Layering Engagement: The Temporal Dynamics of Transmedia Television

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The last fifteen years have seen dramatic changes in the UK within both the television industry and televisual storytelling techniques. Rapid technological changes have not only increased the variety of screen devices, they have also changed the boundaries of the industry itself as the internet opened up distribution avenues and alternatives for viewer attention in the form of social media. The traditional pillars of the UK television industry, the major broadcasters and content providers such as the BBC and ITV, have responded to these changes by expanding their focus away from the television set and onto newer, more portable screen devices. This shift has had consequences both for the kinds of narratives emerging from television and the experiences that such narratives craft for their audiences. Increasingly, transmedia storytelling (Jenkins, 2006) techniques are becoming ‘quotidian’ (Grainge and Johnson, 2015), part of television programming’s standard repertoire of narrative techniques.

However, such changes to storytelling techniques only emerge from concrete industrial strategies. As Karoline Andrea Ihlebæk, Trine Syverstsen and Espen Ytreberg (2014) argue, ‘TV’s transformations do not just happen to it, by virtue for instance of technological developments, but are actively made by those who want to stay in charge and also conquer new digital territories’ (483-484). Examining these strategies, and unpicking how transmedia television narratives operate, reveals the shifting power relations within the mainstream media industries and the position of narrative within these relations. As Phillip Napoli (2011) argues in his examination of the changing construction of audiences in the US media industries, ‘[t]he process of audience evolution is being driven in large part by technological changes that are fundamentally reconfiguring the dynamic between media audiences and
content providers’ (122). The development of transmedia narrative strategies speaks to the industry’s desire to regain control in this changeable media landscape and demonstrates the intersection between narrative and the industrial and technological context it emerges from (see Smith, 2013).

This article will examine the relationship between industry strategy and transmedia storytelling techniques through the prism of contemporary UK television, in particular a case study of ITV’s *The X Factor* (Freemantle, 2003-) and its transmedia expansion. The focus will be on narrative extensions designed for mobile screen devices such as tablets and smartphones and that appear as small, focused software apps. The portability of such devices, and so the ease with which viewers can use them whilst also watching television, has given rise to behaviour known as ‘second screening’ or ‘simultaneous media use’ (see Hassoun, 2014). Ethan Tussey (2014) has argued that by expanding television narratives onto such devices, television producers and broadcasters are able to direct such behaviour towards ‘digital extensions’ (207-208) of their primary television texts. This article will build on Tussey’s work to consider the specific strategies employed in the industry’s management of second screen behaviour, and in particular the way narrative, design and timing are brought together to layer different viewer roles onto a single, broadcast moment. Central to the UK television industry’s co-option of these behaviours is the adoption and adaptation of television’s temporal dynamics. By considering how television studies can look to its own past and re-appropriate foundational models to understand these strategies, this article will examine how the changes to television’s narratives exist in a context of both change and continuity.

*The X Factor’s* second screen app emerges from a longer history of transmedia expansion in UK television. The first phase of transmedia television in the UK came via experiments in the early 2000s, primarily by public service broadcaster the BBC, in extending television texts via content rich websites or games that could be played through their, by then well established, online portal (bbc.co.uk). Such experiments, through flagship programmes such as *Spooks* (BBC One, 2002-2010) and *Doctor Who* (BBC One, 1963- ), not only offered a space for narrative expansions and experiments, but also for technical development by testing the capacity of the relatively new broadband infrastructure. Exploiting the temporality of linear
television storytelling, in particular the gaps between episodes of serial programming, was central to these transmedia expansions (Evans, 2011:36-38) and points to the early alignment between transmedia narrative strategies and temporal dynamics. A second phase of transmedia television came with the development of transmedia distribution as UK broadcasters shifted their attention away from expanding television texts and towards positioning television on newly emergent portable technologies such as tablets and smartphones (Evans, 2011). This led to the rise of on demand viewing heralded by Sky and Channel 4 and shortly followed by the BBC’s iPlayer, which now dominates the market. The third phase of transmedia television in the UK combines the narrative expansion of phase one and the exploitation of devices seen in phase two as broadcasters turned their attention to the newly emergent app culture found in iOS and Android devices. Transmedia storytelling, transmedia distribution and ‘second screening’ are now merging. Examining the structure of a televisual app such as The X Factor, and in particular the temporal dynamics at play within the app, allows for the interrogation of how television narratives are being reinforced and reshaped by this new form of transmedia television.

**Television, Narrative and Time**

Time is a foundational aspect in much of television studies’ understanding of television and its narratives. Of course all audio-visual forms of storytelling are time based; film, gaming and theatre are equally experienced over a period of time. However, time is built into the way television is structured and scheduled in more fundamental ways than these other media (see Doane, 1990). Thinking about television in relation to time brings together storytelling and industry strategies. The nature of most television narratives as episodic and serial speaks to the importance of time passing, of spreading narratives out over long periods of time, to the way that television tells stories. The core industry practice of scheduling is precisely about the division and management of time (see Ellis, 2000). The economics of commercial television have always been predicated upon the selling of ‘time’ in the form of adverts (Kelly, 2011: 124-5). Public service policies often deal in the percentages of time that must be devoted to certain kinds of programming, with the BBC annually justifying its licence fee in cost per hour (BBC, 2013). More than other forms of narrative, time plays a crucial role in structuring both television’s storytelling practices and its audiences’ experiences of them.
Raymond William’s foundational theory of flow (1974) positioned television as a medium defined by its temporality and ephemerality. Williams bases his theory on the experience of watching television in Miami after a transatlantic sailing from the UK and becoming confused at the seamless blurring between programmes and interstitial material. Central to this anecdote, and the idea that television has a ‘flow’, is the fact that the televisual ‘flow’ in question is through time. It is television’s temporal qualities that break down the barriers between different moments of television narrative. Subsequent theories of television such as John Ellis’s segment theory (1992 (1982): 112) and Newcomb and Hirsch’s viewing strip (2000 (1976)) equally define television content through temporal qualities. Ellis positions television as segments of content placed next to each other, whilst Newcomb and Hirsch conceive of television as parallel streams of content that the viewer switches between at opportune moments. Both models rely on a temporal flow between segments or across strips. Even theories such as Ellis’ glance theory (1982 (1992): 128; see also Fiske, 1987) similarly contain fundamental associations between television and the transitory nature of time. Ellis’ argument that television narratives must account for the fact that viewers are ultimately distracted and only pay partial attention to the screen indicates the fleeting, ephemeral nature of television broadcasting. As Ellis writes, ‘broadcasting presents a continuous set of signals that are either received or missed by their potential audience’ (1992: 111). The viewer who is glancing at the television screen is missing information about the television text, but they are only missing this information because the television text is gone as soon as it has appeared, that it exists within time rather than space.

At the heart of all of these, of course, is television’s original, but now by no means only, technological platform: broadcasting. Technological developments over the past 30 years have gradually decentralised broadcasting and so altered the temporal dynamics of television. As Sean Cubitt (1991) argued, the VCR first began to subvert television’s temporal character by allowing audiences to capture the broadcast flow, to freeze moments of televisual time: ‘The aura of live television, the uniqueness, the here-and-now-ness of the broadcast event is demolished by the use of the VCR’ (Cubitt, 1991: 35; see also Gray, 1992). More recently, Derek Kompare (2006) and Matt Hills (2007) have both argued that DVD box sets shift television away from a time based format to a publishing format, turning television
texts into permanent objects. Downloading and on demand services similarly alter the temporal dynamics of television, further lifting it out of the impermanence of the broadcast flow and allowing the audience to control the ‘when’ of television viewing even more. It is useful here to turn to Harold Innis’s argument that communication technologies are divided between those that are durable but immovable, and so exist across time, and those that are fleeting but portable, and so exist across space (1972: 7). Television, once the epitome of space-biased media that are capable of crossing wide distances instantly, but are inherently impermanent, has now also become time-biased, now able to exist in posterity.

But temporal dynamics do not vanish completely in television’s gradual transmedia expansion. Many of the dramatic changes to television’s temporal structure merely emphasise the centrality of time to our experiences of television narratives. Buzzwords such as ‘time-shifting’ reiterate the ever present, though changing, status of time within our experiences of television and its narratives. Daniel Chamberlain (2007) argues that, in fact, time is ever more present as television becomes increasingly multiplatform: ‘Once a structuring element in the presentation of television, time is now directly made part of the image through the media interfaces that govern access to content’ (online). J. P. Kelly (2011) builds on Chamberlain’s argument to claim that ‘Whereas time is concealed in the continuous stream of broadcast flow, it emerges as a prominent and defining feature of the online stream’ (133). Similarly the earliest forms of transmedia television narratives perpetuated a sense of television as temporally episodic and linear, building on the spaces between episodes. As Elizabeth Evans (2011) has argued in relation to Doctor Who’s transmedia expansion:

There is a clear progression that the viewer is encouraged to take (Tardisode–Episode–Website–Game) that reflects the way in which the narrative itself is constructed and the order in which events should play out. The temporalities of transmedia television narratives are fixed and closely associated with the broadcast schedule of the domestic broadcaster (Evans: 38).
The linearity of television storytelling has been extended into a linear form of transmedia storytelling\(^1\). What is evident with the newer, app-based forms of transmedia television epitomised by *The X Factor*, however, is a shift in the temporal dynamics of transmedia narratives and a further reclaiming of televisual time.

**The X Factor App: Layering Transmedia Engagement**

The development of second screen app-based expansions of television series has led to the simultaneous reformation and reinforcement of television’s temporal structure. Rather than the viewer being directed from the television to their computer and then to their tablet, as was the case with the linear transmedia strategies of *Doctor Who* described above, these forms of transmedia storytelling encourage simultaneous use of multiple screens and multiple audio-visual forms. They exploit emerging behaviours of multi- or second screening to build a narrative that appears in multiple places at once with components layered on top of each other rather than placed one after the other. Linear and layered forms of transmediality are not mutually exclusive. However, there are equally clear distinctions between them and examples of layered transmediality speak to a reframing, and reclaiming, of television time within a wider context of technological development and changing audience behaviour. As Ethan Tussey (2014) has argued in relation to the US media industry, ‘media conglomerates are disciplining disruptive mobile technology by designing connected viewing apps that support traditional ways of watching media content’ (210). New forms of television-related content ultimately work to promote old forms of television-related temporality.

The app for reality talent show *The X Factor* offers a clear example of newly emergent forms of transmedia temporality and represents broader patterns that can be found across the range of second screen apps that have emerged from the UK industry. Although non-fiction, reality programmes build narrative into both episodes (Reid, 2007) and their transmedia extensions and *The X Factor* offers a clear example of this. The television episodes follow a group of contestants aiming to win a record contract through stages of auditions, mentoring and live performances. The *X Factor* app, released in 2011, initially served as a video

\(^1\) This linear temporality has continued in some recent app-based transmedia expansions such *Sherlock: The Network* (The Project Factory/Hartswood Films).
platform, acting as a point of transmedia distribution for short clips from the television episodes. More commercial and interactive elements were then added, including links to purchase songs from the programme in iTunes and related Tweets from the programme and judges’ Twitter feeds. For the 2012 season more features were added, most notably the ‘Tap-to-Clap’ commentary in a call to participation that was subsequently redesigned and rebranded as the Fifth Judge game. This rebranding placed particular emphasis on the relationship between the programme and its audience and brought a closer narrative and temporal alignment between the episodes and the app.

Here I will take the episode broadcast on 12th October 2013, in particular the performance by eventual winner Sam Bailey, as a case study example. The series constructed a clear ‘transformation’ narrative for Bailey from a shy working class mother who did not ‘fit’ the model of pop singer into a glamorous diva in designer dresses and high heels. The 12th October episode was the first ‘live’ episode of the 2013 season and the first time that season that viewers’ could vote for their favourite act. Each contestant was given a section of the programme made up of a pre-recorded film detailing their progress so far, song choice and rehearsals, followed by the performance itself and judges’ responses. The Fifth Judge game ran simultaneously to the original Saturday night broadcast of each episode with the viewer being invited to interact with the app as the episode’s narrative progressed. The app’s content changed alongside the shifting content of the episode, reflecting the different segments within The X Factor’s television narrative with certain types of activity only being emphasised at certain times. During the pre-recorded section the app focused on anticipation and prediction. In the case of Bailey’s performance, the app asked ‘Will Sam wow us again?’, inviting a simple ‘yes’ or ‘no’ answer. Partway through this introductory sequence the app revealed how other users of the app voted, first graphically via social media profile pictures coloured coded by the response each individual gave, and then as an overall result. During Bailey’s performance, the app turned to more evaluative questions, asking viewers to give a ‘thumbs up’ or ‘thumbs down’ as well as more tailored questions relating to Bailey’s specific song choice and narrative within the programme. It is here that her ‘transformation’ narrative was extended via transmedia storytelling into the app, with users being asked to vote on whether she was a ‘lady’ or a ‘ladette’. Although not contributing new pieces of narrative information, these questions instead use the app to
shape the narrative, privileging certain aspects of Bailey’s story over others. Once the
performance was over, the app turned again to a predictive form of questioning but this
time looking forward to the public vote, asking if she had done enough to remain in the
competition. When the programme paused for an advert break this layering continued, as
the app featured additional adverts with hyperlinks through to special offers or promotions.

There are a number of notable characteristics in the way the *Fifth Judge* game layers its
users’ transmedia engagement and extends the narrative of the television episode. At the
most basic level, there is a ‘gamification’ of viewing and the otherwise linear narratives of
television. Every time the user answers a request they are shown their own results in the
context of other app users, allowing them to judge themselves against other members of
the *X Factor* audience, to the extent of being told ‘You’re in tune with the nation’ when they
agree with the majority of the game-playing audience. The app comments on the answers
given, praising correct answers with ‘Wow you know your stuff’ and criticising incorrect
ones by referring to key ‘characters’ from the television narrative in the form of judge Louis
Walsh: ‘Oh dear, even Louis knew that one’. The more a user answers questions or polls, the
more points they score, which allows them to progress from being a ‘couch potato’ to a
‘local hero’ and eventually an ‘X Factor Judge’. There is also a layering of more direct
consumer behaviour. Moving up a category releases ‘rewards’ in the form of vouchers for
the game’s sponsor, Dominos. The game’s advert breaks direct viewers to key sponsors’
websites and elsewhere the app offers links to iTunes version of each performance and the
chance to buy and use votes. The act of viewing is layered with more social, participatory
and consumer forms of engagement.

At the same time, the temporal qualities of this layered engagement emerge in more
specific ways. The majority of the game’s calls to participate take place during the
performances themselves, rather than in the surrounding material of introductions and
behind-the-scenes footage. This brings the game’s content in line with the episode’s in a
number of ways. The performances are the focus of both, with the in-app questions and the
episode building up to them. However, the performances contain less narrative information
than other segments of the episode. Each performer’s backstory and weekly storyline is
established, expanded upon and developed in the introductory sequences and behind the
scenes footage. Such footage tells the story of their week, from song choice and development to wardrobe choices and mentor relationships. In the 12\textsuperscript{th} October episode, for instance, there is a narrative of reflection and transformation as Bailey looks back at her previous audition stages and contemplates how different her \textit{X Factor} experience is from her normal daily life. This is a narrative that continues throughout the series and, as has been seen, is emphasised and privileged in the app. Her actual performance becomes a culmination of each chapter of this narrative. At the same time, although not wishing to deny the importance of staging, costume and make-up, the performances are most heavily focused on sound, with the vocal performance being at that segment’s centre. In moments such as this it is easier for the viewer to glance down at their app and tap an answer without missing the core narrative content of the episode. Transmedia engagement with \textit{The X Factor} is multiple and simultaneous, with different forms of activity occurring at the same time and creating a narrative that is focused around the television set but extended onto the mobile app.

**Micro Flows and Mediated Glances: Interrogating Layered Transmediality**

The increasing maturity of transmedia television in the UK has resulted in the emergence of different temporal dynamics and the construction of correspondingly different audience experiences. Whilst traditionally, transmedia storytelling has emphasised the linear seriality of television narratives, the emerging layered and ephemeral form of transmediality seen in \textit{The X Factor Fifth Judge} speaks to an alternative construction of time and the industrial and technological context of contemporary UK broadcasting. At the same time, it illustrates ways in which the various forms of narrative and engagement that app-based transmedia television is encouraging are reshaping the foundational models of television studies. A noticeable characteristic of \textit{The Fifth Judge} game is a clear sense of ephemerality and liveness. The app runs on a broadcast schedule and is tied directly to the television episodes’ original broadcast, only working on a Saturday evening when the television episode is broadcast for the first time. It ceases to work during the rest of the week, leaving the app user with a holding screen counting down the minutes to the next broadcast episode. Although other elements of the app remained available, such as the links to iTunes or short videos, the \textit{experience} of the app fundamentally changes because that experience is predicated on simultaneously watching the programme live and using the app. This
emphasis on liveness is a far from unique characteristic and is in fact becoming a prevalent logic of televisual forms of transmedia storytelling. Apps for other reality or games shows, such as Britain’s Got Talent (ITV, 2007-) and The Million Pound Drop Live (Channel 4, 2010-) equally only run only alongside broadcast schedules. The SyFy channel’s SyFy Sync offered a similarly layered and ephemeral experience in association with its science fiction series Defiance (2013-) whilst social media focused apps such as Beamly (Zeebox Ltd) and 4Now (Channel 4) are also fundamentally tied to the broadcast moment.

The ephemerality of broadcasting, encapsulated in the concept of ‘liveness’, has long been identified as a defining characteristic of television (Ellis, 2005; White, 2004; Hills, 2007). As Elana Levine has argued, liveness is at the core of not only how television operates, but also its strive for legitimation. She argues that liveness ‘represent[s] the epitome of “television” itself’ (Levine, 2008: 396), and is, ‘predicated upon the belief that television is at its best when it broadcasts live’ (ibid: 397). This legitimation becomes even more important as broadcasters are increasingly told that audiences are no longer paying attention to them, that new devices such as smartphones and laptops are diverting attention away from the large screen in the living room to the smaller screens in viewers’ hand, that the internet is going to revolutionise the way audiences access and consume media and that broadcasting is a thing of the past (see, for example, Chen et.al. 2014; Mager, 2013). Broadcasting and its associated liveness are increasingly seen as under threat from changing audience habits and platform proliferation. How much these reports truly challenge the role of broadcasters remains to be seen (see Evans, 2011: 174-179; Ofcom, 2013). However, changing technology and behaviour, and the uncertainty such change creates for broadcasters, provides a wider context for the development of transmedia narratives that privilege broadcast moments. Ethan Tussey has directly linked the development of companion apps to commercial television’s economic structure and reliance on liveness as a structuring principle, writing that ‘[t]he prevalence of synchronous functionality in connected viewing apps defines digital engagement in terms of live television viewing and helps deliver valuable live audiences to advertisers’ (206).

The importance of broadcasting and liveness goes beyond mere industrial politics or economics, however, into the very infrastructure of the apps themselves. Technologically, it
is the idea of broadcasting that not only defines these apps’ relationship to time, but also makes them work and makes them affordable for much of the television industry. Central to each of the apps is the way they sync with the core episode; the app must know what is on screen at any given moment in order to provide narratively relevant and appropriate content. This syncing can be done via recently developed systems such as audio watermarking, as used in film and television related apps like The Walking Dead Kill Count game (Red Bee Media) or The Cornetto Trilogy Beyond the Screen (NBCUniversal/Stereo). Audio watermarking involves markers being placed within the episode’s soundtrack; these markers are inaudible to the viewer but can be picked up by the microphone in a smartphone or tablet and allow additional material to be synced to specific moments. This means that syncing can happen to any version of the episode, broadcast, DVD or catch up as the audio track (and its markers) never changes. This technology, however, is still being developed, meaning it is expensive (see Smith, 2013). The X Factor app reveals a far more affordable technology that can similarly create dual screen, synced experiences: broadcasting itself. By using the broadcast time of a programme it is comparatively easy and cheap to run an app on the same schedule and therefore create a synchronized link between the television episode and the app. To a certain extent these second screen apps form a kind of ‘hyper broadcasting’ as the connotations of broadcasting as a concept become multiplied and emphasised. The one-to-many of the broadcast model becomes not only one-to-many viewers but also simultaneously one-to-many screens, bringing multiple screens into the broadcast moment and broadcast experience. Similarly the ephemerality of broadcasting, as we’ve already seen, becomes re-emphasised. Although the television episodes become permanent through on-demand viewing, transmedia extensions that break outside of the broadcast moment maintain the fleeting, transitory nature of pre-VCR television.

The synchronisation that is at the heart of second screen apps reveals the possibility to re-interrogate and re-appropriate some of the foundational theories of television studies in order to understand emerging industry strategies. Williams’ theory of ‘flow’ has already seen a certain amount of application to new media contexts. Catherine Johnson (2013) argues for adaptations of flow that account for television’s new competitors, when she writes that ‘new strategies in the structuring of the broadcast flow have been designed to
retain audiences amidst the increasingly numerous calls on their attention’ (24). Elsewhere, theories have translated notions of flow onto these new spaces. Will Brooker (2004) adapts the term into ‘overflow’ in order to understand the way that television websites blur the boundaries of when the television text ‘ends’, arguing that from the early 2000s television programmes have “overflowed” the bounds of television’ (569). John Caldwell (2003) has similarly adapted the broad concept of flow by arguing that the emergence of television websites shifts the ‘flow’ model from content to users as broadcasters must pay attention to ‘user navigations that can and will inevitably migrate across brand boundaries’ (136).

The form of layered transmediality seen in second-screen apps offers a further refinement of flow theory in heightening and multiplying the flow of watching television. Flow in this instance becomes a narrative characteristic. Rather than building a single narrative flow from screen to screen, leading the viewer from a webisode prequel to the episode to a game in sequence, multiple ‘micro flows’ are in place within individual episodes and across screens, from the television to the app and back again, and through different components within the app. This requires shifts in roles for the audience as they are directed to move between being a viewer, player, participant and consumer or all of these roles at once. The temporal structures of these apps, as demonstrated in the X Factor Fifth Judge, attempt to control when the viewer is watching the programme and when they are using the app down to the second until the two behaviours are layered on top of each other, but only in certain ways. Their time in the narrative-related roles of viewer, player and participant are closely interwoven with the episode’s content whilst their time as a consumer is constrained to the advert breaks within the episode’s narrative. However, the complexities of such apps, the multiple forms of content available through them, and the multiple positions they offer the audience means that this management is far from complete. The viewer is actually free to layer flows on top of each other, and move from television set to tablet and back again in potentially infinitely variable ways.

This in turn creates a relationship between viewer and television that is reminiscent of another foundational theory of television: John Ellis’ ‘glance’ model. Ellis, writing in the early 1980s, argues that:
TV does not encourage the same degree of spectator concentration [as cinema]. There is no surrounding darkness, no anonymity of the fellow viewers, no large image, no lack of movement amongst the spectators, no rapt attention. TV is not usually the only thing going on, sometimes it is not even the principal thing. TV is treated casually rather than concentratedly. (Ellis, 1992 (1982): 128)

The emergence of portable screen devices opens up further opportunities for distraction, this time via social media and websites. However, rather than competing against the distractions of these technologies, the narratives of these apps consciously builds in and encourage the forms of distraction that Ellis describes in his model. Rather than audiences becoming distracted because they are doing other things at the same time as watching TV such as chores or eating, or by websites beyond the broadcasters’ control, their attention is deliberately distracted from the programme by that programme’s transmedia extension, a process that Ethan Tussey (2014) likens to ‘digital enclosure’ (204; see also Andrejevic, 2007). It becomes a form of ‘mediated glance’, with viewers’ distraction deliberately filtered towards other spaces that the broadcaster can control and exploit. In The X Factor Fifth Judge app, this allows scope for additional advertising revenue, through app and game specific sponsorship deals.

Whilst this form of behaviour is not radical or innovative, with social media and websites acting as a form of mediated glance since media technologies became portable, this shift in transmedia strategy demonstrates the UK television industry’s desire to control that form of mediated glance, to direct it through their own content and encourage attachment to and engagement with the core television narratives at their moment of broadcast. Again, however, these apps seek to manage how such mediated glances occur. The balance of content forms works to try and ensure that the ‘distraction’ of the second screen does not detract too much from the primary television screen and instead attempts to focus the viewers’ behaviour on the core television narrative. As discussed above, the Fifth Judge app can be used with only brief glances away from the television screen, the supplementary narrative of the app game never fully supplants the narrative of the episode. Videos of performances were made available on the app as each episode is broadcast, but the constant refreshing of the Fifth Judge app attempts to focus viewers’ attention on it rather than them. The app design means that the videos and the game remain on separate
screens, separated by tabs on a smartphone and scrolling on a tablet. The potential conflict between multiple streams of video is therefore carefully managed to position the television set at the centre of the audience’s attention. Through timing and design, the app user’s distraction is therefore both deliberately created and carefully managed in attempts to ensure it remains mediated through the broadcasters’ own transmedia content.

**Conclusion**

Transmedia strategies are becoming an increasingly central, but everyday, part of the mainstream UK television industry’s activities. From early computer-based storytelling experiments, through the establishment of catch-up services to the resurgence of experimentation, now based on portable technologies and apps, transmedia content has become an increasingly pervasive part of ‘watching television’. Central to these policies has been a re-orientation onto the broadcast moment. The early transmedia storytelling strategies that led viewers through different narrative experiences, separated by a linear temporal structure as well as different devices have evolved into a layering of experiences onto a single narrative moment. Central to this are the temporalities of television’s narratives and the way those temporalities converge with the design of second screen apps.

Interrogating the temporal dynamics of transmedia television, and in particular the emergence of layered transmedia storytelling, illuminates the potential for repurposing and adapting the key models of television studies in order to understand how the narrative experiences of television are both changing and remaining consistent. The ‘flow’ of television is still present, but is becoming the management of micro-movements between screens and within a single narrative experience. The consequences of television’s ephemerality and the distractions of the household remain, however now they are becoming mediated as viewer attention is increasingly marshalled across multiple spaces that are framed collectively. The shift towards layered transmediality has seen a reaffirmation, but adaptation of the experience of television’s narratives. Examples of second screen apps such as *The X Factor* therefore raise the need for television studies to further examine the shifting status of time in relation to transmedia narratives, what other new temporal dynamics are emerging, and its own past as transmedia storytelling continues to evolve.
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