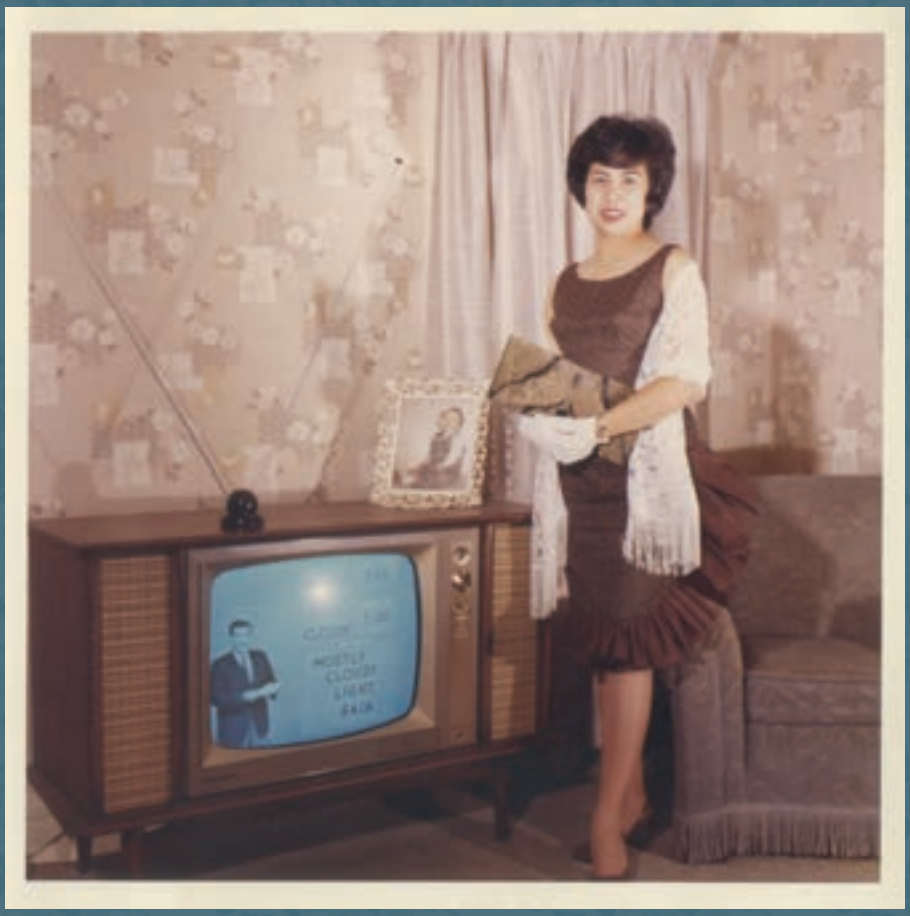
TV SNAPSHOTS



AN ARCHIVE OF EVERYDAY LIFE

LYNN SPIGEL

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BUY

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FOR JEFF

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INTRODUCTION

COMPANION TECHNOLOGIES

Back in the 1980s, when I first started writing about television, I came across a photo of myself as a little girl posing in front of my TV set. Standing in my red, white, and blue party dress, attempting to curtsy, I was the subject of a snapshot that curiously depicted TV not as a mass-entertainment medium but as a backdrop for a social performance in an intimate family scene (see figure I.1). Struck by the snapshot, I wondered if there were others like it. But despite periodic searches at flea markets and thrift stores over the past thirty years, I could never find examples. My luck suddenly changed in the spring of 2011, when I discovered a proliferating set of similar TV snapshots. I found them in vintage stores and especially on eBay, blogs, and share sites like Pinterest and Flickr. And even while my own photo continues to be meaningful to me, I realize, too, that the snapshots have larger historical significance.

FIGURE I.1 Snapshot of author, circa 1963.

This book explores historical snapshots of people posing at home with television sets (primarily photographs taken in the 1950s through the early 1970s). Based on more than five thousand snapshots, the book examines a prevalent but virtually overlooked photographic practice that took place at a time when television secured its role as the dominant medium in US life and culture. During these years, people used snapshot cameras to take pictures of their TV sets, and they photographed themselves posing in front of TV sets on myriad occasions. Snapshots provide clues into the ways people arranged rooms for television and how they incorporated it into the daily rhythms of work and play. In this respect, TV snapshots provide a new sort of evidence for histories of media and everyday life. Cultural histories of media innovation typically use corporate records, government documents, trade journals, and related sources that shed light on technical design and industry practices. Historians also analyze promotional rhetoric (for example, at world fairs or in advertising), and they explore popular discourses and texts (mov-

ies, novels, short stories, jokes, or magazine articles about new or imagined media). A less typical but important strain of historical research uses methods of oral history to understand people's memories of media and (through the circuit of memory) tracks clues to the media past.[1] Building on this scholarship, but also rethinking its archival parameters, *TV Snapshots* uses what I call an "archive of everyday life"—my collection of images made by everyday people with ordinary snapshot cameras.

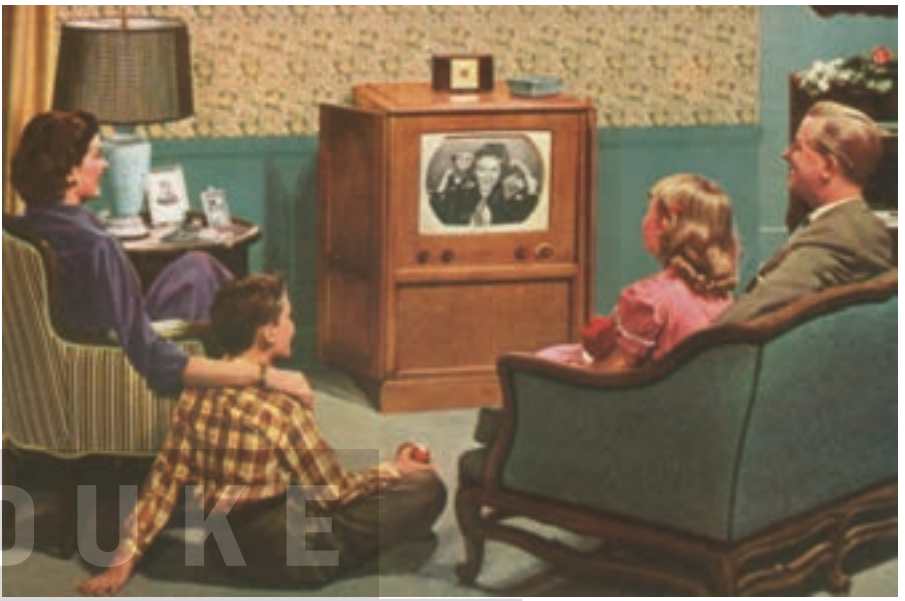
To be sure, snapshots are not a transparent window into the past. They are textual forms and highly conventionalized modes of representation. At first glance, they often look exactly alike, particularly if you or your loved ones are not in the photo. Snapshot cameras (especially the low-end cameras most people used) had a limited repertoire of image-making possibilities so that the film stock, framing, focus, lighting, distance, and even the development process for images were standardized before anyone shot a picture. Camera manuals recommended the sorts of pictures one would take (birthday parties, weddings, proms, new babies), and even if people did not always read or follow instructions, they usually adhered to a set of informal rules that were part of the social conventions of picture taking. Yet, despite their generic nature, snapshots provide an alternative framework through which to account for television and everyday life. They offer ways to think about how media consumers (as opposed to corporations or inventors) visualized and imagined their own relations to TV. Moreover, *snapping* pictures was a social and cultural practice in its own right. Therefore, this book examines TV snapshots as an activity, a hobby art, an expressive medium, and something people *did* with TV other than watch it.

TV Snapshots is in many ways a call back to my first book, *Make Room for TV*, which examined TV's arrival in the 1950s in the context of suburban domesticity.[2] That book explored how advertisements, women's home magazines, films, and other mass media depicted, promoted, and debated TV's effects on family life, and it demonstrated how television networks appealed to housewives and family viewers with programs that meshed with the rhythms of daily routines. *TV Snapshots* presents an alternate view from the images of television in mass-market magazines and ads for TV sets in the postwar period. While 1950s home magazines and advertisements typically depicted TV in rooms that spoke to prevailing middle-class decorative ideals, the snapshots show a much broader range of tastes and sensibilities. Moreover, as opposed to the focus on middle-class whiteness in ads for TV sets and in network programs, snapshots present a range of class, ethnic, and racial identities. TV snapshots also appeared in numerous national contexts. I have found

examples from the Soviet Union, Sweden, Hungary, France, Israel, England, Canada, Argentina, China, Belgium, Germany, Bulgaria, Egypt, and other places around the globe.

TV snapshots call attention to the ways in which people used TV for purposes unintended by the television industry. While ads for television sets usually showed families circled around it (figure I.2), glued to the images on-screen, snapshots rarely show people watching TV. Instead, when pictured in snapshots, TV is typically a prop or backdrop for the presentation of self, family, and gender (figure I.3). People used cameras to make personally meaningful images and artistic renderings in which television played a central role. In addition to family portraits, there are TV trick shots, still lifes, glamour poses, and even TV pinups and nudes. Way before the advent of home video, people took "screenshots" off TV, documenting, but also interpreting, the images transmitted on television through their own camera lens.

Like contemporary selfies, TV snapshots were a quotidian form of self-display, a popular pastime, a mode of communication, and a way to craft images through mass-market media devices. Unlike selfies, however, TV snapshots were an analog mode of combining two devices—the camera and the TV set—in ways not predicted or even imagined by the industries that sold them. While histories of media technologies typically focus on one medium, in this book, I argue that we should also consider how people use media



technologies in connection with each other. This pertains not just to media devices that the industry markets as *component* parts (for example, the DVR is a component meant to be wired to a TV set). People also pair technologies on their own. In the postwar decades, people used the TV set and snapshot camera as *companion technologies*. As more and more people installed TVs in their homes, they also used snapshot cameras to picture themselves with the new medium. Even as TV became routine (by 1960, roughly 90 percent of US households had one or more sets), people continued to pose with television and use it as a subject of photos.

TV Snapshots tracks this parallel and intertwined history of media devices. The images I explore in this book were the product of the convergence between the two major domestic visual technologies in midcentury America. Together, TV and snapshot cameras afforded people opportunities to form a unique cultural practice. Armed with snapshot cameras, people reenvisioned the dominant (industry-prescribed) spectator uses of television and made themselves the stars of their own TV scenes.

KODAK FAMILIES

This book is primarily concerned with photographs of television rather than the history or theory of family photography. That said, as a photographic type, the family snapshot has a history of its own, and it has been the subject

FIGURE I.2 (*opposite*) Advertisement for RCA television, circa 1949.

FIGURE I.3 (*left*) Family snapshot, circa 1949–55.

of numerous theoretical explorations. By the time of television, snapshots were a major industry and cultural practice that engaged people around the globe. According to a Bell and Howell report on the leisure market, by 1959, US households were spending almost $300 million per year on photography compared to $313 million on concerts, opera, and theater combined. One year later, another Bell and Howell study claimed that photography was the most popular hobby in America.[3] By far, Kodak was the reigning corporate brand, and therefore not surprisingly, most TV snapshots in my collection were taken with Kodak cameras and developed as Kodak prints.

The Eastman Kodak Company marketed its first snapshot camera in 1888. One year later it adopted the slogan, "You Push the Button, We Do the Rest," a catchphrase that captured the minimal amount of technical skill the device required and the maximum amount of pleasure it promised. As Nancy West explains in her history of Kodak's marketing campaigns, Kodak's appeal to women was especially important to the company's rise and sustained success. In 1893, Kodak introduced its fashionable Kodak Girl, who appeared in advertisements and in women's magazines like *Ladies' Home Journal*. In her early incarnation, the Kodak Girl resonated with "new woman" discourses of leisure and mobility; she was often pictured with a camera around her neck or snapping pictures of outdoor scenes. In the 1930s and especially during World War II, Kodak still targeted female consumers, but its ads focused mainly on sentimental family iconography, promising women that snapshots would strengthen family ties and create instant memories in material form.[4] In the 1950s, in the context of the baby boom and the postwar emphasis on domesticity, Kodak ads often showed women as camera operators eagerly snapping images of children, pets, and household scenes. Nevertheless, in most TV snapshots I have found, women and children are the subject of the photo, and it therefore seems reasonable to assume that fathers often operated the cameras. Still, it's likely that women preserved the snapshots. Throughout the twentieth century, Kodak told women to "Make Kodak your family historian" and promoted the family album as a woman's concern, showing them how to create exciting books to share with family and friends.[5]

Family snapshots present idealized pictures of how people wish it were or how they want to be regarded and remembered. Posers typically smile and look happy, and they perform socially sanctioned gender roles as family members. In his 1965 book *Photography: A Middlebrow Art* (the first sustained sociological study of the form), Pierre Bourdieu argued that snapshots are foremost a "ritual domestic cult" that "expresses the celebratory sense which the [family] group gives to itself." Snapshots don't just represent

the family; as a practice, taking pictures functions as a means "of reinforcing the integration of the family group by reasserting the sense that it has both of itself and of its unity."[6]

Like family snapshots in general, TV snapshots often reify the family as an ideological unit by showing people who look happy, and they often take place on ritual occasions. They employ what Richard Chalfen calls "home-mode" aesthetics, "a pattern of interpersonal and small group communication centered around the home."[7] Although I've found candid shots featuring TV sets, as Chalfen argues of snapshots in general, most TV snapshots are deliberately staged.[8] In the contemporary context of digital cameras, it's easy to forget that most analog cameras came with film rolls (or by 1963, Kodak's Instamatic cartridges) that took a finite number of pictures. The price of film and the fact that camera operators could run out of it meant that people often calculated shot choices without the luxury of digital deletion. Although there are many "bad" snapshots (blurry, crooked, overexposed), and while it's difficult to ascribe personal intentions, the general goal of getting things picture perfect was at least an aspiration for many families at the time. Yet, despite snapshots' veneer of family bliss, they are more than just glorified images of an idealized past.

Writing against the sociological view of photography as a means of family integration—or at least seeing that view as reductive—in *Camera Lucida* (1981), Roland Barthes calls attention to the textual and psychical dimensions of photographs and insists on their performative dimension (he speaks of the theatricality of the pose).[9] Rather than Kodak's version of sentimental nostalgia, Barthes considers the photograph's relation to melancholy, mourning, trauma, and the passing of time. In his oft-cited analysis of his mother's *Winter Garden* photo, Barthes recounts his search for a photograph that captures her essence, but the search also leads to his sense of his own ephemerality and impending death. The photograph records the "that-has-been" of the image.[10] It marks a place and moment in time. It assures us that this place and moment occurred, but in so doing, the photograph also records that which will not be again.

Capturing this doubleness (the positive registration of life in the past, and yet a sense of loss and negation), Barthes formulates the twin and related concepts of the *studium* and *punctum*. Derived from the Latin (a language that Barthes feels approximates his meaning more than any term in French), the *studium* refers to the habits of life presented in an image that can be easily recognized by other people (at least those familiar with the culture) and is therefore "ultimately always coded."[11] While the studium is present in all

photos, only some elicit the *punctum*, that aspect of the image "which will disturb the studium," that "shoots out like an arrow and pierces me." The punctum "pricks me (but also bruises me, is poignant to me," and it is often created through unintended, even "accidental" details in the frame.[12] In this regard, photographs are not just records of the past or emblems of family integration; they also belie the wounds of affective response. Although Barthes speaks of photography in general (using art photography, personal photos, portraits, and photojournalism as examples), his framework has become central to scholarship on family photography, and I refer to his concepts throughout this book.

As part of their affective range and textual complexity, family photos orchestrate identity and identification regarding sexuality, race, gender, and class. Feminist historians and critics such as Jo Spence, Patricia Holland, Annette Kuhn, and Marianne Hirsch consider how family photographs, and historical portraits of women and girls in particular, express reigning ideologies and sentimental notions of middle-class heterosexual white domesticity, and at times evoke family and sexual trauma.[13] Nevertheless, these and other feminist scholars also provide ways of thinking about family photos in relation to role playing and (following Judith Butler) conceptualize gender and sexuality as performances (as opposed to essential or natural forms of embodiment).[14] As with family snapshots more generally, TV snapshots reveal the modes of gender embodiment and pretense involved in midcentury family life, and in some cases people strike poses that appear self-consciously to play with (and perhaps defy) normative gender roles. Observing this "gender trouble" in photos, Elspeth Brown and Sara Davidmann explore the act of "queering the trans* family album." This is in part accomplished by LGBTQ art photographers. But Brown and Davidmann also consider how the ordinary family album might be reclaimed for affective memories and affiliations among LGBTQ publics, and for radical histories and present-day uses.[15] More generally, as artists, historians, and cultural theorists have increasingly come to view vernacular photography as worthy of study, scholarship and museum/gallery exhibitions explore family photos in relation to alternative histories and counter-hegemonic practices of everyday life.[16] While the people in TV snapshots often perform roles of nuclear family life, I also show how snapshots offer alternative ways of seeing the family and practices of looking (or not looking) at TV.

In her pathbreaking work on family photography, Hirsch discusses the visual complexities of what she calls the "familial gaze." For Hirsch, the dynamics of looking are an overlooked but important component of how fam-

ily relations are worked out and worked through. "The photograph," Hirsch argues, "is the site at which numerous looks and gazes intersect," including the looks between the camera operator and the subject; the exchange of looks among people in the photo; and the gaze of the viewer looking at the photo. The familial gaze also includes "external institutional and ideological gazes" outside the frame of the picture, and in this respect, Hirsch sees family photos in the context of family imagery more generally: "When we photograph ourselves in a familial setting, we do not do so in a vacuum; we respond to dominant mythologies of family life, to conceptions we have inherited, to images we see on television, in advertising, in film."[17]

TV snapshots engage the "familial gaze" in particularly interesting ways. As a piece of furniture in the home, the TV set is often a site of visual pleasure. Yet, unlike other objects, television can be "turned on," and the ethereal images and performers on-screen often seem to look back at people in their homes and even become "actors" in the family pose, making TV photos especially uncanny. More generally, as a screen for attracting spectators, television provided a focal point through which camera operators framed family members (or guests) as visual attractions. But the familial gaze was not just a form of objectification. As I argue in chapter 3, women often delighted in using television as a backdrop against which to display their fashions in ways that often spoke to women's visual pleasure and relationships with one another, and not just to the voyeuristic pleasure of men.

Throughout, I analyze TV snapshots as a social practice. In her ethnographic work on British women's snapshot cultures (conducted in the 2000s), Gillian Rose calls attention to how women used analog snapshots to sustain family and friendship networks by, for example, enclosing them in letters or looking at them with guests. "Women's photographic practices suggest that photographing family and friends, and doing things with those photos like making albums, does in fact represent at least some aspects of women's domestic lives extraordinarily well, and indeed far from naively reproducing dominant ideologies of domestic femininity, family albums often negotiate such ideologies with remarkable skill."[18] Similarly, in the US context, family snapshots were an analog means of creating and sustaining social networks. In the late nineteenth century and through the midcentury period, photography was a popular activity at women's luncheons, children's birthday parties, and other domestic gatherings.

Kodak's major postwar competitor, Polaroid Land, carved out a niche for its products by marketing them as social media. When it first appeared in 1948, the Polaroid was the first snapshot camera to take photos that materi-

alized in a minute, without the need to send film to development labs. Polaroid promoted the camera not only as a novel attraction, but also as a means for photographers to attract people to themselves. Unlike Kodak's focus on female consumers, Polaroid often advertised its camera as a boy's toy that dazzled friends, family, and strangers with the awesome technical trick of portraits on demand. As one ad put it, "You're the Life of the Party with a Polaroid Land Camera."[19] Considering the larger significance of Polaroid in the history of photography, Peter Buse argues that by focusing almost exclusively on family and memory, scholars have often overlooked the snapshot camera's relation to fun, play, and sociality.[20]

Regardless of camera brand or film stock, TV snapshots capture the fun people had by pairing TV and cameras. Some photos show family members and friends involved in ludic activities or performing before the TV screen (a subject I take up in chapter 2); others are modes of TV hobby art (as with still lifes, trick shots, and screenshots, which I discuss in chapters 1 and 2). Still others show people engaged in sexual playfulness (as with the dress-up photos and homemade pinups I consider in chapters 3 and 4).

While most snapshots appear to be taken with low-end cameras and developed in company labs, the postwar decades witnessed increased enthusiasm for amateur photography. Although *amateur* is a loaded term (implying lower skills or "not quite art"), and while it is a slippery category (many so-called amateurs aspired to—and sometimes did—exhibit their work and earn income for it), I use the term here as it was deployed by midcentury camera companies, photography magazines, and photographers themselves. At midcentury the term generally implied a hobby rather than a vocation. Like weekend painters who dabbled in the arts, *shutterbugs* proliferated in the 1950s and 1960s. Many amateurs—especially those striving toward professional status—used high-end equipment and set up dark rooms (often in their basements or garages—in other words, men's spaces). Notably, the advice discourses aimed at amateurs were highly gendered. The Kodak manual showed men manhandling photos (for example, men appear in darkrooms processing negatives or scaling up photos on the Kodak Hobbyist Enlarger), while women place photos in albums, arrange them on walls, or engage in the "pleasant habit" of putting snapshots into letters.[21] Despite growing numbers of female photographers at midcentury, magazines like *Popular Photography* and *U.S. Camera* spoke primarily to men.

The photography magazines quickly took up an interest in television. In 1949, one camera club contest (sponsored with a prize from *U.S. Camera*) invited shutterbugs to compete for the best photo (or home movie) that de-

picted the photographer's new TV set.[22] More generally, as I discuss in chapter 2, photography magazines promoted the new hobby art of shooting snapshots off the TV screen, and they also taught readers how to create other photographic "TV crafts." In such ways, the expert advice on photography linked the television set and the snapshot camera, promoting their use as companion technologies in postwar homes.

Amateur interest in photography was encouraged by the midcentury period's more general elevation of photography to an art form. In 1944, the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) mounted the first US exhibition of snapshot photography, *The American Snapshot*. Curated by MoMA's first director of photography, Willard Morgan, the show included numerous family snapshots (the exhibition catalog opens with a photo of baby "Butch"). In 1955, MoMA's *Family of Man* became a major source of public fascination. Created by Edward Steichen (MoMA's director of photography from 1947 to 1961), along with a board of midcentury luminaries (including anthropologist Margaret Mead), the uniquely staged exhibit displayed 503 photographs of people from around the world, and it traveled to thirty-seven countries across six continents.[23] For those who did not attend the show (or else wanted to relive it), *The Family of Man* was the subject of a 1955 CBS TV documentary and was also memorialized in a best-selling book that could be found on coffee tables across the nation.[24] The exhibit's use of the word *family* in the title, and the numerous photos of children and kin, no doubt resonated with the family photography that ordinary people shot in their homes. Despite its humanist intentions, critics debated (and continue to debate) the exhibition's political and ideological complexities, particularly regarding colonialism, racism, and "first world" displays of "others."[25]

Nevertheless, across the nineteenth and twentieth century, photographers of color had a major influence on the medium, and at midcentury, photography was increasingly central to the politics of race, nationalism, and civil rights. Deborah Willis's 1994 pathbreaking anthology *Picturing Us* highlights the importance of photography for Black publics across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[26] As Willis writes (in a separate essay), "A number of black people felt that there were no representative images of their experiences published in periodicals or on postcards. Thus some felt it necessary to address this visual omission by setting up photography studios, writing editorials, and posing for the camera."[27] In her oft-cited essay "In Our Glory," bell hooks claims, "Cameras gave back to black folks, irrespective of our class, a means by which we could participate fully in the production of images. . . . Access and mass appeal have historically made photography a powerful loca-

tion for the construction of an oppositional black aesthetic. In a world before racial integration, there was a constant struggle on the part of black folks to create a counter-hegemonic world of images that would stand as visual resistance, challenging racist images."[28] Speaking specifically of home-mode pictures, she adds, "Photographs taken in everyday life, snapshots in particular, rebelled against all of those photographic practices that re-inscribed colonial ways of looking and capturing images of the black 'other.'"[29]

Given the diverse range of families who made TV snapshots, and especially the numerous African American TV snapshots that appear on the collector's market, it seems important at the outset to consider the different historical experiences against which snapshots resonate. As Stuart Hall argues in his essay on vernacular studio photographs of diasporic publics, even if such photographs are highly generic, they call for a "politics of reading" on the part of the critic and an effort to understand the historical context of the people posing in them, to see the photos from their point of view.[30] Although I don't think it's possible to fully understand the experience of the people in the snapshots I've collected, nevertheless, both photography and television had different meanings and uses for differently situated publics. Hall's concept of "articulation" is especially useful here as it allows for an understanding of how media forms can resonate differently in their connections and attachments to different histories, memories, and lived practices.[31] Even while I acknowledge my limited perspective, in this book I speculate on family photos in the context of historical scholarship as well as primary documents (such as the Black press) that shed light on race, photography, and television (mostly with reference to African American publics).

At midcentury, Black art photographers and photojournalists explored everyday portraiture in ways that encouraged African American publics to see their own lives through the pictures. *The Sweet Flypaper of Life* (1955), with photographs by Roy DeCarava and text by Langston Hughes, is a canonical example.[32] A photo poem about daily life in Harlem, the book features, for example, a child playing at an open fire hydrant, couples dancing in kitchens, pedestrians walking down streets, a mother washing dishes, teenagers around a jukebox. Hughes's poetic narration presents Harlem through the eyes of grandmother Sister Mary Bradley, who serves as a framing device for the photos, speaking conversationally in female talk about her family and neighbors. Published in the same year as *The Family Man*, *The Sweet Flypaper of Life* pictured life in a community of color created in the context of segregation, migration, and Jim Crow, marking experiences that were not universal (as with the theme of Steichen's exhibit) but rather formed through

historical circumstance. The book's focus was on ordinary daily experience as opposed to the often-sensationalized portraits and stereotypes of Black life in mainstream photojournalism.

Over the course of the 1960s, as Black photographers, curators, and critics protested the closed world of museum photography and came to have increased presence in that world, the ordinary snapshot camera continued to resonate against the larger meanings of photography as a tool for oppositional voices and practices.[33] Along these lines, hooks emphasizes the quotidian nature of the family portrait and especially its role in homemaking: "Most southern black folks grew up in a context where snapshots and the more stylized photographs taken by professional photographers were the easiest images to produce. Significantly, displaying those images in everyday life was as central as making them. The walls of images in southern black homes were sites of resistance. They constituted private, black-owned and -operated, gallery space where images could be displayed, shown to friends and strangers. These walls were a space where, in the midst of segregation, the hardship of apartheid, dehumanization could be countered."[34] In practices of home decoration, the family photo made counter-hegemonic ways of looking part of the domestic interior.

Although it would be a vast act of overinterpretation to say that African American snapshots are always acts of self-conscious resistance to racism, snapshot cameras nevertheless provided ways to reappropriate racist practices in mainstream visual culture and, as hooks suggests, to feel at home with one's image. Given television's own legacy of racism (a subject to which I will return), the snapshot camera offered a home-mode antidote to network television's omissions, stereotypes, and hegemonic acts of inclusion. With a snapshot camera, it was possible to intervene and talk back to TV. By posing in their TV settings, African Americans, as well as other underrepresented people of color, could make themselves the subjects of pleasing representations with a medium that often failed to please them.

Throughout this book, I see TV snapshots as a site for the creative production of images, social identities, pleasures, and lived historical experiences. That said, found photos can be stubborn things to understand. Certainly, as John Berger argues, "Photographs bear witness to a human choice." The photograph "is already a message about the event it records. . . . At its simplest, the message, decoded, means: 'I have decided that seeing this is worth recording.'"[35] Yet, human choices—as actor-network theory reminds us—are bound up with objects and technical affordances that play a role in social practice.[36] For example, a snapshot camera's shutter speed limited the

range of action in a snapshot and helped to determine how humans posed for the camera; even moderately fast movement could result in blur, so people had to avoid quick facial expressions, stand relatively still, or *imitate* doing things (like reading a book or feeding a baby). Kodak's color film was based on the bias of its Shirley card tests (which used a white model as the standard), binding photographic techniques, as Shawn Michelle Smith has shown, to the history of eugenics, in which whites used photographs to reinforce racist beliefs in white beauty hierarchies.[37] In this sense, while photos register a field of human choices, they nevertheless are imbricated in the agency of things (what devices can and can't do) and with human-object relations. Moreover, as found images, TV snapshots are a complicated archive, always resisting empirical claims and always open to interpretation.

LOST, FOUND, AND RE-COLLECTED: THE EVERYDAY ARCHIVE

This book is a product of serendipity—the various turns of good fortune I've had in my search for lost things. Nevertheless, found photos pose challenges. Most of the snapshots in this book come from anonymous trade routes and are ripped from their original contexts. Online dealers or vintage shop owners accumulate them at estate sales and break up collections.[38] While dates are often stamped on the photos, in many cases they are not (and, therefore, I have made educated guesses).[39] Offering little to go on, snapshots remain enigmatic.

These snapshots are collectibles, but not always, or even primarily, because they feature TV sets. Instead, they are part of a more general collectors' culture around found photos. My search for TV snapshots on Google produced examples uploaded to share sites like Flickr and Pinterest and to various photography and collector's blogs.[40] In the material spaces of flea markets, thrift shops, and vintage stores, TV snapshots are typically strewn among many other sorts of snapshots, so that searching for them is needle-in-haystack research. I decided, therefore, to check eBay in the hopes that its searchable site would allow me to find my objects of desire in a more focused way. On a hunch I typed in "TV snapshots." Jackpot! That search term resulted in a steady flow of photos sold by online vintage stores and photo dealers.

While the search terms I use designate my interest, other people who buy TV snapshots are not necessarily concerned with TV. They may just as well be interested in snapshots featuring midcentury fashions, furniture, or cats—all of which are also search terms that often result in snapshots that feature TV sets. In this respect, the archive I have amassed is searchable online, but the

search terms I use do not refer to a preexisting archive; instead, the search has the curious effect of creating the archive, or at least facilitating my collection as such.

In its role as a repository and trading post for found photographs, eBay has become an everyday experience for an online collectors' culture.[41] While eBay characterizes itself foremost as a virtual store, it also assumes the other meaning of the word *store*, operating as an archive formed through an impulse to save objects—or more specifically, photographs of objects—that appear on the site. In addition, eBay is a social media site on which sellers weave tales about objects to make them more desirable, and eBay's community board lets buyers swap stories of their own. My use of eBay as a research tool, therefore, is framed by this everyday online experience where shopping, storytelling, and storing the past are interrelated activities.

Even though I was surprised to find so many snapshots, my collection of roughly five thousand should not be regarded as a representative sample in the empiricist sense. Instead, I use terms like *a lot* and *numerous* to indicate general trends or iconographic subgenres (such as dress-up photos or trick shots). This may be annoying to readers who want statistical generalizations, but it would be pointless and misleading to quantify things that can't be counted but that still, I argue, "count" as important materials through which to understand the past. As I write this book, new TV snapshots appear online every day. Like many digital archives, this one is not finite. It is generative. While I do think the relatively large collection I have amassed helps confirm the significance of the practice, it is impossible to know how many TV snapshots people produced compared, say, with snapshots of their poodles or pianos. This is, however, not my concern. Instead of calculating general trends, I explore snapshots as iterations of a popular practice through which people visualized themselves and their new TV homes. Moreover, I examine photos that seem to divert from photographic trends and family snapshot norms. Such snapshots offer counter-memories to the reigning historical narratives about TV as a sentimental family medium. By looking at snapshots in relation to each other and alongside adjacent media (like pinups or art photography), I hope to give them significance beyond the stray example, and to show how family snapshots speak to absent (or silenced) voices in television history. By reading them in their varied historical contexts, I hope to understand them from the point of view of their posers (even if that is often more conjecture than fact).

In *Image Matters*, Tina Campt considers the unwieldy nature of family photographs and the difficulties entailed in interpreting their relevance to

their posers and for history more generally. Based on historical collections of snapshots of Black German families and studio portraits of West Indian migrants in England, Campt reconstructs their affective resonance and the historical experiences they suggest. Rather than view the photos just as strays or singular *orphans* (a term often used in film studies to consider found objects like home movies), Campt argues we should examine them as *sets* that resonate with each other and speak to the material, affective, and haptic experiences of people who posed in and made them. Like Hall, Campt sees historical contextualization and the politics of reading as central concerns, and she demonstrates how the photos in her study speak to "fugitivity," alterity, counter-narratives, and the everyday struggles and pleasures of publics whose voices were rarely documented or saved in archives.[42] In this regard, collections of family photos can mark the significance of everyday life in ways different from, and sometimes in terms more compelling than, canonical works of photographic art. As Campt suggests, family photos are complex texts that demand close textual analysis, a method that I employ here.

Given their intimate and personal nature, snapshots pose ethical concerns. Archivists and historians often negotiate the complexities of making personal images public. This is easy to forget at a moment when digital photos have made snapshot photography into a public act in which people display their private lives willingly, gleefully—and share photos online with others they may have never met. The found photos I explore in this book are pictures of other people's homes and were created in the context of intimacy. In other words, they weren't meant for me (or you as readers) to see. Therefore, at the start, it seems important to acknowledge the sense of eavesdropping or even surveillance I often feel when looking at photos of families that aren't mine. This is especially the case in relation to families of color, for whom photography was historically connected to the politics of intimacy and resistance against hegemonic visual practices. And it seems equally important to acknowledge that photography has also historically been used as a disciplinary means of surveillance disproportionately against people of color.[43] Looking in other people's houses, then, is not an entirely innocent practice.

For many readers, TV snapshots may well evoke "kitschy" sensibilities. Readers may find themselves laughing at or nostalgic for the clunky TV consoles, flamingo pink curtains, pompadours, go-go boots, miniskirts, and yellow shag rugs. While I don't want to police the joys of nostalgia (which I believe can at times serve redemptive and even critical functions for thinking about the relations among the past, present, and future), it's important

to remember that people at the time did not likely experience their lives as kitsch. I return to these issues of history, memory, counter-memory, kitsch, and nostalgia in chapter 5 as I look at the memory cultures and art practices surrounding TV snapshots today.

At the most practical level, my selection of snapshots is governed by copyright laws that make it possible for me to reprint snapshots (as long as I own them) that were produced up until 1977, when copyright laws changed. Nevertheless, TV snapshots date well into the 1990s (even if the practice was less typical).[44] In addition, while I focus on US photos, this is largely because of my location, my historical frame of reference, and the fact that online stores (like US eBay) sell mostly US snapshots. But because I have found snapshots from places around the world, I have decided occasionally to discuss or display these in various sections of this book. While I cannot address the specificities of national broadcasting systems in the scope of this project, readers should be aware when looking at international examples that broadcast systems manifest at different times and were differently organized across the globe. Even in the United States, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, television was mainly available in big cities and surrounding suburbs, and across the decades, the number of stations in different regions of the country was uneven.

More generally, when writing this book, I've grappled with choices and arrangements. Should I publish the blurry images, crooked angles, cut-off heads? Or should I display the more legible snapshots that approximate some of the basic standards set forth in instructional manuals? In some way this choice is decided for me in advance, as most dealers sell only the "good" (or most legible) photos because they are worth more on the collectors' market. But in many cases, my selections really come down to my own attractions and tastes. Which little girl in which party dress is the perfect example? The French provincial color TV or the sleek modern portable? The cat lying in front of the TV or the canary cage placed on top of one? These may seem inconsequential choices, but selection and arrangement of documents is a major issue for all historians. As a space of what Jacques Derrida calls "consignation," the archive makes choices, classifies, confers meaning, inscribes the documents of the past with the concerns of the present.[45] As much as it preserves, the archive also destroys and silences pasts not chosen for inclusion and display—an issue I discuss in more detail in chapter 5.

What is the difference between an *archive* and a *collection*? For Derrida, who traces the etymology of the word, the archive is both a place (a house, consistent with the archive's etymological ties to architecture, shelter, or the Greek *arkheion*) and a source of official power or *commandment* (the

arkhe—an authority or "place from which order is given"). Here, I use the term *archive* in both ways. The snapshots are literally pictures of houses, but they remain homeless, torn from their original home-mode forms of collection (the album, the box, the dresser drawer) but not yet housed in an official museum or archive. This book, then, is not the same as a personal collection, but it is also not based on the sorts of things typically found in archives. *TV Snapshots* is best categorized as a re-collection, literally a collection of other people's collections; figuratively, a history that straddles the lines between an official archive and a family album.

In the course of my research, colleagues recommended I use software programs to compile searchable lists and logs. I did try. But my attempt to mimic official archiving escaped me. I found the software alienating. The searchable logs were too systematic, unable to grasp the affective range of the snapshots, at least as I understood them. How do you, after all, make the punctum searchable? I did, however, find a way to organize the pictures. I saved and arranged my TV snapshots in ordinary family photo albums. This home-mode form of preservation was appealing to me, perhaps because the albums evoke the intimacy and women's pleasures through which family photos were historically saved. Without essentializing my preservation practices as feminine, it does strike me that my choice must have been related to what Daniel Miller calls "the comfort of things."[46] I like touching and holding the material pictures, putting them in and taking them out of albums, more than I like them when they appear digitized as JPEGs and metadata on my computer. The family album is familiar to me, the way I saved photos for most of my life. It inspires me to think about TV snapshots in relation to the people who made them, selected them, wrote funny little remarks on them, and preserved them in their own albums.

In the past two decades, photography studies has taken a material turn. Historians and theorists like Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, Margaret Olin, and Christopher Pinney see photographs not just as images, but also as three-dimensional things that people touch, trade, and put in other things (like albums). Snapshots accrue meaning and affective resonances in the process of their circulation and manipulation, literally as they are handled and change hands.[47] Handling torn, faded, used snapshots literally means physical touching, but it also involves the more affective sense of being touched by a photo. And because TV snapshots are other people's photos, I am touched secondhand.

In its appeal to ordinariness and the materiality of things, *TV Snapshots* especially finds inspiration in Ann Cvetkovich's *An Archive of Feelings*.[48] As

Cvetkovich envisions it, the archive of feelings suggests an archive composed of collections made of things and sensations not typically saved in official archives. Her immediate concern is with lesbian cultural artifacts and the memories, traumas, and pleasures they evoke. Her archive includes ephemera like diaries, films, videos, and pamphlets that contain counter-memories and clues into the affective relations among people whose lives went undocumented by official archives. Although Cvetkovich finds ephemera in material places (like LGBTQ community centers), her concept of the archive is more expansive. She sees artifacts of lesbian visual culture (films, videos, photographs) as ephemeral archives that record memories, histories, and affects that are not saved or stored in physical sites. As she argues elsewhere, photographs also store affect.[49]

The word *affect* has a complicated genealogy and a range of uses.[50] Photography scholars variously use the term to think about how photographs (as images, objects, and social practices) can resonate culturally and not just in relation to individual emotions. Given the TV snapshot's relation to the sensations and textures of everyday life, in this book I especially draw on Kathleen Stewart's *Ordinary Affects*. She writes, "The ordinary is a shifting assemblage of practices and practical knowledges. . . . Ordinary affects are the varied, surging capacities to affect and to be affected that give everyday life the quality of a continual motion of relations, scenes, contingencies, and emergences."[51] Stewart (like many others interested in affect theory) sees affect as being "akin to Raymond Williams's structures of feeling."[52] But following the more Deleuzian-inspired sense of the term, she also suggests that ordinary affects are less a structure than "an animate circuit" of intense and banal encounters, and a "contact zone where the overdeterminations of circulations, events, conditions, technologies, and flows of power literally take place."[53] Stewart composes her book as an "assemblage of disparate scenes" of everyday life, stitching together affective experiences she claims are "patchy" and without closure.[54]

In this book, I patch together an assemblage of other people's daily scenes. Although they are often taken on occasions (Christmas, birthdays, etc.), snapshots engage a dialectic between the rhythms and rituals of dailiness and those times marked as special (or what Kodak called "Kodak moments"). In the pages that follow, I try to capture moments of everyday life in TV homes just as a photographer might snap a picture.

Admittedly, this mode of image capture grasps at things that can't really be neatly bundled or "framed." Henri Lefebvre called his theory of everyday life the study of "what is left over," literally that which remains after the ac-

ademic analysis of specialized and structured activities (like the law or the economy).[55] The everyday is ephemeral, contingent, habitual, not easily subjected to historical time. The desire to know it (my desire here) can reify everyday experience as a *thing* and lose its ephemeral nature. There is always the danger of essentializing the things of everyday life and holding them up as "authentic" even though most of the objects are manufactured and sold on mass markets. Michel de Certeau's focus on the creative reappropriation of mass-produced goods and the spaces of daily life has been central to the conceptualization of the everyday as a field of actions, iterations, and potential resistance to (or at least divergence from) the more sedimented spaces of institutionalized power. Drawing on de Certeau, Edwards and Hart see the materiality of photographs in terms of "the operations of everyday life," arguing that "even the most pragmatically engendered materialities, such as photograph frames and albums, come to have meaning through habitual reiterations of engagement with them."[56]

Theories of the everyday have also been key to my home field of television studies for quite some time. Interest in the everyday spans methods of ethnographic and historical research on television households and textual analysis of programs. British cultural studies had a profound influence on the study of television as a lived practice, not just in terms of TV programs but also what Raymond Williams (in 1975) famously theorized as the "flow" of textual materials in the context of the home reception environment.[57] Sociological and ethnographic studies by scholars such as David Morley, Roger Silverstone, and David Gauntlett and Annette Hill helped to define a field of inquiry into the dynamic of TV watching at home, and studies in varied international contexts have been central to this work.[58]

Feminist television scholars (who are a major influence for my book) have laid the groundwork for much of this project, and they continue to invent new directions. Pathbreaking scholarship on broadcast-era soap operas and other daytime programs by authors like Tania Modleski, Charlotte Brunsdon, Dorothy Hobson, Christine Geraghty, Marsha Cassidy, and Elana Levine demonstrate the everyday pleasures these programs afforded their mostly female audiences as well as the industry's attempts to capture women's attention by integrating programs into what Modleski calls the "rhythms of reception" in the home.[59] Historians and critics like Ernest Pascucci, Amy Villarejo, Quinlan Miller, Lynne Joyrich, Ron Becker, and Gary Needham have considered how broadcast television addressed—or failed to address—the everyday life of LGBTQ publics, whose daily experiences did not always square with the networks' obsessive focus on heterosexual family

audiences (especially in the period I investigate here).[60] Analyzing more recent postnetwork TV, scholars such as Misha Kavka, Frances Bonner, Laurie Ouellette, Racquel Gates, Brenda Weber, Ann duCille, Mimi White, Amy Holdsworth, and Karen Lury examine such genres as lifestyle and makeover shows, court TV, dating shows, game shows, reality home shows, and children's programming in relation to neoliberal self-care, race, sexuality, and modes of intimacy, affect, and pleasure.[61] In much of this scholarship, the quotidian aspects of TV—its structures of feeling and structuring influence on lived routines, as well as its use for the playful unstructuring of daily grinds—opens compelling, if thorny, questions about the medium's place in everyday life.

Regardless of the objects of study, access to the everyday is limited, and especially so for historians. Cultural historians often explore diaries, letters, or scrapbooks to understand the experiences of ordinary people, whose lives are not archived in the ways that the lives of kings, stars, or presidents are. Similarly, television historians examine audience fan mail or letters to the editors of fan magazines, which offer glimpses into viewers' thoughts about TV. But these sources are tricky in their randomness and lack of contextualization.[62] Snapshots are also tricky things. In this sense, I view snapshots as clues to questions rather than answers, as ways to see things typically thought so inconsequential as to go unseen.

Across the chapters of this book, I explore snapshots as creative acts and textual forms that bear traces of everyday life with TV. I begin in chapter 1 by broadly considering television's "thingness" as a material object in the home and how people—as picture takers—incorporated it into family portraits and displays of interior décor. This chapter also initiates my interest in the spatial orientations toward the TV set, its use as a setting for family activities and camera poses.

Chapter 2 looks more specifically at television's role in staging human poses and its use as a theatrical backdrop against which people performed everything from wedding ceremonies to dance recitals. I consider the snapshots in relation to midcentury theories of everyday life as *dramaturgy* put forth by midcentury sociologists (most prominently Erving Goffman). In addition to performances in front of the set, I explore performances with cameras as a mode of hobby art. I look at TV trick shots (in which, for example, people used optical tricks to picture themselves performing on TV), and I examine the hobby art of screenshots, in which people captured images of programs and media events off TV. Throughout, I explore the dialectic between liveness (on TV) and stillness (in photos), and I analyze the uncanny

mergers between human posers in the home and the ethereal performers that emanate from the TV screen.

The next two chapters look at the performance of gender and sexuality in front of the TV set. In chapter 3 I discuss what I call dress-up snapshots and the everyday glamour that women enacted as they posed in front of TV screens. Drawing on fashion theory as well as film and television history, I analyze the dress-up poses in relation to women's everyday life, arguing that women often used the new medium to direct the gaze at themselves (as opposed to programs on TV) and to fantasize about glamour inside and outside the home. I also explore photos that "queer" the family album by presenting people in nonconforming, nonheteronormative gender performances in front of the TV. Chapter 4 picks up on this interest by considering more explicitly sexualized pinup photos featuring women in various stages of undress posing in front of TV sets. While many of these appeared in men's magazines like *Playboy*, others were "homemade" pinups shot with ordinary snapshot cameras. These pinups raise questions about the sexual and erotic life of the TV home, a subject barely broached in TV history, which has mostly focused on TV's status as a family medium.

I end this book by reflecting on issues of TV history, the archive, and the memory cultures that form around TV today. Chapter 5 focuses on photo-share sites where people post and discuss midcentury TV snapshots and where contemporary photographers exhibit their own "retro" TV snapshots, so that the history of the form has now become a photographic art practice in itself. I consider these practices in addition to more general theoretical concerns about the digital photo archive and its relation to TV memory and history. In the brief conclusion, I draw out analytic frameworks of the book and think about the archive I've amassed in the memory practices of my own everyday life. In this sense, my history of TV snapshots is also history of the present. Throughout this book, I've found it impossible to separate history from memory fully, and rather than try to do so, I'm interested in the interactions between the two that snapshots bring into focus.

As anyone reading this book will observe, the television set is no longer the same object that it was in the twentieth century. Its midcentury object form now appears as an antique, a vestige of a Jurassic world without mobile screens or streaming media. But my sense is that the scholarship on the history of TV and everyday life is not really done. Discovering these snapshots confirmed my desire not only to know more but also to know *differently*, from another perspective. Given the fact that TV snapshots generally focus

on what is happening in front of or next to the TV set, this book *reorients* television studies away from the programs on-screen and the act of watching TV. Instead, I explore the home as a theater of everyday life, where people used snapshot cameras to make TV pictures of their own (figure I.4).

FIGURE I.4 1961.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1 For cultural histories of media and technological innovation, see Marvin, *When Old Technologies Were New*; Gitelman, *Always Already New*; and S. J. Douglas, *Inventing American Broadcasting*. For early television at exhibitions, see Wheatley, *Spectacular Television*, 23–55; A.-K. Weber, "Television before TV"; and Bird, "From Fair to Family." For oral histories and memory, see O'Sullivan, "Television Memories and Cultures of Viewing"; Darian-Smith and Hamilton, "Part of the Family"; Penati, "Remembering Our First TV Set"; Swaim, "'Our Ticket to 1950s Culture'"; and Swaim, "When Television Entered the Iowa Household." Swaim's essays are oral histories, and the second essay includes snapshots of Iowa homes, hospitals, and rest homes featuring TV sets, all of which she found in the State Historical Society of Iowa collections.

2 Spigel, *Make Room for TV*.

3 The Bell and Howell studies are cited in Zimmermann, "Hollywood, Home Movies, and Common Sense," 28. See also Zimmermann, *Reel Families*. Richard Chalfen reports that by 1973 US households took 6.23 billion still pictures, and that in 1971 US households snapped an average of 77 pictures each. Chalfen, *Snapshot Versions of Life*, 13–14.

4 N. West, *Kodak through the Lens of Nostalgia*.

5 Goc, "Snapshot Photography," 41.

6 Bourdieu, *Photography*, 19.

7 Chalfen, *Snapshot Versions of Life*, 19.

8 TV snapshots fall into four broad, although not always exclusive, catego-

ries: (1) demonstrative shots where TV is the specific subject of the image; (2) poses where people use TV sets as a theatrical backdrop and a ritual setting for picture taking; (3) shots in which the TV set is not necessarily the focus of attention; and (4) hobby art photos (as with TV trick shots or screenshots).

9 Barthes, *Camera Lucida*. Barthes argues against the scientific study of "amateur photographs, dealt with by a team of sociologists; nothing but the trace of a social protocol of integration intended to reassure the Family" (7). Although he does not name Pierre Bourdieu, Barthes is likely referring to him.

10 See, Barthes's discussion in *Camera Lucida*, 76–80, 92–96.

11 Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 26.

12 Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 27.

13 Spence and Holland, *Family Snaps*; Kuhn, *Family Secrets*; Hirsch, *Family Frames*.

14 Butler, *Gender Trouble*.

15 Brown and Davidmann, "'Queering the Trans* Family Album,'" 188.

16 For a recent anthology that brings together some of the best scholarship on vernacular photos and gives a sense of the history of this scholarship and its archives, see Campt et al., *Imagining Everyday Life*.

17 Hirsch, "Introduction," xvi.

18 Rose, *Doing Family Photography*, 8. See also Tinkler, "'Picture Me as a Young Woman,'" 279.

19 Advertisement cited in Buse, *Camera Does the Rest,* loc. 1976 of 6829, Kindle. Polaroid initially aimed its cameras at the "well-heeled" consumer (loc. 786 of 6829). This changed, particularly with the introduction of the inexpensive Polaroid Swinger in 1965.

20 Buse, *Camera Does the Rest,* loc. 532 of 6829.

21 Eastman Kodak, *How to Make Good Pictures* (1951–52), 189–94, 214, 200, 209, 211.

22 The contest was promoted and broadcast on a 1949 episode of the DuMont Network's *Photographic Horizons* (I return to this program in chapter 4).

23 For more on the design and logic of the exhibition, see Turner, *Democratic Surround*, 181–212.

24 The CBS documentary was an episode of the public affairs program *Adventure* (broadcast June 19, 1955). The book remains MoMA's most popular publication ever, with more than three hundred thousand copies sold as of 2015. David Gonzalez, "'The Family of Man' Reunion," *Lens* (blog), October 29, 2015, https://lens.blogs.nytimes.com/2015/10/29/a-family-of-man-reunion/. For the book, see Steichen, *Family of Man*.

25 In 1956, Roland Barthes wrote a scathing critique of the Parisian (traveling) version of the exhibition. See Barthes, "Great Family of Man," 100–102. For more critiques (and history of the criticism) of the show, see Sekula, "Traffic in Photographs"; Hirsch, *Family Frames*, 48–69; Turner, *Democratic Surround*, 181–212; and Hurm, Reitz, and Zamir, *Family of Man Revisited*.

26 Willis, *Picturing Us*.

27 Willis, *Picturing Us*; Willis, "Search for Self," 108.
28 hooks, "In Our Glory," 57.
29 hooks, "In Our Glory," 62.
30 Hall, "Reconstruction Work," 156. Originally in *Ten 8*, no. 16 (1984): n.p.
31 Hall outlines the concept of articulation in "Encoding and Decoding in Television Discourse," Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), paper no. 7, 1973, excerpted and reprinted in Hall et al., *Culture, Media, Language*, 117–27. For more on Hall's concept of articulation, see Slack, "Theory and Method of Articulation in Cultural Studies."
32 DeCarava and Hughes, *Sweet Flypaper of Life*.
33 African American newspapers like the *New York Amsterdam News*, the *Los Angeles Sentinel*, and the *Chicago Defender* often featured articles about photography as well as amateur photography contests (some sponsored by Kodak and Polaroid). Ads for Kodaks and Polaroids in *Ebony* were designed for the African American market, with Black faces and bodies, making picture taking an especially relevant visual medium for Black publics, one that featured them as the subject image. (Polaroid ads in *Ebony* began to appear in the late 1950s. The first Kodak ad I found in *Ebony* appeared in the May 1964 issue.)
34 hooks, "In Our Glory," 59.
35 Berger, *Understanding a Photograph*, 292.
36 As proposed by science and technology studies (STS), especially Bruno Latour, and scholars such as Michel Callon and John Law, actor-network theory explores how social worlds are created through feedback chains between humans and nonhumans. Actor-network theory affords objects nonhuman agency in this equation so that humans are not the sole determining influence over the built or natural environment. The term *affordance* (which I use in this book) suggests that objects allow for (but don't entirely determine) human actions. So, for example, a television set might be watched, but it might also be used as a backdrop for a pose. Latour, *Reassembling the Social*.
37 S. M. Smith, *Photography on the Color Line*.
38 Many photos have dates stamped on borders or backs. In cases where no dates appear, I have used a combination of methods for dating, including the paper types; color versus black-and-white; edges (for example, deckled edges were popular in the 1940s through the early 1960s); and content in the image (such as fashions, décor, TV set models, etc.). I've also relied on people with more expertise in this area for opinions.
39 Note that funny sayings were often highly conventional. Kodak manuals even recommended captions (or "titles to tease your imagination") that people could write in their albums. See Eastman Kodak, *How to Make Good Pictures* (1951–52), 199.
40 See, for example, photographer Oliver Wasow's *Artist Unknown* series, which organizes found snapshots (picturing all kinds of things) into subject matter like "Fights," "Hair," and (most relevant to me) "Go Over There by the TV." See

Artist Unknown, Oliver Wasow website, accessed June 30, 2021, https://oliverwasow.com/series/138/224/series_works/list?view_a11=1.

41 Hillis, Petit, and Epley, *Everyday eBay*. Also see Michele White, *Buy It Now*.

42 Campt, *Image Matters*.

43 Browne, *Dark Matters*.

44 It is difficult to judge how many TV snapshots were made in the 1970s and after. Because the snapshots from the 1950s and 1960s are considered *vintage* (and, therefore, bring in higher prices), most dealers have begun to sell ones from later decades only recently.

45 Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 3.

46 D. Miller, *Comfort of Things*.

47 Edwards and Hart, *Photographs, Objects, Histories*; Olin, *Touching Photographs*; Pinney, *Camera Indica*.

48 Cvetkovich, *Archive of Feelings*.

49 Cvetkovich, "Photographing Objects as Queer Archival Practice," loc. 5712–6220 of 9316, Kindle.

50 For a range of perspectives, see Gregg and Seigworth, *Affect Theory Reader*.

51 K. Stewart, *Ordinary Affects*, p. 1 of 130, Kindle.

52 K. Stewart, *Ordinary Affects*, p. 2 of 130, Kindle. Stewart places herself between Williams's materialist concept and the Deleuzian inflections on the term *affect*.

53 K. Stewart, *Ordinary Affects*, p. 3 of 130, Kindle.

54 K. Stewart, *Ordinary Affects*, p. 5 of 130, Kindle.

55 Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life*, vol. 1.

56 de Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*; Edwards and Hart, *Photographs, Objects, Histories*, 6.

57 R. Williams, *Television*.

58 Morley, *Family Television*; Silverstone, *Television and Everyday Life*; Gauntlett and Hill, *TV Living*. For more, see Gillespie, *Television, Ethnicity, and Cultural Change*; Lull, *Inside Family Viewing*; Moores, *Satellite Television and Everyday Life*; and Mankekar, *Screening Culture, Viewing Politics*.

59 Modleski, "Rhythms of Reception"; Brunsdon, *The Feminist, the Housewife, and the Soap Opera*; Hobson, *Soap Opera*; Geraghty, *Women and Soap Opera*; Cassidy, *What Women Watched*; Levine, *Her Stories*.

60 Pascucci, "Intimate Televisions," 52–54; Villarejo, *Ethereal Queer*; Q. Miller, *Camp TV*; Needham, "Scheduling Normativity"; R. Becker, *Gay TV and Straight America*; Joyrich, "Epistemology of the Console"; Joyrich, "Queer Television Studies"; McCarthy, "*Ellen*."

61 Kavka, *Reality Television, Affect, and Intimacy*; Bonner, *Ordinary Television*; Ouellette, *Lifestyle TV*; Gates, "Activating the Negative Image"; B. R. Weber, *Makeover TV*; duCille, *Technicolored*; Mimi White, "'A House Divided'"; Holdsworth and Lury, "Growing Up and Growing Old with Television"; Holdsworth, *On Living with Television*.

62 Ben Highmore discusses related methodological issues in his edited collection *Everyday Life Reader*, 1.