifted TV, [OTT] and digital video with advanced demographics

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[1] The company acquired Rentrak Corp., a global media measurement and research company, in February 2016 (Maglio, 2016).

and a broad range of measures for national and local markets," according to its CEO Serge Matta (Poggi, 2016).

New distribution systems. The internet has opened new business models for broadcast networks. In 2006, ABC started offering some of its shows online with embedded advertising, a day after its broadcast. Prior to this, the Disney-owned network has already been offering ad-free downloads of their shows via iTunes for $1.99 per episode (Disney Puts Shows Online For Free, 2006). "It's really an opportunity for us to learn about a different model," said then Disney-ABC TV group president Anne Sweeney. "It's more importantly recognizing that none of us can live in a world of just one business model (ibid)." The success of CBS' live video stream of the games from the NCAA men's college basketball tournament on March 2006 is said to have influenced the broadcast networks in fully exploring new opportunities using the internet (La Monica, 2006).

In 2013, ABC became the first network to offer live linear video stream via its 'Watch ABC' app. It started in the New York and Philadelphia markets, and expanded to other markets. The service, however, is only available for those who have cable, satellite and other pay-TV subscriptions (Dreir, 2013; Flint 2013; Grover, 2013). The Los Angeles Times called it a "dramatic shift" since television networks only upload content online for VOD rather than live television (Flint, 2013).

Preceding ABC's live linear video stream, start-up service Aereo had already been offering a live broadcast network stream over the internet. Aereo captured OTA signals and streamed them to their subscribers' computers, connected TV, and/or mobile devices for $12 per month. Additionally, the service allowed its customers to record 40 hours of programming and watch it anywhere on their mobile devices (Flint, 2013; Smith, 2012). Broadcast networks, however, sued Aereo[1] for copyright infringement in 2012, which the Supreme Court upheld (Kendall & Hagey, 2014).

Aereo was credited "for pushing the internet TV movement forward (Welch, 2015)". Several telecommunications and media companies started devising and launching services to deliver television over the internet following the high court decision on the Aereo case (Welch, 2015). Dish Network unveiled Sling TV which offers 20+ live TV programming choices such as ESPN, CNN, and Cartoon Network for $20 a month. Broadcast networks are not included (Lawler, 2015). A year later, Sony PlayStation Vue was launched starting at $30 with 30+ channels including broadcast networks. Sling and Vue are considered skinny bundles – select channels offered via OTT – and are alternatives for cord-cutters and cord-nevers (Katzmaier, 2016). Google's video-sharing website YouTube is posed to launch its own internet TV service in 2016 and ESPN, ABC and CBS are expected to be part of its channel list (Kastrenakes, 2016).

[1] Aereo was a company that gave its subscribers tiny antennas to have access to live broadcast television shows and to record them for later viewing on their Internet-powered devices (Solsman, 2014).

Moreover, broadcast network CBS introduced its own subscription streaming service, CBS All Access, on October 16, 2014 – making it the first major network to launch internet TV service – and premium cable network HBO launched HBO Now and went live on April 7, 2015 (Kastrenakes, 2014; Steel, 2014; Poggi, 2014).

Summary

Television has metamorphosed beyond the boundaries of its form due to innumerable technological shifts in the media ecosystem. As Spigel (2004) puts it, "television is now transforming at such rapid speeds that we no longer really know what 'TV' is at all (Spigel, 2004)" Gripsrud (2010) suggests that "digitization entails redefinition of broadcast [television] (Gripsrud, 2010)."

The literature has shown the development of network television programming and audience measurement to remain relevant despite ever-changing audience tastes and creation of new viewing distribution systems. Most importantly, the literature has demonstrated that the dominance of broadcast networks has diminished through the years. The "old sender-controlled 'dictatorship' (Gentikow, 2010)" form of media consumption in the phase of broadcast oligopoly transformed into "new, user-controlled 'democracy' (Gentikow, 2010)" in the phase of channel and platform proliferation. The power to decide on what, when, and where to watch a television show now lies in the hands of the audience consequently challenging the "central defining feature

(Lotz, 2007)" of broadcast networks and cable channels: linear program scheduling.

"[N]etwork schedule construction" has been very important "to the success of an individual program (Lotz, 2007)" in the last half of the twentieth century. But in the twenty-first century digitalized media environment—where audiences are empowered and time-shift viewing options thrive—network television schedulers face a great deal of difficulty. Several entertainment trades have echoed similar notions about linear scheduling—"the brinkmanship of scheduling has lost some of its luster (Lowry, 2009)"—in the past few years especially during upfronts. Lotz (2007) foresees "linear schedules recede as a dominant structuring frame for television (Lotz, 2007)."

In the phase of proliferation, Ihlebæk, et al. (2013) claims that scheduling "has become more tenuous and dispersed (2013)." However, it remains to play a vital role within the television industry and has a wider scope. The study furthers that scheduling in Norway actively corresponds to the changes in the media environment by "revising its tools and developing new ones (ibid)." Their conclusions are based on eight qualitative interviews with schedulers and other professionals involved in scheduling and cross-platform promotions at Norway's four main broadcasters, a sample study, and other empirical sources.

The structure and landscape of the US television industry, and the challenges it faces in this digital age are different than those of Norway and other European countries where scheduling has been studied by scholars. This study aims to fill the academic gap in linear scheduling by US broadcast networks. Moreover, it aims to find out the value of linear scheduling and the current practices and strategies schedulers utilized in this phase of channel and platform proliferation, where the "importance of networks in organizing viewing… importance of network schedule construction to the success of an individual program, [and the] power in the selection of programming (Lotz, 2007)" seem to be dwindling.

Chapter Three: Methods

The value of linear scheduling in the age of non-linear viewing was probed in this qualitative study. Semi-structured interviews among television schedulers were conducted for data collection. The interviews explored how practices, rules and strategies used in crafting a primetime schedule changed in order to accommodate the time-shifted audience and multiplatform landscape of the industry. Moreover, schedulers were asked to assess traditional scheduling tactics based on their relevance in the phase of channel and platform proliferation.

The narrative data were transcribed and organized into research questions and major themes and patterns that have emerged from data analyses. Academic journals, trade articles and podcast interviews were also used to support narratives from the primary interviews.

Participants

Purposive sampling was the procedure the researcher used in this study. The main goal was to collect and analyze expert opinions from television schedulers in order to draw insights about the value of linear scheduling, relevance of traditional scheduling strategies, and changes in scheduling tactics. Hence, the researcher selected participants that have years of experience in program planning and scheduling in television. Their responsibilities include but are not limited to developing long-and-short term programming and scheduling strategies for their respective primetime, daytime and late-night lineups. Moreover, they determine program schedules, episode orders, show repeat and original episode schedules, and length of show runs.

Four broadcast network schedulers and one cable channel scheduler participated in the study. Jeff Bader has been responsible for NBC's Broadcast Research Group since September 2016. He was the President, Program Planning, Strategy and Research at NBC Entertainment for four years prior. Before joining NBC, Bader had numerous leadership roles at ABC Entertainment Group for more than 20 years. His last position at ABC was Executive Vice President, Planning, Scheduling and Distribution.

Dan Harrison is the Executive Vice President, Strategic Program Planning at Fox Broadcasting Company, a position he has held since January 2012. He previously held various leadership roles at CBS Corporation, NBCUniversal, Fox Sports, NBC Entertainment and UPN.

Kelly Kahl has been CBS Primetime's Senior Executive Vice President since 2004. Kahl joined CBS in January 1996 as Vice President, Scheduling, CBS Entertainment, following three years as Director, Network Research at Warner Bros. Television. Kahl's responsibilities include scheduling oversight for The CW Network.

Andy Kubitz was named Executive Vice President, Program Planning and Scheduling at ABC Entertainment Group, in August 2012. Before joining ABC, Kubitz was Senior Vice President of Program Planning and Scheduling for CBS Television, since 2010.

Dennis Goggin has been Freeform's (formerly ABC Family) Vice President, Program Planning, Scheduling and Multiplatform since March 2014. Before this role, he held multiple positions at Disney Channel, Discovery Networks, TV Guide Network and FOX Family Worldwide.

Measurement Instruments

To investigate the research questions, the researcher employed semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions. A semi-structured type of interviewing provides more flexibility in questioning the participants. There is freedom to ask further questions for replies that needed clarification and/or elaboration. Open questions also allow the participants to respond however they want to according to their willingness to share their knowledge, experiences and opinions (Bryman, 2008).

Semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions are appropriate for the nature of this research study. The value of linear scheduling amidst the proliferation of non-linear viewing and streaming services cannot be determined with a yes-no series of questions and fixed responses. The researcher formulated thorough questions, and required detailed and elaborated responses from the participants based on their years of experience in linear scheduling.

The order and content of questions were different for each participant. The content of the questions for cable scheduler Dennis Goggin differed because of the contrasts of nature of scheduling between cable channels and broadcast networks. The researcher prepared a structured line of questioning aligned with the research questions. During the course of the interview, the order was changed accordingly based on the participants' responses.

The researcher also examined industry trade publications for supplementary information.

Data Collection and Analysis

The most important sources for the analyses of this study were the qualitative interviews. Interviews were conducted with television executives involved in program planning and scheduling at four major broadcast networks and one niche cable channel.

Interview requests were individually sent to each participant through different channels (researcher's connections, Twitter direct messaging and referrals). Requests included a general statement of the problem, reason why the participant was selected for the study and the researcher's contact information. As soon as the interviewees agreed to participate, email coordination was done to set the time and day of interview.

The researcher prepared list of specific open questions prior to the interview proper (See Appendix A). Each interview question was matched to answer the specific research questions of this study. The questions were grouped by research questions and were submitted to the thesis adviser for editing. Current and former television executives were also consulted about the interview questions. They are the following: NFL Scheduler Kimberly Luce, The CW Executive Vice President for Research Eric Cardinal, former CBS and Discovery Communications scheduler Jim McKairnes, and former NBC and FOX scheduler Preston Beckman.

Face-to-face interviews were not an option because of the geographical distance between the interviewer and interviewees. The researcher is in Pennsylvania and participants are in California. Hence, participants were given two options for the interview: via phone or Skype interview.

Four of the participants were interviewed over the phone, and one via Skype video call. In any case, the researcher started with a prepared opening statement stating his name, university and major, and the research topic of the study. Interviewees were asked to state their names and position in the company. The researcher also asked for verbal consent from the interviewees agreeing to participate in the study and to record the conversation. Each individual interview was recorded for accuracy and transcribed for ease of analysis. The researcher assured the interviewees that the recordings would only be used for the study.

An interview guide was used during the conversation. The researcher, however, was not bound to follow exactly how the questions were outlined. The interviewees had leeway on how to answer each question based on their knowledge and willingness to share. The researcher therefore rearranged the questions based on the interviewees' answers. Moreover, questions that were not included in the guide were asked as the researcher picked up on statements made by the participants. However, by and large, all questions were asked and were similar for each participant with the exception of cable scheduler Dennis Goggin for the same reasons mentioned above.

The duration of the conversations was between 30 and 75 minutes, depending on the availability of the interviewees and the detail in which they were willing to elaborate. At the end of each interview, the researcher thanked the interviewees and mentioned to them the possibility of follow-up questions via email for clarification and request for additional information.

The data collected were transcribed. Follow-ups with participants were done after interview transcriptions to fill in any gaps in understanding some thoughts and to ask again some unanswered questions. Transcripts were then categorized in terms of research questions and emergent themes. Each participant's answers were aggregated with other respondents' answers to a certain question and themes. Quotations were selected from interviews that reflected the themes and concepts.

Chapter 4: Results

The following chapter presents the results of the interviews conducted among program schedulers, herein referred as respondents to the study. Their responses were collectively organized into the major themes and patterns that emerged: the value of linear scheduling, changes in the scheduling thought-processes, effectiveness of classic scheduling strategies, new scheduling strategies, and changes in the scheduling job. Secondary data from entertainment podcasts and trades were used as supplements.

Value of Network Scheduling

Respondents acknowledged the changes in the television industry particularly the unlimited viewing options brought about by the proliferation of channels and platforms, and the changes in audience viewing behavior. Despite these changes, all believed that linear scheduling does continue to matter and remains relevant.

Respondents attested that linear viewership remains high. A large percentage of television viewing continues to happen live. According to Jeff Bader, President, Program Planning, Strategy & Research at NBC Entertainment, watching television in the evening is the first choice among people who have watched at least five hours of TV over the course of a week on any device. Based on the survey conducted by his team at NBC, 46 percent of adults 18-34 surveyed chose live television, 20 percent chose Netflix, seven percent used DVR and four percent chose a DVD player. The results varied by age group: 64 percent among adults 35-49, 76 percent among adults 50-64 chose live television first. Bader said the survey was conducted with 1,200 participants between the age of 18 and 64.

Linear scheduling's value extends far beyond the bounds of live television viewing. According to Andy Kubitz, Executive Vice President, Program Planning & Scheduling at ABC Entertainment, linear scheduling is the first aggregator of programming for the broadcast networks. In 2015, 147 out of the 409 original scripted television series aired in the US are from broadcast television networks (eMarketer, & Variety, n.d., Littleton, 2015), and according to Kubitz, the schedule as aggregator helps the audience to filter and decide which shows to watch given the available content in the market. Moreover, the schedule promotes newly launched shows and drives viewers to it. He stated further that an overwhelmed audience that has so many choices will revert back to the basic technique of finding a show, which is to check what's scheduled on television.

CBS Primetime Senior Executive Vice President Kelly Kahl agreed that placing a show in a schedule is the basic way for people to find it and "the absolute best, although not guaranteed way" to get the shows sampled, which is very critical in this phase of proliferation. At the 2015 NATPE (National Association of Television Programming Executives) Conference, he stated:

> "…in this tough environment, we've got to get these people to these shows. There's a lot of clutter out there, and the best way to get people to sample a new show is put them on the doorstep..."

On the other hand, Fox Broadcasting's Executive Vice President for Strategic Program Planning Dan Harrison and The CW's Senior Vice President for Program Planning and Scheduling Kevin Levy see linear scheduling as the best recommendation engines[1]. In the April 2016 issue of AdWeek, Levy was quoted saying:

> "Scheduling still matters in terms of launching new shows and sustaining shows. Regardless of time shifting and video on demand, there's still no better way to get people to check out a show than positioning it in a place that makes sense (para. 4)."

Former NBC and Fox television scheduling executive Preston Beckman said in several interviews that linear scheduling is the broadcast network's homepage. It is a marketing tool that speaks highly of the network's offering and the network brand throughout the night, week, or season. He cited ABC's Thursday night Shondaland line up of Shonda Rhimes-produced series (*Grey's Anatomy, Scandal, How to Get Away with Murder, The Catch*) which was dubbed #TGIT (Thank God It's Thursday) as a schedule that highly speaks of a network's brand (Abdurrahman, 2015; Lowry, 2016; Parker, 2015).

Media academic John Ellis (2000) said in his paper "Scheduling: The Last Creative Act in Television" that scheduling will continue to be important because

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[1] It is, however, different from the computerized recommendation engine on streaming services (like Netflix, Amazon and Hulu) and video websites (like YouTube). These online recommendation engines try to predict the user's interests or preferences using algorithms (sets of mathematical rules and procedures to solve a problem) based on various data such as the user's historical searches, location, demographics, etc. (Markellou, et al., as cited in Khosrow-Pour, 2013). Linear schedule – though based on historical data like TV ratings – are created by select television executives without the use of algorithms.

"it intersects with a major line in television's future evolution: channel brand identity (Ellis, 2000)". He furthered that the channel brand "lies in the schedule and how that schedule is known by their client audiences (ibid)."

Scheduling is also about content windowing, according to Harrison, Kubitz and Bader. Harrison said, "windowing has been key to profitability" in the history of the modern media business. The motion picture industry profited from initial theatrical distribution and subsequently DVD, cable networks, broadcast networks, among others. In the television industry, the linear telecast is the first window, the "first slice of the pie", and it "drives the size of the pie". The few others, according to Kubitz, are VOD services, international distribution, and syndication. Bader said the whole goal of windowing is to monetize the programs, to recuperate and to fund the cost of production.

Also, linear telecast, the first window, empowers all other platforms, as per Bader. The success of shows on their linear telecast transcends to non-linear platforms. Kubitz ("…a big hit show on linear television becomes a phenomenon online") and Harrison ("a very poor, poor performer on broadcast, it is unlikely [in most cases] to be a huge performer in all these other platforms) agree. Beckman said it all starts with the schedule (Parker, 2015).

Moreover, the linear schedule generates social media traffic. Kahl said:

> "…In a world where there is no schedule, how do you get to that kind of critical mass that generates the Twitter traffic and gets people buzzing about it. It's harder to—it still can be done—but it's much harder to do (Parker, 2015)."

Harrison said that the schedule, as a recommendation engine, suggests to viewers that these are the shows that the network believes will be part of social conversation (water cooler or online). These conversations, amplified by the network's marketing push, drives interest that "makes pop culture, pop culture".

Changes in Thought-Processes

Respondents started their careers in the industry during the transition from the broadcast oligopoly phase to the multi-channel competition phase. In this age of digital revolution where broadcast networks' competition has exploded, few thought processes in scheduling have changed.

Looking internally. In the phase of broadcast oligopoly, Bader said the networks hire a person to get information about the schedule of other networks around the month of May when executives are trying to put up a schedule to present during the upfronts. Executives try to talk to agents and studios to know which shows they are competing with. However, this has changed as schedulers now focus internally. This is so, because, according to Kubitz, you're now competing with hundreds of channels that carry every genre of programming in the television ecosystem.

Unlike in the broadcast oligopoly phase where networks try to outperform their competitors' shows in the same time period, Kubitz said that they now "try to make noise… [and] be loud enough…" in their respective time periods, to get people to come and watch live television. Moreover, Kubitz said the audience, the network, and its brand have now become the important piece in scheduling. Rather than an exhaustive look at their broadcast competitors, Kahl said the focus is creating a schedule with an "inherent logic" one that "serves [the network] the best". Bader agreed: "We're really just trying to come up with the most compatible schedule within our own universe that we can."

Owning the Program. Content windowing, as previously mentioned, drives profitability for the networks. The typical windows for television content includes international sales, premium subscription channels, standard subscription channels, DVD sales, SVOD services and advertising-supported SVOD services (Doyle, 2016).

The networks' access to countless possibilities of program monetization through their production studio division is limited if they have no ownership of the program. Hence, ownership, or at least co-ownership, of the programs aired on linear television is highly important to the networks. Kubitz said that networks only have advertising revenues if they don't own the programs. Usually, the ad revenue alone is not enough to recuperate high production costs and to continue producing the show. He furthered:

> "[If] you don't own [the show], chances are these studios [that produced the show] are going to hold back the rights… That's because they're trying to create value by restricting it from the market place so that they can make some big sale later. If we have our own platform, the chances of third-party show showing up is very, very slight."

Kahl said that the proliferation of channels and platforms resulted in more opportunities for exhibition and monetization of shows. Hence, the business model is more than primetime ratings; program ownership has become a bigger and more important part of the business. Therefore, they make an effort at CBS to own everything they put on air.

According to Kubitz and Dennis Goggin, Vice President for Program Planning, Scheduling and Multiplatform at Freeform, program ownership has become an essential factor in program pickup, scheduling, renewal, and cancellation.

On program pick-up, show ownership becomes a tiebreaker if creative executives are debating which shows are better. The show owned or co-owned by the network's studio arm has better chances of getting picked up. On program renewal, shows performing poorly on the linear channel and not owned by the network are most likely will be canceled. On the other hand, shows performing poorly on the linear broadcast but owned by the network are more likely to be renewed. Kubitz explained:

> "We could reap from the great deal of losses… [I]t encourages you to take more risk and to try to keep shows on because…you're getting high revenue on the back end (across multiple windows)."

Bader shared that they even used ownership as a bargain for the show to get the most lucrative time periods. "We actually said to the studio that you can have the time period but you have to forego some ownership. Otherwise, we're putting our own show there."

In the 2014-15 season, 33 out of the 48 new broadcast series ordered were produced or co-produced by the studio arm of the network where these shows would air (Goldberg, 2014; The Wrap, 2014). The number was 31 out of 40 series in the 2015-16 season (Goldberg, 2015; TheWrap, 2015), and 34 out of the 42 in the 2016-17 season (Holloway, 2016). Kubitz, Kahl and Bader, however, clarified that program quality trumps program ownership. Kubitz furthered that they don't start scheduling by segregating shows by studio ownership. They aim to schedule the best shows, and sometimes they are not produced by the network's studio arm.

"We're not going to keep a show off the schedule because we don't own it if it's a great show, and I don't think we're going to put a show of ours on the air if we think it's terrible," Kahl said. He pointed out, however, that a majority of the projects in development at every network are owned or partially owned by their studio divisions so they are mostly picking from their own shows.

Using Data Kubitz said the amount of data that needs to be processed daily is "mind-numbing". Apart from the live or overnight ratings, delayed viewing ratings and commercial ratings, he receives social content ratings, program testing results, and survey results, among others. These data streams are divided into multiple demographics such as age, sex, education, socioeconomic status. As a scheduler, they are expected to interpret, explain, and present those data.

During the phase of broadcast oligopoly, overnight ratings from leading television ratings provider Nielsen was the only data stream they received and needed to analyze to create a strategy and make decisions. But now, according to Kubitz, overnight ratings are less significant because they don't account for DVR playback. Bader explained that the performance of the 10:00pm time period in live ratings is monitored because of its importance to their affiliates. He said the affiliates "could care less how our shows did digitally" because their business completely revolves around the linear broadcast. Therefore the 10:00pm lead-in to the 11:00pm newscast is critical[1].

Both Kubitz and Bader mostly looked at the show's live plus three (L+3) and the average commercial minute ratings three days after its initial broadcast, or what the industry calls C3 ratings. C3 ratings are the metric that the network uses in selling commercial spots. Bader shared that Nielsen will start releasing ratings reports on a daily basis on a rolling average. He said the numbers would look like motion picture box office reports[2]. The questions now, he said, are:

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[1] In 2010, the then-General Electric-owned NBC launched *The Jay Leno Show*, a show hosted by Jay Leno airing five nights a week at 10:00pm. This was after Leno exited *The Tonight Show,* which he hosted since 1992, and turned over the hosting job to Conan O'Brien. It was a savvy business move for NBC since the nightly talk show is cheaper to produce than scripted series (Carter, 2008). However, *The Jay Leno Show* ratings slowly dropped week by week from its premiere and *The Tonight Show with Conan O'Brien* was not performing well compared to when it was hosted by Leno (Fienberg, 2013). The bigger issue about the programming move was *The Jay Leno show* was a weaker lead-in to NBC affiliates' newscasts that it undermined audiences of the 11:00pm local newscasts (Farhi, 2009; Flint, 2009). NBC, later on, decided to give back *The Tonight Show* to Jay Leno and O'Brien left the network after he refused to be demoted to the 12:05 hour (Fienberg, 2013). The 2010 *Tonight Show* debacle is considered as a disaster in network scheduling and public relations (Schechner, Ovide & Schuker, 2010; Serjeant, 2010).

[2] As of printing, Nielsen is yet to launch this feature.

what do the numbers mean, how will the networks use it, and how to monetize it?

In terms of digital audience measurement, there has been no agreed upon methodology according to Eric Cardinal, The CW's Executive Vice President for Research. Each network has its own standards for tracking digital viewing. "Some people want to measure [digital viewing] at the start [of the video], some people just want impressions," said Goggin. Bader, however, cautioned about looking at viewing levels on different platforms because digital viewing counts when the episodes start unlike in national broadcast where average minute ratings are utilized. He explained:

> "It's comparing apples and then bananas. You have to convert to the same metric in order to compare, and you'll find that the broadcast networks still reach a lot more people… [W]e all have to figure out ways of having common measurement across platforms. It's just hard because we don't get the same data that you get from online."

Goggin said the industry is at the juncture where technology in audience measurement is still trying to accommodate changing audience behavior. Nielsen has long been criticized for failure to deliver acceptable accumulated viewership data on both linear and digital platforms (Parker, 2015). The ratings provider has developed metrics to measure television viewing across all platforms in and out of homes called Total Audience Measurement.

According to Kubitz and Harrison, non-linear viewing performance is also considered in program renewal and cancellation. Kubitz expounded that the online presence on the network and third-party VOD service is a determinant of audience dedication to the show. In the 2015/16 season, there were few freshmen shows with low performance on live viewing but generated huge non-linear viewing, such as Fox's *Scream Queens* and ABC's *Quantico.* Both shows were renewed for a second season.

On the other hand, Bader and Kahl discredited the ratings across social media such as Twitter and Facebook. Bader said "there is no correlation" between the volume of activity on social media and television ratings and Kahl believed it "can be a false parameter." They furthered that shows can be trending online but flunk in linear viewership. Kahl, however, said that social conversations and engagement online are good for their shows.

Competing with DVR. DVR is one technology that empowered the audience to bypass the linear schedule. Currently, more than half of US TV households have DVR (The Nielsen Company, 2016a). Kahl said DVR has become an extension of live viewing. Bader furthered that the concept of time shifting began when DVR technology proliferated as it became easier for audience to watch shows on their availability. He said:

> "Not only are people, not necessarily watching [live TV], but your [live] shows are competing against shows that have been DVR-ed. So in any time period, your biggest competition is not another network but it is actually DVR."

Kubitz explained that as the audience is delaying viewing by small or large time increments from the start of primetime, scheduled shows on live television are heavily affected since people are still watching the recorded shows.

He singled out the 10:00pm hour because DVR viewing during that time period is "bigger than almost any channel out there" based on Nielsen ratings, and audiences are mostly watching the recorded 9:00pm show. Hence, Kubitz said their goal is to find programming that is old skewing, easy to join while in progress, or "can be watched the next day with no real loss."

Prior to this, Van den Bulck' study (1999) found that there was no reduction in time of television viewing as the "VCR is mainly used as a time-filling device." He also suggested that VCRs should be looked at as another channel even though it is a different form (Van den Bulck, 1999).

Changing Patience. Several new shows were canceled just after airing a few episodes in the 2015-16 season. Based on metacritic.com, ABC pulled *Of Kings and Prophets* and *Wicked City* after two and three episodes respectively. The *Blood and Oil* episode order was cut to 10 and eventually got canceled. CBS' *Angel from Hell* was cancelled after five episodes. Fox dropped *Cooper Barrett's Guide to Surviving Life* and *Knock, Knock Live*. NBC cut short the episode orders for *The Player* and *Truth Be Told*, and is presumed canceled (Dietz, 2015). The list doesn't include shows that finished their first season run but were not renewed. Despite these early cancellations, all respondents claimed that they are more patient now with low-rated shows and are giving them more of a chance to grow.

Kubitz acknowledged that the shows they cancelled (*Wicked City* and *Of Kings and Prophets)* were "big-time disasters in the ratings." Judging by the data in hand and the unaired episodes, they concluded that they would not be able to recover the production costs for those shows if they keep them on the air hence the early cancelation. In defense, he said:

> “We are the network that swings for the fences so we’re going to have more strikeouts than our competitors but we’re hoping to have more homeruns than our competitors.”

Bader recalled that a one-rated show a decade ago wouldn’t last a week but now, shows of that low-rated category level will most likely stay on air to finish its season run. He and Kahl pointed out that it takes weeks to take into account the delayed viewing in order to see the whole picture of the show’s performance on its premiere date. C3 and live plus seven (L+7) ratings are generally delivered between two to three weeks from airdate. Kahl said:

> “We’re taking a little longer to make decisions. If we see a show with a 75% increase in delayed viewing, that’s probably going to cause us to be even more patient with the show”.

Kahl hopes that this audience watching delayed will eventually convert to live viewing. Moreover, Kahl and Harrison said some viewers assess the network’s commitment to the show before committing to it. They don’t want to invest in a show that will be yanked after the first few episodes. “We’re certainly very cognizant that some people watch delayed and some people will wait for a few weeks to see if a show is doing well,” Kahl explained. For 2016-17 season, among the lowest-rated new shows (ABC’s *Conviction* and *Notorious* and Fox’s *Pitch* and *The* Exorcist), none have been canceled (Holloway, 2016).

Goggin admitted that his patience has changed as well but there is still pressure to perform well on live linear ratings because the industry has yet to fully embrace viewership across multiple platforms. Hence, he furthered:

> "You don't have as much runway to sort-of give it a chance to breathe and really sort-of find and grow an audience. You have to make decisions much quicker because if you're losing audience, your competitors are gaining it. And at this point, the universe is saturated so the only way you can grow your audience share is to steal it from someone else."

Defining an Underperforming Show. Kahl said that there's no number out there that can be used as a threshold to determine what's acceptable and unacceptable for a show performance. Thus, for him, an underperforming show is a show that is not living up to their expectations.

Goggin and Harrison said they would be looking at linear ratings, delayed viewing, and digital performance on a relative basis. Goggin furthered he would label a show 'underperforming' if it does not thrive on any platform. Aside from other available data streams, Harrison said he would check the minute-by-minute ratings of their shows relative to the other shows at the same night to see if there is a decline in their ratings. He wants to know the audience investment in their show.

Kubitz tied it more to the financial performance of the show. If the network cannot at least break even on production costs based on the show's performance in the time period, they might as well replace it with another show that will generate a profit. He, however, said that the strong creative of the show would also be considered. They will let the show on the air and grow because network executives believe that it has potential based on its creative merits but only to a certain point.

Winning the Time Period. In a vulture.com article, Kahl recalled that "the battles were hand-to-hand combat in time periods, and that was the be all, end all (Adalian, 2012)." But now in the phase of proliferation, he furthered that "it's less of a zero sum game (ibid)". However, Kahl, as well as Bader, said that they still want to win time periods.

Bader shared that they still schedule confidentially, and has thought of moving a show to a specific time period to beat their rivals. Winning the time period after all drives their ad revenue and affiliates would prefer strong live ratings. Nevertheless, he said, "time period only drives so much of the success of the show" especially when time-shifted TV viewing is growing.

Kahl said they like to win the night and the week but they don't "micro focus" on the shows' performance in its time period. It is more important for them to launch the shows, get massive sampling, and give them a chance to succeed across multiple platforms.

Pushing for Marketing. With numerous programming options available to consumers, Kahl pointed out that "one of the biggest challenges is really getting attention for these shows prior to their launching." Unlike before, he said, shows will be featured in an article in *TV Guide*, on the cover of *Entertainment*

Weekly, or a segment on *Access Hollywood* or *Entertainment Tonight*. But now, as Kubitz puts it:

> "You're screaming in a room full of screaming people… [E]verybody is out there in the market place yelling and saying 'Watch our show! Watch our show! Watch our show!' So you are literally trying to launch new shows in a room full of screaming people."

To get through the clutter, there's now a great emphasis on marketing. Kubitz said a great show is going to die if the audience doesn't find it amidst the crowded television landscape. Harrison furthered that "investment in marketing creates some degree of urgency and interest in viewers." Marketing helps their "content break through" and hopefully, leads to success as the audience finds the show.

Assessing Classic Scheduling Strategies

Despite the changing media ecosystem, all respondents still schedule in a traditional manner. Some, if not most, of the old linear scheduling strategies are still utilized to get live viewing since the television networks still operate on a linear basis in the phase of proliferation. As Beckman put it, "I think as certain elements of what that schedule looks like become less important, there are other ways in which the schedule becomes more important (Abdurrahman, 2015)."

Audience Flow. The concept of flow—recruiting audience and retaining them to watch the other shows that come next—remains vital as it always has been even in the proliferation phase, per the respondents. Harrison said that the networks are engrossed in "working through to create coherency in their brands". They want to have brand oriented-nights that makes sense to allure the audience to watch television live and experience the network's programming. He cited ABC's scheduling on Wednesday and Tuesday nights with family comedies and Thursday nights with Shonda Rhimes-produced shows, which are very coherent with ABC's brand.

Through compatibility of shows by themes or genres, Goggin said that it helps the network's marketing team to communicate more easily to the audience about the network's offering on the given night. Harrison said in a separate interview in AdWeek that it also helps their ad sales (Lynch, 2016a).

Goggin compared creating flow on linear television to the recommendation engine system on video sharing websites:

> "[Y]ou see that now on YouTube where you sit down to watch someone's funny cat video and the next thing you know you're like 'how was it three hours later?' That's what we're always trying to replicate, that behavior and that's kind of what you saw in the… traditional TV model. We want you to stay; we want to provide you with great content that's going to keep you engage for as long as you possibly can."

Kubitz acknowledged that creating audience flow is no easy feat. He said that, most times, there is a great new show that does not fit and is incompatible with other shows across network's scheduling grid. It can make or break the new show. "[The new] show is starting already handicapped if you can't fit it in to some place very nicely on your schedule."

Audience flow, however, is not only limited to one-night engagement. It transcends all different nights of the week. Bader and Harrison said promoting successive nights is also important and it is accomplished through well-planned and well-coordinated on-air promotions. On NBC, Bader said they intensely promote their schedule during live programming nights like *NFL Sunday Football* and *The Voice* on Mondays and Tuesdays. The viewing platform (live television, DVR, VOD) is not as important though, according to Harrison, as long as the audience watches the shows. “That’s healthy to our media ecosystem.”

Lead-In. Every respondent collectively agreed that lead-in—placing a strong show before a weaker or new show to give it a boost—remains the most important among the classic scheduling strategies. Kahl said that “there’s no better way to get people to try a new show than putting it behind a successful show.” He clarified though that a network can still launch a show in the first hour of primetime but it entails heavy publicity and promotion, which requires huge financial commitment from the network.

Respondents recognized that getting the audience to come to the network at 8:00pm is valuable as the audience is more likely to continue to watch the next shows. Kubitz said a great strong 8:00pm show as a lead-in is the “goal of every night of the week.” It is better than starting from scratch at 9:00pm or 10:00pm time periods, according to Kahl.

Kubitz explained that once you have the audience at 8:00pm, “they’re yours to lose at that point.” The scheduler could either give the audience a reason to leave or drive them throughout the night's programming. Bader mentioned airing promos during the 8:00pm show helps to lead the audience to watch the 9:00pm and 10:00pm shows.

Bader said that the other strategies remain valid but as Harrison pointed out, the other tactics like tentpolling and hammocking have the concept of lead-in tied to them. Kubitz argued that tentpolling—placing the network's strongest shows in the 9:00p.m. time period to lure the audience to new shows running before and after it—is not as strong nowadays. He explained that the audience would not pre-tune in anymore in the last few minutes of the the 8/8:30pm show to avoid missing the beginning of the 9:00pm show. The ability of the audience to flip channels quickly using the remote control and the capability of the DVR to record a show once it has started and be viewed later have all contributed to the weakening of tentpolling as a strategy.

Counterprogramming, Blunting. Kahl, Kubitz and Goggin said that counterprogramming—placing a show with a completely opposite appeal—still matters. "We all try to do something kind of unique in the time period if we can," Kahl said. He mentioned that counterprogramming is the strategy behind The CW's strip of DC superhero shows from Monday to Thursday at the 8:00pm time period (*Supergirl, The Flash, Arrow, DC's Legends of Tomorrow*) for the 2016-17 season.

Kubitz, on the other hand, believed that the strategy is not as strong as it was before. He, however, clarified that you still wouldn't schedule a show that caters to the same demographics opposite big shows like *The Voice* and *The Big Bang Theory*. Goggin said that as live viewership continues to decline, you want to take advantage of the homes using television and avoid vying for the same demo. He said he wouldn't put a show like *Pretty Little Liars* against another young female skewing show on another channel. Goggin justified:

> "…you want to make sure that you're doing everything you can so that – for at least whatever [US viewer] percentage is sitting down and wants to watch something live, that you're giving them a low cost way to do it… [and you're not] forcing them to make a choice."

Bader, meanwhile, claimed that counterprogramming "went out the window" when the networks started to cater to the 18-49 demographic.

As for blunting—minimizing the opportunity of a competitor's new show to get sampled, the strategy takes place less today, per Kubitz. He explained that the audience has various choices now to catch up with a show premiere that they missed.

Reruns. Respondents all agreed that the modern viewers have no tolerance for reruns anymore. Harrison admitted that reruns have been the biggest change in their scheduling strategy in the past decade. Kubitz said DVR killed reruns (Parker, 2015) because as Kahl puts it, the viewers "aren't out of luck" for missing an episode because it will be either recorded on DVR or will be available on-demand.

Channel Surfing. According to Bader, flipping channels remains one of the top ways in which viewers discover a show. Based on the study they conducted, channel surfing comes second after old-fashioned television promotion. In-person word of mouth (excluding social media) comes in third followed by online advertisements, on-screen television guide, and Facebook. Bader, however, said that channel search is “sort-of a relic” right now given the growing sophistication of on-screen guides.

Goggin agreed and said that viewers are making decisions by scrolling through the titles on the interactive program guides (IPGs) without having to change the channel. But he recognized that older viewers might still be channel surfing because they have grown up with that behavior. In Kahl’s opinion, he thinks that scanning through different channels to find something to watch is not an effective way to get people to your shows. “If you’re counting on people flipping around to get to your show, you’re in trouble.”

Programming for Sweeps. The concept of sweep months was developed in 1954. Small TV rating booklets, distributed to sample households across the country were “swept” from East to West, and the data collected were used to measure TV ratings (Fletcher, 2009; Moore et al., 2006; Vane and Gross, 1994). This old-fashioned way of data gathering for television ratings in the phase of broadcast oligopoly led to the strategy of launching and scheduling shows in line with the sweep months of November, February, May and July (Lotz, 2007). Sweep months, however, became less important in the phase of proliferation as new innovation in television ratings collections were introduced which led to Nielsen retiring its paper diaries in 2017.

According to Bader, they have not really programmed for sweeps "like the old days" for many years now. Harrison furthered that sweeps have become less important because it only acknowledged broadcast network competition in linear feeds and not the competition from other platforms. "Sweeps have declined in importance and will continue to do so."

New Scheduling Strategies

Traditional scheduling strategies still guide schedulers in their decision-making. In these changing times, schedulers, according to Kubitz, are challenged to convert the audience to watch live television because the networks continue to rely on live viewership to support their ad-supported business model. He believes it's not impossible but Bader said it is tough, "I think that ship has sailed." He explained that viewers would most likely continue to watch a show digitally if they have discovered it digitally. They might watch it live, however the chances vary dramatically by demographic.

Young viewers are the most challenging. Kubitz characterized them as having a "non-ritualized viewing habit" with an unpredictable availability. Bader said that young people are not watching broadcast networks. "It's not a question of watching it linearly or digitally, they're still not watching us." Kubitz said the ten-billion-dollar question is how to convert young people to linear viewers? Right now, he aims for the 35 to 54 year-old viewers since they watch live television, have “family viewing style,” and have “a ritualized viewing system”. Afterwards, they try to appeal to young viewers through other platform offerings. He said:

> “At some point where there is a transition that takes place, they know ABC, they know our programming and they know our shows. In our strategy, it’s more about trying to figure out the platforms, and to speak to people for specific platforms rather than pick a show to somehow fit that gap.”

In-Season Stacking. As defined by Kubitz, in-season stacking is the online availability of all episodes of the current season of a TV show throughout the entire year. This gives the audience a chance to binge watch and catch up to the live linear offering. The industry practice is called ‘rolling five’ or ‘trailing five’, limiting the episodes availability to only five in-season episodes (The Walt Disney Company, 2016).

Kubitz and Goggin, both part of the Disney ABC Television Group, believe that giving the audience the capability to binge-watch current shows on on-demand platforms helps drive people to watch TV shows in a linear fashion. Goggin furthered that through this, viewers can get into any point of the show, go back from the beginning, catch up and hopefully, tune in to the live linear episode premiere.

Kubitz cited *Scandal* as an example where season two of the Kerry Washington-led series was made available on Netflix three weeks before the season three premiere. There was huge spike in binge watching for the show and subsequently in the new season's live linear ratings. This value of in-season stacking is the reason behind the two-year stacking rights deal between ABC Entertainment and Warner Bros. on March 2016 (The Walt Disney Company, 2016).

On the contrary, Kahl and Harrison said that in-season stacking could help "to a degree." Harrison said it could be complementary while Kahl said that there's no difference between full season stacking and trailing five. It will not make a poor show into a hit show. But he furthered that "we can't afford to look down our nose at any viewers at this point… [so] every viewer we can get to come to one of our shows… [is] a good thing."

Bader said, "I don't know that [in-season stacking] does" help draw online viewers to linear but "it's fine" since the network does not schedule reruns anymore and as long as it monetizes their other platforms. He also mentioned that there is an expectation among the audience that episodes are available on on-demand platforms if they want to start watching a show, and it dismays them if they are not.

NBC Chairman Bob Greenblatt said during the 2016 upfronts week, "[In-season stacking] is the future of our business; stacking is important to us… It is the order of the day (Andreeva, 2016a)." According to Deadline TV co-editor Nellie Andreeva (2016b), in-season stacking rights are already included in picking up new shows and renewing deals for old shows for most of the broadcast shows in 2016/17 television season (Andreeva, 2016b).

Splitting Seasons, Year-Round Programming. In the phase of proliferation, broadcast networks have virtually new programming available 52 weeks, according to Harrison. (With the exception of holidays like Christmas, which according to Bader have low HUT (households using television) levels). Harrison justified there's a need to have circulation of original programming to attract viewers to watch live television.

To accommodate more programming, the traditional television season that begins in September and ends May has been deconstructed in the past years. Kubitz, on the KCRW podcast *The Spin-off*, said "breaking up our serialized shows into distinct seasons" is one scheduling strategy they are practicing over at ABC (Parker, 2015). For the past seasons, ABC shows like *Grey's Anatomy*, *Scandal*, *Once Upon A Time* and *How to Get Away with Murder* debut during fall season (around September) and take a break (around November) with a huge cliffhanger for their mid-season finale. The series continues with a return in the spring season (around March) and finally ending the show's season run before summer (around May) (Holloway, 2015; Knox, 2016; Cusumano, 2016). In between the gap, networks schedule another mix of original scripted shows and some reality shows. This trend of splitting one season of a show into seemingly two distinct seasons is not only observed on broadcast network TV but also in cable. AMC has been practicing this with their hit shows like *Breaking Bad*, *Mad Men* and *The Walking Dead* (Rushfield, 2013).

According to Kubitz, it creates rhythm in their schedule (Parker, 2015). He furthered in an email that having a gap between a season gives time for the production company to produce the episodes. Hence they schedule the first ten to 11 episodes of a show during the fall, place a mid-season show from January to February where production takes place, and air the other half of the season in the spring. He clarified that "spreading hits is a byproduct of the strategy."

The Spin-Off host Michael Schneider pointed out that season splitting means more marketing dollars as there are two premieres and two finales per season, which Kubitz agreed to:

> "Every hour, every minute of our schedule is now expected to be have a strategy behind it, have it understood when and where it's going to launch so that marketing dollars can be moved from quarter to quarter in order to launch these shows (Parker, 2015)."

Episode orders have changed as well, according to Harrison. From the large 22 to 24 episodes per season, new shows on broadcast start between 12 and 15 episodes. Harrison said more episodes are then ordered for the second year until it backs up to the standard 22 or 24 episodes. Fox scripted series *Empire* only had 12 episodes for its first season and grew to 18 episodes for the second season. Marketing-wise, Harrison said that it's more efficient to spread marketing dollars over a 22-episode season show and a split season than launching a new show.

Programming 'With Urgency'. All respondents said that the shows can constitute live appointment viewing. Kubitz said they are creating various types of programming that people will want to watch live, and want to watch and share with family. According to Harrison, there are certain formats that "tend to offer the most urgency" like serialized drama and competition reality. Viewers of competition reality shows stay tuned for the nightly elimination. Serialized drama audiences tends to watch the night it airs or the day after to avoid the risk of getting "spoiled" (ruining the surprise or suspense for the viewer after knowing the information about the plot of the show episode), Goggin said.

There's also great pressure on showrunners and producers to "raise the bar or heighten the excitement or tension" in their storytelling, according to Kahl. These kinds of shows generate conversation (in-person or on social platforms) and he believes that the concept of the water cooler remains alive, and "one of the great reasons to get people [to] choose to watch live."

Moreover, Bader said that they are doing more live programming for the audience to come back and watch the network. He explained that live programming tends to get time shifted less that's why they started to produce live musicals like *Sound of Music Live!* (2013) and *Hairspray Live!* (2016) and other live holiday-themed events like the *Rockefeller Center Christmas Tree Lighting*. Live programming is also used to promote the NBC schedule. In addition to NBC, Fox went into live TV musicals with *Grease Live!*, and ABC is also developing a live musical event (Swift, 2016).

The Evolving Scheduling Job

Indeed, the competitive landscape of television has seen unprecedented change compared to its state during the decades-long phase of broadcast oligopoly. The competition that the broadcast networks face is beyond the shows delivered over-the-air.

Kahl said that the scheduling job or responsibilities have not actually changed a lot but "we're program caretakers now. We're asset concierges (Lynch, 2016a)." He explained that they don't only need to find the logical schedule for each show to maximize the linear audience but also nurture these shows to create assets. Bader said that they "create access for an asset (show)" for various online streaming platforms aside from syndication and for international distribution because the "game now is trying to figure out how to monetize all the different places of airing."

Moreover, Bader said that scheduling has become "a multidimensional chess game." He, as well as Kubitz and Goggin, shared that they also monitor the entire inventory of their shows, and manage the delivery and availability of their shows on its different windows on network app, streaming services, on-demand platforms and online media stores (iTunes). Goggin added that the requirements from networks' carriage agreements with MVPD and affiliates, distribution rights, which vary based on program ownership, and licensing deals for programs from outside studios all add to the layer of complexity in managing content across all platforms.

Bader and Kubitz see the scheduling job evolving. The latter thinks his job title as scheduler is evolving to ‘content strategist’ (Schneider, 2013).

Conclusion

Linear scheduling remains important, according to the respondents. Kahl said that launching shows on a linear network is still “unrivaled in terms of success or potential success”. There’s a guarantee that the show will be massively sampled and will be emerged “in to the ecosystem, in to the zeitgeist, in to pop culture.”

Kubitz said that linear scheduling would never disappear because there will always be passive behavior among the audience that doesn’t want to think any more about what to watch:

> “These people want to lean back in their chairs and just not think for a little bit. It’s a sort of form of meditation in which people just like want to cleanse their palette and refresh their brain and just relax. If they have to go choose and figure out which show they want to watch, it’s more work to them. So I think there’s still going to be that passiveness to it.”

According to Goggin, it is in the schedulers’ best interest to keep the linear platform healthy but they should never neglect digital and should start (or continue) gearing towards the future. Kubitz professed that everything is changing but there’s uncertainty on the degree and rapidity of change. Bader said the schedulers need to stay current in the digital world. As Kahl puts it, “The rules of viewing are changing every day. Rules are how we schedule. We have to be nimble. We have to be able to adapt.”

Chapter 5: Discussion

One defining characteristics of linear television is the schedule, and the process of crafting it was tagged as the "the last creative act on television (Ellis, 2000). Scheduling is the creation of flow and compatibility between programs (Lynch, 2016a) with a goal of maximizing the audience (Horen, 1980) every night. However, technological advancements threaten the schedule, and the logical and creative process entailed in creating one.

In the phase of broadcast oligopoly, three major linear networks competed for the general audience and monopolized advertising revenues. The development of cable systems led to the phase of multi-channel competition where more linear channel options were available for the audience. Each channel catered to various demographics and created programming for every genre. The concentration of advertising dollars among broadcast networks was disintegrated to multiple channels in the cable systems. The phase of proliferation is characterized by a ubiquity of viewing platforms and a shift in audience viewing habits. The internet created non-linear distribution systems like streaming and VOD services, and made accessibility to content seemingly boundless. Moreover, the portability of devices made content consumption mobile. These have resulted in the disturbance of the practices and business model of traditional linear television—and worse, predictions and declarations of the end of television. Likewise, the relevance and value of linear scheduling are challenged. Does linear scheduling still matter if viewers watch television shows on their own time and on their preferred platform and device?

The purpose of this qualitative study is to investigate the deliberation process in scheduling among network schedulers in the phase of proliferation. Program schedulers were interviewed to assess traditional scheduling strategies established in the phase of broadcast oligopoly, to identify new strategies they employ to accommodate the audience changing viewing habits, and to examine the current value of linear scheduling amidst the rise of non-linear viewing. Furthermore, the research aims to fill the academic gap about the practices in scheduling in American commercial broadcasting during the current phase.

Based on the qualitative interviews conducted, which were supported with other secondary data, linear scheduling remains relevant in the age of non-linear viewing. The fact that more than half of the US television households continue to watch live television speaks to the significance of scheduling. Different from the traditional functions and perceptions in the phase of broadcast oligopoly, scheduling has morphed into various roles. Scheduling plays as an aggregator of television shows amidst the explosion of scripted original series across multiple platforms. The schedule becomes a filtration system and recommendation engine system for the audience in this cluttered media eco-system. Moreover, it stands as a brand ambassador and a marketing tool for the network. The selection of shows and their nightly organization represents the network's distinctive offering to the audience.

As linear television continues to amass large viewership, strategic placement of new shows on the scheduling grid guarantees massive sampling for the show. This advantage of a new network show highly contributes to its longevity as a program and profitability in many content windowing schemes across linear and non-linear platforms. The linear telecast, as the first window, empowers the succeeding content platforms with the adage, as coined by ABC Entertainment Executive Vice President, Program Planning & Scheduling Andy Kubitz, "a big hit show on linear television becomes phenomenon online". The schedule also amplifies social conversation—be it engagement through social media or in-person communication—by gathering people in a non-spatial location during the show's broadcast.

Schedulers have changed some approaches and thought-processes in strategizing for a schedule since digitalization has altered traditional television viewing. Ubiquity of platforms has weakened the schedulers' stance competition-wise. There is less focus on the competitive landscape, for example, winning the time period or night because broadcast networks' competition grows exponentially across multiple platforms. Schedulers now concentrate on creating a coherent schedule within their network universe that will stand out on its own merit and will serve the network and their target audience best.

Various new factors in the decision-making process for scheduling, program pickup, renewal and cancellation are considered in the phase of proliferation.

Program ownership or co-ownership via the network's studio arm has become an important factor in scheduling. This means that the network can stack all the episodes of a show on their respective online platforms, also known as in-season stacking. Networks can also monetize these owned-programs through licensing deals in different windows such as MVPD and streaming services.

The networks also take into account the performance of the show on delayed viewing beyond its initial telecast. More than half of the total US households own a DVR, and delayed viewing, particularly at 10:00pm, is bigger than almost any channel out there on a given night (In the height of VCRs in the 1990s, it was already suggested that recording devices like VCRs should be considered as another network despite its different form since they are a time-filling device (Van den Bulck, 1999)). The data streams are generally delivered within weeks but Live+7 ratings, for example, will not be available in three weeks. This mostly constricts the networks from giving an immediate verdict to an underperforming show. The schedulers admit they are more patient with underperforming shows thus some of the poor-rated shows stay longer than they used to in the phase of broadcast oligopoly. There's no standard number used as a threshold to determine what's acceptable and unacceptable for a show's performance. Each network has its own discretionary measures.

Non-linear performance is also considered in program renewal and cancellation aside from linear and delayed viewing ratings. The industry, however, has yet to figure out an accepted standard practice of measuring audience on digital platforms. Currently, each network has its own standards for tracking digital viewing. The networks have stressed the magnitude of accumulating television viewership across multiple platforms as more viewers consume television content on their mobile devices. CBS Primetime Senior Executive Vice President Kelly Kahl and NBC Entertainment President for Program Planning, Strategy & Research Jeff Bader, on the other hand, discredited the ratings across social media because there's no correlation between social media activity and linear television ratings. Above all, program quality remains the biggest factor in scheduling, program pickup, renewal and cancellation.

Despite changes in the television landscape, some, if not most, of the old linear scheduling strategies are still utilized. Every night, schedulers continue to build a flow through compatibility of shows by themes or genres. There is more emphasis in creating brand-oriented or thematic nights to attract viewers to watch live television. Popular shows are still ideally placed at the first hour of primetime to serve as lead-in to attract mass number of viewers and then driving them to the succeeding shows of the night. Lead-in remains the most important classic scheduling strategy. The effectiveness of other strategies like tentpolling and hammocking were weakened by remote controls and DVRs.

Furthermore, Bader said that the counterprogramming strategy became irrelevant when networks started to cater to the 18-49 demographic. Although, the other schedulers believe it still matters to avoid competition with a show that caters to the same demographic especially now that audiences are fragmented.

Blunting, on the other hand, is used less because of the variety of options for the audience to watch the premiere episode that they've missed.

Flipping channels or channel surfing remains a top strategy for program discovery but it is being threatened by the rise of sophisticated interactive program guides (IPGs). Viewers are now scrolling the titles of the shows airing on the given time period through the IPGs, and not by flipping channels.

Among the classic scheduling strategies, the practice of reruns is gone. Kubitz claimed that DVR killed reruns. Various available platforms aside from DVRs are available for the audience to catch up for the shows that they've missed therefore the irrelevance of reruns on a linear network.

Networks are airing original programming throughout the year (except during holidays where the household using television (HUT) level is low) since reruns are not tolerated any longer. Certain programming formats are preferable because they create a sense of urgency among viewers to watch the show as it airs or the day after. This includes live television events, serialized programs, and reality competition shows. The downside of live television events and reality competition shows though is that it's less valuable in content windowing compared to scripted series (Napoli, 2011).

Since there is more programming, splitting one season of a high-rated show into seemingly two distinct seasons has been practiced on both OTA networks and cable channels. Through this technique, hit-rated shows are spread across the television season. People will watch year-round therefore, more advertising dollars for the networks. There’s also a circulation of original programming in the network attracting more people to tune-in.

One of the biggest challenges among traditional television networks is to attract non-linear viewers to watch live television, especially the young demographics that are characterized as having a non-ritualized viewing habit with an unpredictable availability. Bader has said that viewers would most likely continue to watch a show digitally if they have discovered it digitally. Nonetheless, there’s still optimism among the respondents that in one way or another non-linear viewers will watch live television.

In-season stacking is one strategy that some networks are employing on their online platforms in replacement of industry standard of trailing five or rolling five. This gives the audience the chance to get to any point of the show, binge watch the episodes they missed, and hopefully catch up to the current episodes on live linear viewing. Not all respondents agree that in-season stacking draws audiences back to live viewing: some are convinced, some to a certain degree. Despite the differing opinions about in-season stacking, the respondents do not want to underestimate any strategy that may lead the audience to linear viewing.

Indeed, the playing field has changed and it has become, as Bader puts it, a “multi-dimensional chess game” for schedulers, who now manage content across multiple platforms. The business is not all about primetime ratings anymore. They would still like to win the time period and the night but most importantly, schedulers want their shows to get massively sampled in a linear fashion and to be given a chance to thrive on the succeeding windows or platforms. They consider themselves now as “asset concierges”, “content strategists”, and “program caretakers”.

Similarities and differences in respondents’ perspectives about the value of linear scheduling in a non-linear world, the use of classic scheduling strategies and new scheduling strategies are expected. The similarities can be attributed to the fact that at one point in the respondents’ careers, they worked together or worked for the same company in different departments and positions.

Before Jeff Bader was named NBC Entertainment President for Program Planning, Strategy and Research in August 2012, he worked at ABC in numerous leadership roles for two decades. When he left, Andy Kubitz was hired as ABC Entertainment’s EVP, Program Planning and Scheduling. Kubitz started his career at CBS Corporation and worked with CBS Primetime Senior EVP Kelly Kahl since 1996. Dan Harrison held executive positions at NBC Entertainment, NBC Universal, and CBS Corporation and was later hired as EVP for Strategic Program Planning at Fox in 2012. Dennis Goggin is the Vice President for Program Planning, Scheduling at Multiplatform at Freeform, a part of Disney-ABC Television Group together with ABC Entertainment.

Dissimilarities, on the other hand, may come from different data sources and different results on the researches, studies and surveys that they conducted. Since each company has their own research departments, data interpretation can vary. Also, strategies that might have worked for Network A might not necessarily have worked for Network B hence a differing point-of-view.

Limitations

There were several limitations to this study. The researcher has no means to validate all claims by the respondents. They are indeed experts in program scheduling but there's a possibility of bias and subjectivity in their answers about the value and relevance of linear scheduling since it is associated with their respective careers. Respondents may have also concealed some information during the course of the interview because of confidentiality issues that may affect the networks' reputation and future strategies. The researcher cannot be certain if there will be a difference in the data gathered if the respondents were to be anonymous.

The researcher failed to conduct a formal interview with the scheduler from The CW Network, which is a young skewing network. Even though CBS's Kelly Kahl oversees scheduling for its sister network The CW, the researcher believes that the scheduler from The CW could have offered different insights because their target demographic is younger than that of ABC, CBS, Fox and NBC.

The interviews were conducted either over the phone or via Skype, due to proximity issues. The researcher lives in Philadelphia, PA and all respondents work in Los Angeles County, CA. There were no interruptions during the course of the interview but conducting face-to-face interviews can create a better interview ambiance. Interviewees can focus more on the interview and avoid necessary distractions in the office.

Few questions during the course of the interview were leading questions that might have affected, restricted or influenced the responses of the interviewees.

Recommendations for Future Research

The researcher has recommendations for future research. It is recommended to seek opinions about linear scheduling from non-network executives such as national television advertisers and marketers. Their responses can be used to compare and contrast those of the network schedulers. They may or may not have dissenting opinions about the value of scheduling but either will provide more depth. Moreover, further studies can employ a participant observer type of data gathering in the scheduling department in at least one network to better understand the thought-processes in linear scheduling in the age of non-linear viewing. This can validate at least some of the claims of the interviewees about scheduling processes. It is, however, time-consuming.

Furthermore, this study mostly focused on scheduling at the network television level. Further studies could interview cable channel program schedulers and local television station programming directors to provide in-depth insights about the value and relevance of linear scheduling, and new strategies that they might be utilizing at cable channels and television stations.

Based on the result of the study, there is a difference in the respondents' opinions about the value of in-season stacking and its ability to draw viewers back to linear viewing. Separate research is encouraged to explore how in-season stacking complements traditional viewing.

Conclusions

This study explored television scheduling among major American commercial broadcast television networks in the phase of channel and platform proliferation. Based on the findings of the study, scheduling continues to play a significant role at the networks. The schedulers have integrated some concepts of digital viewing for the purpose of linear scheduling, such as homepages, program aggregation, filtration systems, and recommendation engines.

Schedulers continue to schedule in a traditional manner but focus more on creating a coherent schedule that works best for the network than considering the competition. Some, if not most, of the conventional scheduling strategies are utilized but their effectiveness has weakened. The lead-in strategy is an exception among these strategies because it remains powerful in launching and empowering weak shows. Schedulers stressed the importance of having new shows sampled, and placing the show behind a high-rated show guarantees such. Moreover, launching a show on a broadcast network remains unrivaled in terms of success in program discovery in the show-cluttered media eco-system.

New factors have emerged in the decision-making process for scheduling, program pickup, renewal and cancellation. It includes non-linear viewing performance of the show and most especially, program ownership through the network's studio arm. Compared to third-party owned shows, ownership or co-ownership allows the network to easily stack all the episodes of a show on their respective online platform aka in-season stacking. Networks can also monetize these owned-programs through licensing deals with different windows such as VOD and streaming services.

The concerns that linear scheduling has become irrelevant and obsolete are unwarranted based on the interviews with schedulers. The immense changes in viewing behavior and intensified multiplatform competition are well acknowledged. Instead of resistance, schedulers have shown vigilance in adapting, reinventing, and devising new ways to reach and capture the fractured audience; Airing fewer reruns and more original programming all year-round and giving underperforming shows more time to build an audience. Breaking down access barriers through in-season stacking of all episodes of a show, which gives the audience the chance to join the show in any point and catch up.

Scheduling has stepped outside the traditional connotation that it embodies during the phases of broadcast oligopoly and multiplatform competition. It amplifies the success of shows on digital platforms, empowers non-linear platforms and generates social media conversations among others. As it now encompasses multiple platforms, the influence of scheduling in the phase of channel and platform proliferation has gone beyond.

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Appendix A: Interview Guide Questions

Value of Network Scheduling

- In your opinion, what is the value of linear scheduling now in the age where people are increasingly watching on their own schedule?
- Do you think scheduling is still relevant? Why or why not?
- Does the actual schedule (date & time) and how many Gross Ratings Points or total viewing result from that schedule as important as it was even ten years ago? Why or why not?

New Scheduling Strategies and New Factors Considered in Scheduling

- During scheduling meetings, particularly prior to upfronts, what has changed in the discussion in creating a schedule?
- What are the factors considered in scheduling shows right now that were not considered ten year ago?
- What are the fundamentals in scheduling that have changed?
- If there are any, what are the scheduling strategies you use to attract non-linear viewers to watch live television? How do you draw them back to watch the show live every night through scheduling?
- Do you schedule a show to cater for the available audience? Or you schedule a show for the audience to come and watch it live?
- How has time-shift viewing change the way you schedule a show?
- How does proliferation of streaming services affect your scheduling strategy?
- Does the concept of binge-watching has affected your day-to-day decisions? How?

Effectiveness of Classic Scheduling Strategies (*leading in, anchoring, hammocking, blocking, doubling, tentpoling, bridging, counterprogramming, blunting, stunting, supersizing…)*

- Among the classic scheduling strategies, which is/are still the most effective, and why? Which are irrelevant, and why? What are the new skills that compliment them?
- Is time slot ratings history still important and considered in scheduling? Why or why not? (Friday Night Death Slot, ABC's Tuesday 10pm, Thursday primetime)

- Is time slot demographic history still important and considered in scheduling? Why or why not?
- Before, the networks adopted a practice of deliberately making last minute changes in their schedule to blunt the efforts of their competitors, is it still practiced today? Why or why not?
- Would it still be reasonable "using scheduling as boxing match"? Why or why not?
- Would you put a new episode against big events such as award shows for people to find your show while they channel surf?
- Do you still believe that winning the first hour usually results in winning the entire night? Why or why not?

<u>Changes in Schedulers Job</u>

- Describe your role as broadcast network scheduler.
- What has changed and what hasn't changed at all about the job? What are the differences in your role as a scheduler before and now?
- Has your patience with underperforming shows changed in the last ten years?
- The scheduling job has evolved over the past decade. What would you say have been the biggest challenges? How have you adapted to them?