

Mapping commercial intertextuality: HBO's *True Blood*

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Abstract

Corporate synergy, cross-media promotion and transmedia storytelling are increasingly prevalent features of media production today, yet they generate highly divergent readings. Criticism of synergistic corporate control and commercialism in some political economic accounts contrasts with celebrations of fan/prosumer agency, active audiences and resistant readings in others. This debate reviews the different approaches taken by political economists and culturalists in their analyses of commercial intertextuality. Tracing influential studies, it considers the tensions and affinities between divergent readings, and grounds for synthesis. Here, the article addresses the ordering of (inter)textual space, outlining the main forms of textual production along an axis from corporate to autonomous texts. Contemporary forms of cross-media/cross-platform intertextuality and online promotional strategies are examined through a case study of HBO's *True Blood*. The article also assesses the implications of work on commercial intertextuality for (re)engagements between critical political economy and culturalist approaches.

Keywords

commercial intertextuality, critical political economy, cultural studies, *True Blood*

Commercial intertextuality is used to describe the production and interlinking of texts like blockbuster films or TV series with allied paratexts and products, such as spin-offs, reversionings, promos, online media, books, games and merchandise. For critical political economists such commercial intertextuality is mainly read in terms of synergistic corporate communications that seek to maximize profits by cultivating and exploiting audiences and fans (Meehan, 1991, 2005). Corporate transmedia storytelling, such as the Matrix franchise, serve to create 'narratively necessary purchases' (Proffitt et al, 2007: 239). For scholars working in a cultural studies tradition – culturalists – commercial intertextuality can be read quite differently, as material that is

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fashioned in autonomous and creative ways for self-expression and social communication, generating new forms of participation, and collaboration amongst prosumers (Jenkins, 1992, 2002, 2006). While such divergent readings have reflected underlying clashes between 'critical' and culturalist scholarship, this article explores scope for more integrative approaches through a case study of cross-media promotion and intertextuality in HBO's vampire drama *True Blood*.¹

Discussing *Star Wars: the Phantom Menace* (Lucasfilms 1999) Nick Couldry writes (2000:70):

If we place *The Phantom Menace* in its own wider context (the Star Wars series, all the associated fan literatures and practices, the whole history of cross-marketed merchandise-saturated Hollywood blockbuster films), it is clear that we need to understand not one discrete text but a vast space of more or less interconnected texts, and how that space is ordered.

Couldry's notion of the ordering of textual space is usefully synthesizing, encouraging consideration of ordering as shaped by corporations but also other media practices. Recognition of the contradictory, incomplete, changeable and contested nature of such processes is an emergent theme in recent studies rooted in political economy (Hardy, 2010a; Proffitt et al, 2007; Waetjen and Gibson, 2007), fan analysis (Hills, 2002; Sandvoss, 2005) and transmedia texts (Grey, 2010; Jenkins, 2006; Marshall, 2002, 2004; Scolari, 2009).² Yet, these are challenging concepts. How might we map out textual space? In what sense is it ordered? We might start by distinguishing between texts as objects ('works') and texts as readings, objects being much easier to catalogue than the multiplicity of readings arising from polysemic texts. Yet even trying to catalogue material (inter)texts soon becomes very complex indeed. Another salient division is between authorized and unauthorized texts, for instance between the intellectual property rights of brand owners and fan/audience writers in transmedia storytelling (Jenkins, 2006; Marshall, 2002; Murray, 2004). However, the dimension most useful for analysing commercial intertextuality is between corporate and non-corporate production of texts, provided that texts are not thereby reduced to this dimension alone. This requires tracing the often complex and opaque issues of corporate *ownership* of texts, and of *control*, not in the sense of controlling meaning processes ('readings'), but controlling the assembly and dissemination of proprietary communications.

Along the corporate axis, commercial intertextuality is usually linked to a 'megatext' that provides a common point of entry for audiences, although sometimes there is no ur-text, rather a cluster of texts. A second category comprises corporate 'paratexts' (Grey, 2010), reversionings, allied web and social media texts, corporate transmedia storytelling, *making of* documentaries, trailers, promos (Meehan, 2005, Caldwell, 2006, Hardy, 2010a). The latter 'media' texts overlap with a third category of corporate 'controlled communications', ranging from advertising and other marketing communications, to corporate intra-firm cross-promotion, and PR placement, such as 'controlled' star interviews in third-party media. This ranges along a spectrum from greater to lesser 'control' over commercial speech. A fourth category is official merchandising, characterized by efforts to ensure high control over brand identity, intellectual property control, licensing arrangements, to realize (economic) value. A fifth category is retail, since the control of textual 'space' here varies from strong (corporate e-commerce) to weaker control (autonomous retail display and selling environments).

Along the non-corporate controlled axis are 'independent' news, commentary, previews and reviews in public media. Other texts include biographies of stars, celebrity stories, technical, professional and other commentary and academic discourses. This is the region of 'secondary texts' (Fiske, 1987), of cultural intermediaries, and of what Bennett and Woollacott (1987) describe as

'textual shifters', such as reporting and commentary about the megatext, stars, directors and so on, which together influence relations between texts and readers.³ A second category includes fan publication and forms of public and intergroup (networked) communication which overlaps with a third category of user-generated production and content, and a fourth, interpersonal communications by audiences and readers. Textual 'space' thus includes various kinds of discourse, from corporate 'speech' to the discourses of critics and commentators, intergroup and interpersonal communication. Yet there is blurring and hybridization across each category, corporate/independent, professional/amateur, and, as *True Blood* illustrates, across commercial/autonomous textuality.

True Blood: Mapping corporate intertextual space

True Blood is a fantasy horror entertainment series on HBO, the premium cable/multiplatform service owned by Time Warner. HBO, a quality brand ('It's not television. It's HBO'), was seeking a new hit on Sunday evenings, the traditional showcase for original material. The failure of series like *John from Cincinnati* and *Lucky Louie* had left HBO (dubbed 'HB-over') without a replacement for previous hits such as *Sex and the City* and *The Sopranos*. Promoting shows meant encouraging new subscribers to pay premium monthly fees. The first series aired in September 2008 shortly before the USA officially entered recession, when such subscriptions were vulnerable to household cutbacks. This was the context for HBO's investment in an extensive, expensive and innovative cross-media marketing campaign.

True Blood is a television show based on novels, *The Southern Vampire Mysteries*, by Charlaine Harris. The stories, the tenth of which was published in 2010, were bestsellers, providing a rich source of (inter-corporate) intertextuality. The *Twilight* franchise and later the CW's *The Vampire Diaries*, added to the resonance and intertextual reworking of vampire myths and iconography, whose rich cultural history continues to provide malleable resources for contemporary storytelling. Harris's nine books featured in *USA Today's* top 100 US book sales in 2009, while 17 per cent of total book sales that year were related to vampires or the paranormal (DeBarros et al., 2010). The stories and *True Blood* envision a world in which vampires 'live' alongside humans, able to feed off a synthetic blood product marketed as Tru Blood (discovered in Japan two years before the events in the drama begin). Set in Louisiana, the story has a powerful resonance of segregation, racism and bigotry, as well as 'Deep South' ingredients of swamps, sex, and religious fervour. There is a Vampire Rights Amendment being debated at the start of the series; with pronounced connotations of civil rights and gay liberation, Tru Blood has enabled Vampires to 'come out of the coffin'. Described by *USA Today* (Bianco, 2010: 9) as a 'blood-spattered, sex-obsessed, fabulously wild camp-vamp funfest', the show succeeded in building a large, majority female, audience, averaging 6.8 million per week for the first series, with a young, mainly college-educated and upscale profile. The central character, Sookie Stackhouse, is a telepathic woman attracted to a supernatural lover whose mind she cannot read and who is a mix of old-style, 'Southern' gentility (being 173 years old) and sexually charged, predatory animal. The lead writer and executive producer for the show is Alan Ball, who produced HBO's earlier hit *Six Feet Under*. Describing the show's appeal, Ball stated 'women love the storytelling and the romance, and men love the sex and violence' (Carter, 2009). Ball said he had pitched *True Blood* to HBO as 'popcorn television for smart people' (Associated Press, 2008a; *Rolling Stone*, 2008).

True Blood engages a complex mix then of intertextuality from the broadest cultural levels to the more proprietary and 'authorially' inflected, such as contemporary culture wars. The title

sequence used 'handheld' and art-house cinema styles to provide an unsettling montage of images including Klu Klux Klansmen and signage ('God Hates Fangs'), identifying vampires with themes of otherness, eroticism, miscegenation, danger and intolerance. Corporate intertextuality ranged across the various branded and co-branded elements, including that of producer, actors, visual images used across marketing, and sound, notably the music tracks used in promos and show. There was extensive inter-firm cross-promotion: Harris's publishers Orion, and retailers, cross-promoted the HBO series, while Harris herself cross-promoted the show via interviews, her official website and other fan sites.

Promoting True Blood

HBO and its enlisted marketers have won awards and industry acclaim for an inventive campaign that has combined traditional and cutting edge marketing techniques for promotions in the USA and HBO's international markets. Most of these techniques, as distinct from treatments, are traceable to earlier innovation and comparable campaigns such as Showtime's *Dexter* (Young, 2010) or Fox's *24* (Scolari, 2009), however the campaign exemplified a highly developed cross-media strategy. HBO has a privileged site for its own self-/cross-promotion, and trailers and promos have been intensively used to promote the series on HBO channels. During the first series, these included explicitly intertextual trailers; one featured enthusiastic notices from professional media critics, another appreciation from fan sites and bloggers. Both highlight core brand features: confirming quality, promoting a cult-fan engagement, while also appealing to a broader audience. Another promotional theme has been to play, in startling and creative ways, with the conceit of vampires 'living' alongside humans, and thus as 'consumers' for marketed services from coffin fittings to dating agencies. Audiovisual promotions included a pre-launch mockumentary (disguised as a news show), together with documentaries on vampire (inter)texts and cultural representation.

All contemporary 'event' television promotion is cross-platform, but HBO, seeking to make sense of a proprietary, non-advertising TV service and a franchise attractive to its other sales divisions, media partners and advertisers, had particular incentives to launch a cross-channel campaign, one which made innovative use of online and social media platforms. Promos and trailers were run across HBO's broadcast channel, its non-linear VOD service HBO On Demand, and online. For series 3, HBO produced six 'minisodes', first shown as webisodes on Yahoo! TV, then posted on HBO.com (n.d.) and subsequently shown on HBO following repeats of series 2. Exemplifying transmedia storytelling, and 'overflow' (Brooker, 2001), the minisodes were also posted to the official *True Blood* Facebook page with over 1.4 million fans. At a tertiary promotional level, a promo for the minisodes proclaimed (voice-over):

You crave new blood. You're hungry for more of the story. Now sink your teeth into six *True Blood* mini episodes. Not from last season – won't been seen in the new season. All New. Written by *True Blood* creator Alan Ball. Beginning May 2, every Sunday night right after a season 2 encore presentation at eight. Get ready for the new season with a drop of *True Blood*.

Against the textual bias of 'intertextuality', the visual and aural dimensions must be incorporated. A *Dépêche Mode* track was used for a celebrated series 2 promotion, for series 3 a trailer was re-edited with the track 'Teeth' by Lady Gaga, while Snoop Dog crafted a cross-promotional rap homage, 'Oh Sookie'. Jace Everett's track 'Bad things' from the title sequence, climbed the alt-country sales charts, and the soundtracks were sold alongside the DVDs. Featured music and

episode titles also add layers of inter-aural resonance, such as title use of the Cowboy Junkies' song 'To love is to bury'.

Marketing – using print, TV, radio and outdoor advertising, competitions and sweepstakes – was used extensively, but often in innovative ways. In New Zealand, outdoor billboard posters featured marked-out wooden stakes and stencilled instructions reading 'In case of Vampires, snap here'. In the USA, guerrilla marketing tactics included street teams with fake petitions for and against vampires (with heightened resonance in a presidential election year), as well as stunts involving 'Fangbanger' girls (the pejorative term used in *True Blood* for women who sleep with vampires) appearing in bars. However, amongst the most innovative aspects was an extensive cross-platform campaign, with significant investment online. This began with a teaser campaign in May 2008 involving viral outreach to a few influential bloggers amongst fantasy and horror fans and gamers. The strategy was contracted to Campfire NYC, a small marketing firm specializing in online and guerrilla marketing whose founders had developed the successful strategy for *The Blair Witch Project* (Marshall, 2002). Such viral strategies can overcome resistance to conventional media marketing and benefit from fans' own marketing efforts (Murray, 2004). For *True Blood*, Campfire (2009) pursued a similar strategy of distributing teaser material, alternate reality game (ARG) puzzles, and even posting capsules of 'blood' in unmarked envelopes. In fact, there was no corporate branding for HBO at all in the first phase of the online campaign, a feature repeated in some later promotions. Bloodcopy.com (n.d.) was launched as the main site for stories and activity.

For the first series a cross-media marketing campaign for Tru Blood was developed using the iconography of an adult drink, with taglines such as 'Real blood is for suckers' 'All flavor. No bite'. Videos spread virally some three months before the series aired explaining how Tru Blood enabled vampires to 'come out', while faux TV spots appeared on cable and late-night network TV advertising vampire-targeted products (Stanley, 2008). HBO also developed elaborate fake websites to support the concept. A fully functioning website for vampires, the American Vampire League, was modelled on such progressive organizations as the American Civil Liberties Union. In contrast to sites' multiethnic diversity, the other fake site, the Fellowship of the Light, features the iconography of a fundamentalist Christian organization. Opposing 'interspecies' relationships, the site displays a near exclusive array of white Anglo-Saxon models. Common to all these campaigns was a sophisticated, and knowing, intertextuality, from the graphic layout of websites to the images and text.

More overt programme promotions appeared towards launch. Time Warner's deal with YouTube (and subsequently with Yahoo! TV) led to advertisements, trailers and proprietary clips being made available online, hyperlinked and copied by numerous emergent fan sites. HBO's vp advertising and promotions, Zach Enterlin, told *Brandweek*, 'From the start, we knew this was just so much bigger than print ads and 30-second spots. We wanted a campaign that's as rich as the series . . . The whole campaign has been about popping through in a really crowded environment, and using promotional content to tell a story' (Stanley, 2008). According to Gregg Hale, a partner at Campfire, 'We built this on solid storytelling and the idea of immersing people in this world . . . We never tried to fool anybody; we wanted to give them an entertaining experience and a way down the rabbit hole' (cited in Stanley, 2008).

By the time the second series was promoted in 2009, HBO was working with six different creative and media-buying agencies. Campfire produced Bloodcopy.com (n.d.), a fake vampire blog and news site, and viral videos for the campaign; Digital Kitchen, crafted 'vampire product' tie-in ads; Ignition produced radio ads; Red Creative did the same for online ads; Omnicom Group's PHD placed media advertising, while Deep Focus organized online media buying for parts of the campaign (Steinberg, 2009). For the second series, Tru Blood was marketed to fans,

manufactured by Omni Consumer Products, a company specializing in creating 'real' products from fictional ones (Stanley, 2009a). A striking series of fake ads for vampire products featuring real brands were produced by Digital Kitchen, who had created the acclaimed title sequence for the first series (Alston, 2008). Ecko Unlimited, Geico, Gillette, Harley-Davidson, MINI and Monster.com all signed up to the HBO co-funded campaign, with taglines including 'Dead Sexy' (Gillette), 'Feel the wind in your fangs' (Mini), and 'Outrun the Sun' (Harley-Davidson).

HBO's campaign included faux evening weather reports on radio stations for vampires; a cinema advertisement made to look like local business ads; a weekly news magazine shown on HBO platforms that included a segment called 'The Vampire Report'. PHD won awards for its media campaign that included an 8-page vampire insert in *am New York* newspaper, a first-ever cover wrap-around for *The Los Angeles Times*, and a 12-page intra-firm advert in *Entertainment Weekly* (Moses, 2010). *Vanity Fair* featured party-photos of celebrities with fangs. Inter-firm cross-promotion included Warner Home Video's tie-up with fashion label Saint Augustine Academy for a vampire-inspired show at the Australian Fashion Week to promote the season 2 DVD.

There was extensive intra-firm advertising and editorial cross-promotion across Time Warner's holdings. *Entertainment Weekly* (2009), owned by Time Warner, featured *True Blood*'s star Stephen Moyer on the cover for a special feature on vampires, and numerous celebratory news, reviews and feature articles, such as 'Bring on the Blood' (Spines et al., 2009; Stack, 2009). Amongst extensive coverage for the third series in 2010 were a six-page cover story (18 June), previews (8 January, 9 April), and reviews (25 June). The corporate 'texts' produced and heavily cross-promoted included an original comic book, merchandise and series releases on DVD and Blu-ray. The series 2 release (involving another agency, BBDO) incorporated social media features so that, for the minority with internet linked Blu-ray players, users could post viewing status updates directly to their Facebook and Twitter accounts, share favourite scenes with friends, access the live feeds and receive gifts (Lezzie, 2010). For series 3, HBO launched new teaser posters, the minisodes, cross-promotional inserts in Time Warner's *Entertainment Weekly* and third-party media, including sponsorship (with 3D glasses) of the centrefold model in *Playboy* magazine. IDW Publishing produced a comic-book adaptation of the show, written by Ball. Mobile marketing specialists Medialets worked with PHD to launch an iPhone app that generated bloody fingerprints when users touched the screen.

This was a highly successful promotional strategy. *True Blood* was a domestic hit in the USA, becoming HBO's most successful show since *The Sopranos* and boosting subscriptions (Associated Press, 2008b). Extending the franchise, the first series DVD, released in May 2009, was the best-selling TV programme in June, while the series topped the iTunes chart for purchased TV episodes that month and remained a bestseller. The audience built steadily, increasing to 2.4 million for series 1 (Steinberg, 2009; Stelter, 2008). The second series premiered with a record-setting 3.7 million audience (Hibberd, 2009) peaking at 5.3 million, the largest audience HBO had achieved for five years since *The Sopranos* (Toff, 2009). The second series attracted weekly audiences of 10–12 million (made up of the Sunday show, repeat screenings, VOD and online access), from a subscription base around a third of the size of free-to-air TV. *True Blood* also sold successfully overseas. In Britain it was shown on News Corporation's FX channel on BSkyB, and then on free-to-air when the public service broadcaster Channel Four screened the first series in Autumn 2009.

True Blood and the ordering of textual space

HBO's strategy involved a sophisticated effort to establish both cult status and popular appeal. Through the targeting of fan networks, buzz marketing and invitations for immersion, HBO's

corporate strategy sought to cultivate fan engagement and use this as a tool to generate interest and publicity amongst wider audiences. There was a revealing moment of collision and controversy, however. In May 2009 the business and news weblog network site Gawker Media featured Bloodcopy, the fake blog purporting to be written by a vampire. Campfire and HBO staged Gawker Media's 'acquisition' of Bloodcopy as part of a paid sponsorship deal, and promoted it via a public relations strategy to business and technology reporters. Described as an adverblog (Steinberg, 2009), Bloodcopy was syndicated through Gawker sites such as the gadget site Gizmodo and gaming site Kotaku. Under the deal, Gawker was to create six original posts for the blog per day. However, this marketing – masquerading as vampire news – generated a backlash from users whose complaints eventually led to suspension of the blog. Some Gawker users complained that marketing discourse was not being adequately identified. In response, Chris Batty, Gawker's vp of sales and marketing, dismissed critics of the advertorial as 'humorless' (Seward, 2009), while Courteney Monroe, who led HBO's marketing, welcomed the exposure, commenting 'it contributed to the noise' (Stanley, 2009b). However, beyond the issue of disclosure, the incident highlighted broader issues concerning corporate speech masquerading as autonomous speech, and the boundaries between 'interested' and 'independent' speech. If the fake vampire advertisements were playful masquerades, the corporate masquerading of autonomous textual production was more troubling, marking the complex friction between top-down (corporate) and bottom-up autonomous media practices. HBO closed Bloodcopy in September 2009, but resurrected it as a micro-site for series 3, enabling fans to participate in live conversations on Twitter.

The online intertextual 'space' for *True Blood* stretches from corporate sites to autonomous fan sites, some organized around the series, stars and characters, some around the novels, and others with greater distance from the megatext, connected to fantasy, gaming, horror and other networks. The off-air relationship between co-stars Anna Paquin and Stephen Moyer generated other intertextual connections. HBO has six official dedicated sites, while there are more than 30 major fan sites, together with Facebook and Twitter sites, forums and message boards. *True Blood* has also generated numerous fan sites around the world, notably in the UK, Italy, Spain, France, Germany, Poland, Serbia and Brazil. One of the leading fan sites True-blood.net (n.d.) has a predominantly US audience (57%) but with significant traffic from the UK (11%) and Canada (7%), followed by Australia, Sweden and Norway. The site's demographic profile (February 2009 to 2010) was 55 per cent women, 39 per cent 18–34, 44 per cent college educated and 11 per cent from graduate school (Quantcast, 2010).

As other studies show (Hills, 2002; Jenkins, 1992), there is evidence of a textual hierarchy in which some fans favour more independent sites over corporate ones, and sites declare their independence with varying intensity. Yet, while only a full study can do justice to the multiplicity of fan/audience texts, there is evidence that the boundaries between corporate/autonomous and commercial/non-commercial blur and merge. Already, in *Textual Poachers* (1992) Jenkins feared that division between fan autonomy and corporate directedness was breaking down, expressing in the final pages fears that the fan autonomy and authenticity which structures his account was being undermined by growing commercialism. Popular fan sites such as True-Blood.tv (n.d.), financed by advertising, contain prominent links to HBO merchandise. The commercial intertextuality of official merchandise is prominent across all the most popular 'independent' sites. Commodified intertextual flows thus extend into more 'autonomous' textual spaces. Yet a counter-flow is also discernible. Enabled by media corporations' efforts to encourage online participation is the space created within 'controlled' sites such as HBO's Trueblood.wiki (n.d.) for critical fan discussions, for instance on the show's double standards in regard to male and female nudity.

The spectrum from corporate to autonomous texts is important for normative-critical analysis but also complex, often opaque, at points of intersection. *True Blood* Twitter, for instance, is 'officially endorsed' but not 'affiliated' to HBO. The corporate wiki's textual space is polyvocal, official promotions run alongside 'autonomous', albeit policed, exchanges. Leading fan sites, part-supported by advertising, incorporate HBO promotions, link to official merchandise, and in various ways 'trade' with HBO to secure privileged access to stars (interviews), news, and materials. Commercial intertextuality ranges from authorized texts/merchandise in official sites to uncensored products, such as t-shirts. *True Blood* illustrates the increasing diversity of transmedia intertextual space and its tensions and contradictions. Online sites and allied promotions provided opportunities for immersion in story elaboration. For its architects, the strategy sought to engage with perceived audience demand for complexity, sophistication and subtlety, across both brand communications and media texts. This created space for participation, pleasure, creativity and play. However, this agency needs to be examined in the context of the shaping influence on reading and consumption from those managing such narrative brands.

Conclusion

This discussion has argued for the importance of examining how corporate activity seeks to order (inter)textual space, while emphasizing that this requires analysis of the multiple sites and contending forces of communicative exchange. HBO invested heavily in shaping textual space and extended commercial intertextuality through cross-media promotion, online and social media engagement. An important focus, as the Bloodcopy incident reveals, concerns the manner in which boundaries are negotiated as commercial speech extends into spaces governed by expectations of independence. Yet, an integrative analysis is required of the plural dynamics of textual production and interaction along a corporate-autonomous axis. Far from diminishing critical accounts, this strengthens attention to the power dynamics structuring textual space, the manner in which economic structures, imperatives of commodification and corporate interests impose constraints on that space, and the manner in which these are negotiated and contested. It requires efforts to reincorporate 'control' and 'pleasure' narratives (Meyrowitz, 2008), overcome the divide between 'contextual' and 'textual' analysis (Caldwell, 2006:104), and remain alert to the articulation of creativity and meaning as well as commerce. How the problems of synergistic corporate speech and commercialism might be evaluated alongside the pleasures of the (inter)texts is beyond the scope of this piece. Yet, both critical political economy and cultural studies are needed to trace the increasing complexity, and implications, of corporate (inter)textual proliferation.

Notes

1. For more general discussion on political economy and cultural studies integration see Babe (2008), Kellner (1998, 2009), Hesmondhalgh (2007, 2009), Hardy (2010b).
2. Appreciation of the increasing complexity of industry practices and the proliferation of sites of textual production and interaction (for instance Caldwell, 2004, 2006), has been accompanied by greater theoretical and analytical pluralization, including the integration of political economic, textual and semiotic analysis (for instance Levine, 2005; Ono and Buescher, 2001; Waetjen and Gibson, 2007). Murray (2004) examines culturalist emphasis on fan oppositionality, and criticizes cultural studies scholarship for its reluctance to 'investigate rigorously the commercial utility of fan communities to corporate marketing and publicity structures' (Murray, 2004:21).

3. Caldwell (2006: 103) reconsiders the tripartite model offered by Fiske (1987) and Gripsrud (1995), showing how what they term secondary and tertiary television texts ‘persistently migrate or travel toward “primary” textual status in the current American multichannel flow’.

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Biography

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