Television Cities

Paris, London, Baltimore

CHARLOTTE BRUNSDON

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Introduction

DOES THE FLÂNEUR WATCH TELEVISION?

Peckham, in southeast London, was the setting for the popular twentieth-century British television sitcom *Only Fools and Horses* (BBC, 1981–91).[1] The action was mainly studio filmed using a domestic and a public interior: the Trotter family's council flat and their local pub. These television rooms, reappearing weekly on the TV screens in the audience's homes, became very familiar to British, and then worldwide audiences.[2] Peckham, through the Trotter family, was established as a recognized location within London as a television city. The exterior location shots of the Trotter's high-rise home were actually filmed in Bristol, more than a hundred miles to the west of London, while the title sequence used stills of a London street market to establish a milieu in which "only fools and horses work." This mélange of elements—studio-shot interiors, limited location-shot exteriors, and place-identifying title sequence—are the characteristic components of the twentieth-century television city. Although the glamorous heroines of *Sex and the City* (HBO, 1998–2004) seem so very different to the Trotter family, and the show used location shooting in Manhattan for its title sequence, exterior, and some interior scenes, this television city too was created out of a mixture of similar elements—as was the now-unmentionable *Cosby Show* (1984–92).[3] The precise articulation of these constituent elements—location, studio, and title sequences—in the creation of television cities to which audiences return week after week, becoming familiar with places they have never visited, is one of the topics of this book.

In the early twenty-first century, in which "television" seems increasingly to connote a type of content (not films, not YouTube videos) that can be watched on a range of screens, rather than a particular domestic apparatus on which programs might be viewed, this book inquires into the relationship between television and the city. It is concerned with locations produced by television, at a point at which, as Graeme Turner has argued, it is more important than ever to specify actual location when speaking of television at a general level.[4] The traveler in the contemporary city can be surrounded by people intently watching television drama on phone screens, perhaps interspersing narrative fiction with quick bursts of e-mail or Twitter. Television is in the city—outside, in the streets, in people's hands—in ways it has never been before, just as the city itself is increasingly populated by giant screens, reflecting citizens back to themselves or bringing news from afar.[5] This twenty-first-century mobile television, slipped into a handbag or a back pocket on a phone, is an undocumented mixture of old and new. If you peer over someone's shoulder at what they are watching, it seems as often to be old familiar programs as new serial drama.[6] New technologies have made past television available just as they have transformed production practices for contemporary television. This book explores the prehistory of this mobile moment, this glut of content. It seeks to intervene in developed debates and histories of cinematic and media cities by asking whether there is more to be said about the television city as a place and dramatic location, rather than simply noting the dispersal of television across multiple screens and hence the current ubiquity of television in the city.

In this inquiry, my concern throughout is to attend to both the specificity of particular television cities, including Maigret's Paris in the 1960s, the London of *Call the Midwife* in the twenty-first century, and the Baltimore of *Homicide*, and to untangle some more general threads that might characterize the television city across different contexts. Are there particular ways in which television presents, and has presented, the city to viewers? How does the familiarity of television affect our understanding of the cities we find there? How have ideas about the medium of television affected attitudes to the cities shown thereon? How do television cities relate to cinematic and literary cities?

This book combines analysis of the cities produced in a variety of television programs with attention to the changing historical forms of television as a medium. Its core case studies are selected from different historical periods to permit consideration not only of changing production regimes and modes of distribution, but also of the changing nature of the television text as an object of study. The television city on the TV set in the twentieth-century living room is contrasted with the portable TV city of the twenty-first-century DVD box set as it in turn gives way to a contemporary multiscreen environment. This is a book about television versions of Paris, London, and Baltimore. It is a book about BBC cities and HBO cities; about studio-shot cities, location-shot cities, and cities shot in other cities. But it is also a book about changing attitudes to television and the different ways in which television contributes to senses of the urban.

The Place of Television 1: Television, Cinema, and Modernity

The place of television seemed fairly obvious in the second half of the twentieth century, certainly within the U.K.-U.S. axis that generated much of the serious study of television. Television sets were in the home, where they were watched by families.[7] On these sets, in the period of nationally regulated terrestrial television—roughly the 1950s to the 1990s—could be found a world of other places. Hospital wards, living rooms, panel game studios, the American Wild West, football stadia, the galaxy, variety halls, the exotic habitats of wildlife, and the live wherever of breaking news. Television sets began in the living room, and then started spreading over the rest of the house so that children—and their parents—could watch in their bedrooms and opt out of shared national familial scheduling, particularly when videotape made time-shifted viewing possible for the first time. Early scholarly attention to television considered the manner in which it brought the outside into the home. The hybrid classical etymology of the medium's name (from the ancient Greek *tèle*, far, and Latin *visio*, sight) was invoked as paradigmatic of one of its functions, and it was much referenced in discussions of privatization and the retreat into the home from public space. Along with the refrigerator and the automobile, television was one of

the holy trinity emblematic of twentieth-century domestic modernity.[8] And this modernity, particularly in the United States, was characterized as a dispersed suburban modernity.[9] With this characterization of the place of television came an image of its audience as predominantly female. The television viewer was sitting at home in her living room, watching the world go by and credulous about the promises made by those who appeared on the screen.

This characterization of television and its role in domestic, suburban modernity contrasts strongly with the way in which cinema has been envisaged. Cinema is the medium of the city. Cinema has been seen both to express and to be symptomatic of city life. In cinema, one can sit anonymously in a crowd, participating in a cultural form that, through its editing process, its visual shocks, its disparities of scale, and its uncontrollable pace, has been seen to embody the experience of city life. Cinema–modernity–the city has been an enormously productive trilogy in the investigation of the first half of the twentieth century, and many scholars of both modernity and the city have turned to cinema as the art form of the new century and developing urban conurbations.[10] And within this scholarship, so much of which is indebted to the meditations on Paris of Charles Baudelaire and Walter Benjamin, the figure of the flâneur is pivotal. The flâneur, detached and observant, aristocratic and bohemian in origin, haunts scholarship on the city, providing an ideal image for many fascinated by the anonymous crowd, the bright lights, and the dark alleys of the modern metropolis.[11] His relationship to the city, both perfectly at ease but not compelled by its rhythms of labor and travel, able to pause and consider the urban spectacle around him, embodies a leisured and contemplative, but nonetheless modern, lifestyle. The flâneur is glamorous in what has been seen as a modern urban manner, and has inspired psychogeographers, situationists, poets, painters, and scholars. His attractions can be detected in cinema ranging from film noir to work as various as Wim Wenders's drama of angels come to earth, *Himmel über Berlin* (*Wings of Desire*, 1987), and Patrick Keiller's celebrated city essay film, *London* (1994). The flâneur's mobility and his loitering, his very presence in the street, assumes the privilege of masculinity—and particular types of masculinity at that.

The elision of women from this imagination of the city, except most notably as prostitutes, has been challenged in debates about the invisible flâneuse, while films such as Agnes Varda's *Cléo de 5 à 7* (1962) and Susan Seidelman's *Desperately Seeking Susan* (1985) can be seen as serious attempts to render female characters as autonomously mobile within the city.[12] Scholars such as Rachel Bowlby and Anne Friedberg have demonstrated the significance of the nineteenth-century birth of the department store in legitimating the presence of women on city streets, and there is consequently now a greater self-consciousness about the romantic masculinity and privilege of the figure of the flâneur.[13] In terms of television, these debates were suddenly animated at the end of the century with the enormous success of *Sex and the City*, which followed four single white women friends in Manhattan as they pursued and discussed available feminine destinies of romance, sex, marriage, career, and maternity.[14] The title sequence of the show, in particular, has been read convincingly as enacting the constraints on the flâneuse, as the central heroine, Carrie Bradshaw (Sarah Jessica Parker) is shown as both in love with Manhattan (in an alternating montage of New York landmarks and her blissed-out face), and impeded by it (when her stroll is halted by the gutter water splashed on her dress by a bus that has an advertising image of her own face emblazoned on it). Deborah Jermyn notes that "the implication that flânerie continues to pose a 'problem' for women is still present in SATC, embedded from the start in the opening credits. In the ambiguous moment where Carrie is splashed by the bus, it seems as if she is humiliated by her own image, knocked back or belittled for having mistakenly thought that these streets were hers for the taking."[15] This knowing opening to the series inscribes its self-consciousness about the difficulty of the position of the woman in the city. While individual flâneuses may be discernible (if only for moments, before getting splashed by buses) in an increasing number of texts, the discursive construction and history of the figure of the flâneur remains masculine.

My concern is not so much with whether or not Carrie Bradshaw—or Stella Gibson, as I discuss below—is an embodied flâneuse, but with disturbing the relations between the patterns of assumption in which

television and the city are produced as objects of study. For I want to bring together questions of television, with its attendant associations of the suburb, the armchair, the female viewer, and the city (modernity, cinema, the flâneur). These are distinct bodies of scholarship that are constructed almost against each other in a manner which impoverishes our understanding of each. While much of what follows is devoted to the analysis of particular television programs, one of my motivating concerns has been with television as a medium. My project seeks to consider the city as constituted by homes as well as streets, and its difficulty can be summarized in the question used as the title of this introduction, "Does the Flâneur Watch Television?"

This book proceeds from the argument that the paradigms of the cinematic city, which emphasize the relationships between the city, the cinema, and modernity, tend to ignore the banal, the mundane, the repetitious, and the complicated relation between home and the street.[16] As Matthew Taunton has observed, in a work that also challenges the dominance of the flâneur, "city dwellers are not usually freewheeling nomads lost in a maze of streets. They are often powerfully attached to certain locations."[17] It is on this terrain of domestic repetition and everyday life—with all its banality—that the televisual city is constructed, and its cultural invisibility has much to do with attitudes to television and the domestic sphere more generally. The television city, like the television set, was just there, in the corner. The emergency siren might indicate an urban setting, just as a filmed title sequence might locate the ensuing drama in a city. But the city, and the look and sounds of the city, were often subordinated, formally, to the studio-shot conversations between characters so important to much television drama. However, what if these unspectacular invocations of cities, and the stories set therein, become the topic of analysis? What can be learned? What histories can be found?

The Place of Television 2: In Transition

Within television studies, it is a commonplace of the field that the medium has low cultural status, and that is not an argument to rehearse here.[18] However, the place of television, and the study of television, has

in the twenty-first century become rather more complicated. On the one hand, so long the cultural form against which cultural value has been asserted, television is now disregarded as old-fashioned, so twentieth century, and the domestic apparatus itself, as a habitual site of viewing, is being dislodged. On the other, the new television associated with the U.S. premium cable channels, and particularly the dramas of masculinity such as *The Sopranos* and *The Wire*, have been hailed as constituting a new golden age of "quality television."[19] These two attitudes were explicitly combined in the editorial of a 2014 special issue of *Cineaste* on television that declared, "For most of *Cineaste*'s existence . . . TV has been looked down upon as an inferior art form."[20] This sentence marks the first move in the reluctant recognition, for these cinephiles, that television too can host good writing, sophisticated plotting, and compelling drama. However, it is a very particular type of television—the not-television of subscription services such as HBO.[21] Even *Cineaste* will pay attention, and this new television is beginning to appear in accounts of the audiovisual city.

Studies of the Western cinematic city have developed a recognizable chronology and set of nodal points—which starts with the early twentieth-century city symphonies, and then moves through attention to, for example, film noir, the location shooting of the 1960s and 1970s, new black cinemas, essay films, and the cities of migration.[22] Alongside and sometimes imbricated with the cinematic city, as exemplified in Scott McQuire's *The Media City*, has developed a body of scholarship on mediated and media cities, its own nodal points including the rise of closed-circuit television (CCTV), the expansion of public screens, the networked citizen, and the digital home.[23] The city symphony is reinvented as a participatory city of bits. New digital technologies, and particularly the mapping possibilities afforded by GPS systems and the digital layering of historical maps, have been employed in a flourishing of new scholarship on the cinematic and the digital city. Patterns of cinema going can be mapped, long-vanished picture palaces inserted in redeveloped neighborhoods, intricate websites that link each of a film's locations to a city's architecture constructed.[24] Into these evolving genealogies of the audiovisual city, the cinematic television associated with U.S. prestige cable television, represented in this context

most notably by shows like *The Wire* (2002–8) and *Treme* (2010–13), have been heralded as the creative front line for audiovisual work, bringing new, more complex, understandings of the city.[25] The disappearing element in these histories, as cable television becomes affectively assimilated to cinema, is twentieth-century network television.

This book seeks to challenge this chronology. The expansive serial cities of twenty-first-century television, which finally made cinema scholars such as the editors of *Cineaste* turn their reluctant attention to the small screen, did not spring fully formed to the screen. While their storytelling certainly owes something to the novel, their look something to cinema, television too has been formative. *The Wire* owes greater debts to *Hill Street Blues* (1981–87) than to Dickens. *Cagney and Lacey* (1982–88), as Horace Newcomb points out, provided exemplary instances of cumulative narratives, a form that he argues to be specific to television.[26] There has been a great deal of Dickens's London on British television, as I explore in chapter 2, much of it exported worldwide, while series such as *Holding On* (BBC, 1997) provide compelling witness to the ravages of the neoliberal city. The tendency toward the erasure of network television in the history of the audiovisual city has complex causes, some of which have been addressed in the skeptical eye with which some television scholars have regarded the new telephilia.[27] These are matters to which I return in the final chapter of the book, when I consider the Baltimore of *The Wire*, a program that I argue has both made the television city visible and sought to erase its history.[28]

Television may not have been culturally prestigious in the twentieth century, but that does not mean that it is without significance in the making and imagining of cities, particularly in the period of mass viewing on mainly national channels, which is roughly the 1950s to the 1980s. The importance of the imagined city to the felt, lived, and known city is uncontested if the imagined city is embodied in the writings of, say, Virginia Woolf or Honoré de Balzac, or in the films of Robert Siodmak or Jacques Rivette. However, the historically low cultural prestige of television works against recognition of its power in contributing to our understanding of cities, and this book seeks to rectify this by analyzing some of the cities that are brought into the living room through tele-

vision. In doing this, the book will also challenge prevalent assumptions in the field such as the contrast between cinema as the medium of urban modernity and television as quintessentially suburban, as well as demonstrating the complexity of some of television's city stories.

Making Place on Television

Television has always been a hybrid medium, drawing on traditions from journalism, radio, cinema, music hall, theater, and the novel. This hybridity of origin and influence is matched in the mixture of spaces and places found on television. These were traditionally divided between studio space and the spaces of outside broadcast, with the latter bringing sporting, ceremonial, and news events into the viewer's home, often using the more expensive medium of film, while studio work was live or taped. In this book I am not concerned much with these spaces of news and reportage, concentrating instead on the fictional places of television, which are themselves often constructed through mixtures of studio and location filming. Here though, I want to draw attention to an often-neglected television space, the space of continuity announcements and channel idents, what could be called the home space of television channels, the place where television programs come from.[29]

In the twentieth century, this place would be identified with familiar faces, bringing news, weather forecasting, and program updates. With multichannel, digital programming, much of this has gone, apart from the main national channels, which still provide a sense of a "we" of CBS, or ITV, or France 3. And this television place is both internationally variable and internationally recognizable. The studio will have a decor with local and sometimes seasonal inflections. The announcers will provide the focus of the image within a relatively stripped-down (and cheap) studio, although there may well be the appearance of a window or a screen on a back wall, apparently locating the studio in a particular city, or providing access to film or video. The channel or program logo will either be incorporated into the studio design, or feature through onscreen graphics. This is a place not unrelated to the "non-places," such as airports and hypermarkets, described by Marc Augé.[30] It is generic and without specificity or particularity. And yet, at the same time,

I.1–I.3. The curious place of the television studio: different but the same. **I.1:** *Good Morning Britain* (breakfast show, ITV, UK; 27 August 2016). **I.2:** *CBS This Morning* (4 April 2016). **I.3:** *Channel 4 News* (UK; 4 September 2016).

it produces a rhetoric of location and belonging, a "we" who will be watching later, who will be affected by traffic jams and sudden downpours, who may later be celebrating, for example, the New Year. This location effect is most marked in relation to the local segments of programming, when weather and traffic news has real pertinence for the audience, but it is present in all national news with its assumptions of

a national audience who are interested in the outcome of an election, or care about the number of their fellow nationals held at gunpoint in a hijack, or victorious in a sporting event, or increasingly using food banks. As Benedict Anderson pointed out in relation to the daily press, television is one of the sites on which nationhood and locality are made and remade, and one of the sites of this remaking is this apparently unimportant television place.[31] It is a nonplace that is engaged in constant place making.

Detectives and Cities: Selecting the Case Studies

This is a short book written with the aim of opening up discussion about television cities, and countering a widespread assumption that television did not contribute significant representations of cities before exceptional programs like *The Wire*. Its research focus is principally on television cities as they appear on the screen, and thus its project is quite different to Michael Curtin's pioneering work on what he calls, in a suggestive phrase, "media capitals."[32] My focus is textual, rather than industrial. I have had to be extremely selective in constructing the case studies, and have encouraged ruthlessness by telling myself that it will be productive if readers find themselves thinking of counterexamples and arguments. Each chapter takes a different city—Paris, London, and Baltimore—and draws on different types of material, and programs made in different periods and regimes of television production, in order to illuminate both something about that particular television city, and about the historical and critical analysis of television, itself a technology in transition.

Many of the programs discussed feature detectives or police, and the long connection between the detective and the city makes the police-detective genre my preferred choice for case studies for two reasons. First, television production is generic. Programs are initiated and produced as instances of recognizable types—as sitcoms or game shows or hospital dramas. One of the arts of television production is to innovate within, and increasingly across, genres, so that, for example, the structure of the investigation within an episodic format might remain the same, but the type of person doing the investigating changes. Genres have rules,

and within their constant dance of repetition and renewal, these conventions are revealed and negotiated. The manner in which genres change, the ways in which their popularity waxes and wanes, can be identified as one of the sites on which the historicity of television production is inscribed. Changes within genres, and the differential prominence of different genres at different periods, can often be best understood in relation to wider sociohistorical factors. This is often, at the production end, experienced instinctively. Certain kinds of innovations, or castings, or attempted genre combinations prove difficult to countenance (at the production stage) or, in practice, often only on broadcast, prove not to "work." In British television, for example, until the second decade of the twenty-first century, it has proved impossible to sustain a police series with a black lead.[33] Idris Elba's success in *The Wire* made him castable as John Luther in *Luther* (2010–15), and Lennie James starred in the first season of *Line of Duty* (2012), although he is dead by the end, while Ashley Walters, after a series of drug and inner-city roles, finally made it over the line to play a sergeant in the Brighton-set *Cuffs* (2015).[34] Within the invisible rules of the police series—the genre most explicitly concerned with the enforcement of the law, and one that often aspires to realism with plot lines taken from contemporary news stories—black policemen, as leads, just weren't plausible on British television in the twentieth century. Instead, as I discuss in chapter 2, it was the sitcom (and the social documentary) in which the limited visibility of Caribbean migrants to Britain was first manifest.

The detective is recognized as a privileged investigator of the city, and there is long history to the relationship between the detective and the urban in literature, film, and television.[35] The man who walks alone (and it is usually a man), observing, noticing, and following up clues has proved an attractive guide to dark places of the city for readers and viewers over many years. Weighting my case studies toward the detective-police generic grouping enables me both to consider the conventions of a genre, and thus make comparisons across programs, while also attending to some of the possible historical reasons for changes within the genre. Analysis of detection and investigation on television also points to some of the aspects of storytelling that may be specific to

the medium. What can be shown in an image, or conveyed through an off-screen sound, can contribute to a version of the city that may exceed the strict requirements of narrative progression. As I discuss particularly in chapter 1, filming in the city for contemporary television production—particularly for a genre that requires close attention to everyday surroundings—may inadvertently generate an archive for the future.

This has been notable in the Belfast-set five-part detective series *The Fall* (BBC, 2013), which was made in Northern Ireland, where the post-peace-process city, since securing the production of *Game of Thrones*, is busy reinventing itself as a media capital in Michael Curtin's sense. The long, contested history of the British imperial presence in Ireland and the associated military and political turbulence has meant that there is very little Northern Ireland–originated detective fiction. Dramas about murders, informants, and men with guns have had a more direct and overtly political provenance, and so *The Fall* was an interesting arrival, concerned as it was to bring Detective Superintendent Stella Gibson (Gillian Anderson) to Northern Ireland to investigate a series of sexual murders. The Belfast setting, manifest in location shooting in insignificant residential streets as well as the regenerated Titanic quarter and waterside, spoke of other narratives in its glimpses of territorial murals on house gable ends and the familiarity of all characters, apart from Gibson, with banal militarized procedures. A city shown to be both small—everyone knows everyone, or where they live—and sectarian keeps threatening to usurp the narrative, to take it away from the entertainment of sexual murder and return it to the continuing anxiety, hostility, and murderous horse-trading of peace-process Northern Ireland. In this context, the drama enacts the complicated relation between detection, femininity, and dark city streets with a splitting and doubling between the female detective and the male serial killer. The narrative innovation is that the killer's identity is known from the opening, and his character, Paul Spector (Jamie Dornan) is depicted across the roles of loving father, bereavement counselor, and sadistic murderer. As the killer, dressed in black, he is inconspicuous as he crosses the city with an urban mobility that extends from the streets to his silent penetration of his victims' homes. In contrast, his pursuer Gibson, while

explicitly linked through match cuts or twinned shots, such as close-ups on each of their faces in cars, or the intercutting, in the second episode, between her having sex and his sexual murder rituals, has almost no autonomous mobility in the city streets. She is repeatedly filmed in cars being escorted through the city, arriving at crime scenes in high heels, or against the tableau of the city seen through her hotel windows. The much-commented-on cream silky blouses she wears serve throughout to accentuate her separateness from the city she is investigating, providing a focus for the image while her antagonist's indistinguishable dark clothing permits him to merge with the city.[36] However, within the circumscription of her actual movement, Gibson is shown to be both resourceful and decisive, as well as agent of her own desires. Being driven past a nighttime police operation, she instructs her police escort to introduce her to the officer in charge after he catches her eye and, when introduced, proceeds to tell him her hotel room number.[37] Gibson is also shown to be mobile across the city in a different way, roaming crime scene photographs on her computer, zooming in onto images of dead young women. The trope of the senior policewoman surrounded by images of murdered female victims has recurred in police series since the framing of Jane Tennison (Helen Mirren) in *Prime Suspect* (1991), serving to contextualize and admonish the exceptional woman, and here, too, although Gibson is demonstrably able to render these images legible in a manner that can forward the investigation and link together previously isolated killings, she is also linked to the victims. Their fate could become her fate.[38] So although empowered by status and profession, and evidently an exceptional detective, Gibson's mobility through the city is constrained, threatened, and mediated. It is with the killer, Paul Spector, that the city streets are explored. Stella Gibson, like Carrie Bradshaw, understands something of the city, but is not autonomous within it. Belfast, though, appears on the television screen in a way that is fresh for Belfast but generically familiar for the television city: as a place where women get murdered. This is a complicated benefit of the peace process.

The most successful television detectives and police shows have been series or serials.[39] The crime may vary, but the investigators stay the same, returning week after week to deal with chaos and reassure the

viewer. There are different modes and balances to these returns and relationships: some programs have tight, forty- to fifty-minute episodes with crimes that are solved within the episode. Some borrow more from the continuous unfolding time of soap opera; some series have long story arcs that evolve over seasons as team relationships change and actors come and go. But it is the repetition and familiarity that is important in securing the location of the fictional world, and a key aspect of these narrative conventions that I explore below is the way in which the television city is a city of repetition. The city of the television crime series reappears in living rooms and on screens elsewhere, but its fearsomeness is mediated by the returning familiarity of its detectives and police. The television city of crime may be alarming, but—usually—its investigators will guide the viewer through the dark streets, returning the viewer safely home at the end of an episode. This is a city of a double repetition, returning to the screen as an enigma to be solved, and repeatedly supplying the onscreen expertise to do this.

The Nationalness of Television

In addition to matters of genre, the selection of case studies has also been determined by the peculiar relation of television to the nation. Television was an enormously significant constituent of, in Homi Bhabha's phrase, the "narration of nations" in the second half of the twentieth century.[40] John Ellis called television "the private life of the nation state," and as anyone who has moved countries will testify, there is something peculiarly impenetrable about the television of another nation. Television seems simultaneously the key to, and to epitomize the inaccessibility of, cultural life in the new country.[41] Television, developing from national radio broadcasting, has historically been more national than cinema, and has lacked the commodity form in which it can circulate internationally. While film cans are shipped internationally, the live broadcasts of television, particularly before the invention of videotape, were transmitted to the nation and then lost. Television is also a primarily domestic medium, and, from the 1950s on, many generations have grown up with television. This too imparts a peculiar nationalness to television in the form of shared television heritages that

may not be discussed explicitly but can easily be referenced. In Britain, for example, the character of Del Trotter, from the 1980s London-set sitcom *Only Fools and Horses* (1981–91) with which I started this introduction, has long escaped from the confines of the television screen. Del Boy (David Jason) is the economically active member of an all-male household consisting of himself, his younger brother, and Grandad (later, his uncle). An entrepreneur of the everyday, Del Boy spends his life ducking and diving, trying to make the fantasy deal that would bring him riches, but his schemes always come to grief, often through a ridiculous oversight or fantastic misjudgment on his part. While the sitcom, which attracted huge audiences in its day, is long gone, the character of Del Boy has been incorporated into British cultural life to such an extent that economic commentary in the public sphere can refer, with ridicule, to a particular scheme exemplifying "Del Boy economics."[42] Which visitor to Britain will fully understand this reference, even if the tone and ridicule are clear? Similarly, I had never heard of *Leave It to Beaver* (1957–63) before I first went to the United States, but it soon became clear that this was significant shorthand for explaining something about U.S. family life in the 1950s and 1960s.

This nationalness of television has had, and continues to have, significant consequences for television scholarship, as Graeme Turner has been arguing for some time and as perhaps will be evident from the number of sentences I needed in the paragraph above to make the Del Boy point.[43] For the history and analysis of television cities, it leads to the privileging of native informants. I can write confidently about British television because I have watched it—off and on—for most of my life. But I am a tourist in relation to other national televisions, and much as I watch and study, I can never achieve that familiar inwardness with another national broadcasting system. I will never know what *Leave It to Beaver* meant, although I can get the idea. It is in this context that the most wide-ranging and generically diverse chapter of the book deals with television London, which is framed by chapters on Paris and Baltimore. Why this combination of cities?

Only Fools and Horses employs a famous prop that can helpfully illuminate the structure and balance of this book. This is Del's commercial vehicle, his yellow van, with Trotters Independent Trading Co. embla-

I.4–I.5. *Only Fools and Horses*: Del's Reliant Robin, "New York, Paris, Peckham."

zoned on its side. The vehicle, although it fills a van-shaped space in the narrative and identity of an independent businessman, as Del thinks of himself, is not actually a van. It is a Reliant Robin, a little, rather unstable three-wheeler vehicle that was much cheaper to run as it was taxed at the rate of a motorcycle. In some ways more like a scooter, the much-ridiculed Reliant Robin was a vehicle for those who aspired to a car but couldn't in fact afford to run one. So the proud proclamation of Trotters Independent Trading (no apostrophe) on the side of the yellow Reliant Robin hints at a precariousness that rather undermines the claim. This is a characteristic *Fools and Horses* joke. It involves precise observation, sensitivity to aspiration, and an eye for the way in which overreaching can easily become preposterous. At the same time, it is

not unkind. The absolute precision of the observation: knowing about the motor tax benefits of the three-wheeler, the use of the color yellow, the traces of previous encounters, and the rust on the bodywork—all of these ground Del's ambition and self-image. The coup de grâce, though, is the list of territories through which Trotters Independent Trading operates: "New York, Paris, Peckham."

The substitution of the local particularity of Peckham for what would be the expected, final global city in a list that would run "New York, Paris, London" is a move similar to the Reliant Robin joke. Del is shown again to understand the structure of his aspirations (businesses have vans; company slogans list territories in which the company operates), without quite seeing that the content which realizes these structures also has meaning. Peckham, while self-evidently the home of Trotters Independent Trading, is neither a rhetorical nor an actual equivalent to the internationally recognized cities of New York and Paris.[44] For those familiar with the cultural geography of London, Peckham, like neighboring Deptford, is one of the poorer southeastern London boroughs.[45] For those who don't know London, the point about Peckham is that it will be unfamiliar. Peckham, unlike Mayfair, or Knightsbridge, or—now—Notting Hill, is a local place, not part of the international residential geography of the wealthy. The slogan on Del's van juxtaposes international glamour with prosaic, local particularity.

While it might not be to my advantage to observe it, there is something of Del's van to this book. This is most immediately evident in my choice of cities: London, Paris, and Baltimore. Baltimore, like Peckham, comes limping in third: not a world city, not a global presence, although, unlike Peckham, it is actually a city, not just a borough. Furthermore, it is a city that too has become familiar to a much wider audience, and one of my interests lies in the way the local of Baltimore has been taken as metaphorical in a broader context.

However, the humor of the slogan on Del's van comes also from its absurd combination of ambition and absolute locatedness. Despite the gestures toward New York and Paris, it is Peckham that grounds the drama. And this is true of this book too. While the book does indeed discuss Paris and Baltimore, it does so from what could be called the point of view of British television, which, for reasons I discuss in my

second chapter, is mainly the point of view of London. Like Del, I am based in a particular place, the place of British television, and from this starting point developed the project to investigate the television city. It is London on television, which I know to have been neglected in the enormous literature on London as a literary and, increasingly, as a cinematic city.[46] Also, London, because of the BBC, because of Charles Dickens, because of Sherlock Holmes, because of Britain's nineteenth-century imperial preeminence, has a very particular place in world television cities.[47] London is—iconographically—an old city. Paris, in contrast, the city of light, is the capital of modernity. Paris presents itself as a necessary case study because of its enormous significance in the literature of the cinematic city and modernity.[48] In chapter 1 on the French capital, by concentrating on Paris made mainly in London by the BBC, and only partly in Paris, I move immediately to some of the theoretical issues inherent in the consideration of audiovisual place. My interest here lies in considering a particular, mid-twentieth-century television city and demonstrating the significance of historical constraints and conventions of television production to the production and circulation of this city. This is matched, in chapter 3, by a discussion of Baltimore and its rapid ascent from a local to an internationally recognized television city. For the United States, many other possible case studies have presented themselves, and, certainly, the beauty of the archive of location-shot New York in *Naked City*, along with its rich sitcom heritage, made New York particularly tempting, while the pioneering *Cagney and Lacey* (1982–88) marked out a city policed by women.[49] The Baltimore of HBO, however, is more precisely identifiable as marking a change in the mode of television production, distribution, and critical respect. The critical response to *The Wire*, while it is something with which I take issue, in some ways also made this book possible, and in this final chapter I deal more explicitly with the forms and modes of television criticism. New York, Los Angeles, Miami, and New Orleans are projects for other scholars, those with the long-term, domestic viewing of U.S. television that I lack, and which I consider essential to rigorous scholarship on this topic.

For Paris, I have organized my discussion through one of its emblematic characters, Commissaire Jules Maigret. Immediately, this choice

points to one of the arguments of the book, which is that place is often embodied and signified through particular characters, such as Sherlock Holmes with his well-known residence in 221B Baker Street or, wearing his big coat in an often-rainy Paris, Jules Maigret. Georges Simenon's *Inspector Maigret* series, which has spawned two long-running French-language series, has had more international television adaptations than any other detective series.[50] Inspector Maigret's Paris has been made in Japan and Italy, just as Sherlock Holmes's London has been fabricated in Berlin and Los Angeles. The Paris chapter analyzes the first *Maigret* television adaptation, the BBC's extremely successful 1960–63 series, made, with Georges Simenon's enthusiastic approval, with Rupert Davies as the commissaire. This expensive, prestige production, which, unusually for the time, had substantial location shooting in Paris, was itself widely exported. There are extensive BBC files on this production, which are illuminating about production processes in this period, the international television market, and the understanding of Paris. This chapter considers a particular Paris, the 1960s BBC Paris, to introduce some of the complexities of making place on television and to analyze these in relation to particular production aims and constraints. This is a study of the production of television Paris from London. My findings here challenge some taken-for-granted ideas about the BBC's priorities as a national rather than an international broadcaster, while also capturing the role of Paris and Frenchness in midcentury British modernities. I also discuss, rather more briefly, some of the other television *Maigret*s, including the 1992–93 British Granada television version, which was filmed in Budapest and, like the Franco-Belgian Bruno Cremer series, stages a more retro Paris. The two British series were filmed at the beginning and end of the period of television history dominated by nationally regulated terrestrial broadcasting, but each was made with a clear eye to the export market, constructing a Paris that would appeal internationally. In the earlier series, Paris signifies modernity—particularly through production design—while in the later, it is nostalgic. Thus this chapter analyzes the televisual construction, by British production teams, of the city that most identifies cinematic modernity, while also considering questions of authenticity, location shooting, and the televisual production of place for international markets.

For London, the second case study, I take a different approach, bringing together television Londons over a longer historical period, and produced in a range of different contexts, to consider the making and remaking of televisual London as a taken-for-granted origin for most British broadcasting. Through the history of British television Londons, I argue, can be traced Britain's complicated relation with its past, and the peculiar difficulties of modernity for this former imperial nation. My concern here is first with the way in which British television, organized through a commitment to public service broadcasting, engages with the literary heritage of London: the new medium and the old city. Analysis of the persistence of London the Victorian city—particularly Dickensian London—on British television is followed by an exploration of some of the ways in which television has engaged with contemporary realities, and particularly, postimperial Britain's changing self-image. Here I explore the interrelationship of two significant post–Second World War stories, the end of empire and the expansion of the television service, and consider the way in which the domesticity of the television medium contributed to decolonization as an intimate experience. London is a privileged site here, both nationally and internationally. In this history I explore the construction of late twentieth-century London as a multicultural capital and pay particular attention to the notion of new neighbors. The final part of the chapter marks a retreat from the multicultural moment and a sense of the future, considering the return of emblematic characters and places, such as Sherlock Holmes, Jack the Ripper, and the East End of London, particularly as television moves into the twenty-first century, and London's oldness becomes globally marketable in new ways.

The Baltimore of *The Wire* has alerted viewers (scholars of many different disciplines among them) to the dramatic and analytic potential of long-form drama. Chapter 3 addresses the new enthusiasm for the analysis of "not-television" television such as *The Wire*. Many viewers of *The Wire* have become deeply—and messianically—involved in extolling the serious virtues of the program and the real knowledge of Baltimore that it produces.[51] Rather than contributing further to the already extensive analyses of this program, this chapter takes a sideways

step and contextualizes both this scholarship and this television city, in an attempt to delineate what is at stake in this enthusiasm.

Chapters 1 and 2 deal mainly with twentieth-century television—the television that was frequently watched by the majority of a nation at the same time. This final chapter considers some of the new forms of television, and particularly the fin-de-siècle form of the DVD, now disappearing in favor of downloadable and streamed viewing. I consider some of the metaphors of viewing this more individualized commodity form television, such as bingeing, and also explore changing critical evaluations of, and attitudes to, television as it moves away from network normality. Much of the rhetoric of *The Wire*, both inside and outside the production, has been about the reality of the stories it tells. I contextualize these claims by examining some of the ways in which the port city of Baltimore has come to the television screen, paying particular attention to the work of Vincent Peranio, who has worked on the production design of nearly all substantial audiovisual productions set in Baltimore. Just as *The Wire* owes debts to network television, so too does its Baltimore draw on previous Baltimores.

Each of my cities is in a sense a device through which to explore methodological, as well as substantive, issues in the imbrication of cities and television. While each television city is specific, there are also broader determinants in the production of these cities, bound up with both questions of television as a medium and wider cultural and historical issues. In chapter 1, the making of Paris is explored in the detail of a production study in order to challenge the assumption that audiovisual place is produced through location filming. This is complemented with discussion of the complex temporality of place and space in relation to old film of vanished places and new re-creations of those same places. Each version of *Maigret* produces a different television Paris, while there are nevertheless continuities and ruptures across the body of texts that can be fruitfully scrutinized. In contrast to this simple organization of the Paris case study through different versions of the same stories, the London chapter ranges over a much more diverse set of programming. However, in some ways the London chapter is the most straightforward, although it has the widest program and temporal span, as it is organized through an analysis of an imperial capital, the greatest city

in the world in the nineteenth century, depicted on a new medium as Britain as a world power passes into history. Once again, the complex temporality of television comes to the fore: at some moments apparently managing modernity, at others contributing to the sense of London as capital, in Patrick Wright's phrase of "an old country."[52] The historical coincidence of the new medium with the end of empire, and the late twentieth-century rhetorics of multicultural London, are finally surpassed by the return to the Victorian and the past that characterizes so much twenty-first-century British television. In the final chapter, Baltimore is a different kind of device again, as the televisual rise to fame of the city is traced in relation to changing ideas about television spectatorship and criticism. Here, matching, but contrasting with, the different Maigrets of chapter 1, I explore the development of Baltimore across a limited body of television work, which has resulted in the recognition of the particular strengths of serial storytelling for the imagining of cities. In this chapter, Baltimore becomes the device through which shifts in television scholarship and attitudes to television can be addressed.

My study seeks to restore television to the imagination of the city, while also, across the movement of change and repetition, demonstrating something of how television has responded to changes in both the city and its own modes of delivery. My argument is that television has been central to the apprehension of cities and how they are inhabited since the mid-twentieth century—so central, and so taken for granted, that it has been almost invisible.

Notes

Introduction

1. Written by John Sullivan for the BBC, *Only Fools and Horses* was broadcast for seven series and also appeared on British screens in the form of Christmas specials, sketches, and a prequel. Full details are available in Sullivan, *"Only Fools and Horses"*; and Clark, *"Only Fools and Horses."* U.S. usage divides a television series into seasons, whereas British usage, at least until the twenty-first century, is "series" throughout. For most twentieth-century British television, the original usage "series" is retained throughout this book.

2. *Only Fools and Horses*, exported, like much British television, to its former empire, has also established significant audiences in former Eastern Bloc territories such as Yugoslavia. The Netherlands, in addition to broadcasting the British series, made its own version, *Wat schuift 't* (What's it worth?). Attempts in the 1990s to produce a U.S. version with NBC were less successful. Graham McCann, *"Only Fools and Horses,"* 261.

3. *Sex and the City* was notable for its use of Manhattan locations (40 percent location filming is the figure given by Sohn, *"Sex and the City,"* 14), and also for its departure from the multicamera setup typical of television production, instead using film and a single camera (Simon, "*Sex and the City*," 194).

4. This book is not principally concerned with the question of what television now is. Graeme Turner has made—with others—a convincing series of arguments against the "end of television/convergence hypothesis." See Turner and Tay, *Television Studies after TV*; Pertierra and Turner, *Locating Television*.

5. As Yoshimi, "Television and Nationalism," has shown of Japan, where television was first shown in the streets in the 1950s, and Pertierra and Turner, *Locating Television*, argue more generally, the Anglo-American Western model of privatized domestic viewing, although it has certainly dominated the accounts of television in television studies, does not encompass global television viewing.

Pertierra and Turner instead propose the increased necessity of specifying "zones of consumption" when discussing television at both general and particular levels.

6. The news that Apple, in the context of falling iPhone revenues, has been in talks with Time Warner revealed the comparative health of Time Warner, which has retained its back catalog, in contrast with other "content providers" that "eagerly sold reruns to streaming services, not realising viewers might be more content to watch the old library than to keep up with the new shows." Sam Thielman, "iPhone Sales Start to Falter," *Guardian*, 28 May 2016, 25. Thielman is reporting on stories that first appeared in the *New York Post* and were confirmed by Matthew Garrahan and James Fontanella-Khan in the *Financial Times*, 26 May 2016.

7. McCarthy's *Ambient Television* enumerates the many sites outside the U.S. home—such as the tavern or the barber's—in or at which television is viewed. One of the reasons that her research is so significant, though, is precisely because it punctures assumptions about the place of television. My point is not that television was only a domestic medium in the twentieth century, but that television is assumed and imaged as such. In countries such as Brazil and Japan, as documented in the work of Leal, "Popular Taste and the Erudite Repertoire"; Tufte, *Living with the Rubbish Queen*; and Yoshimi, "Television and Nationalism," television has always had a more public presence.

8. On television and the differential modernities of Britain, France, the United States, and Japan, see Hartley, *Uses of Television*, 92–111; Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies*; Spigel, *Make Room for TV*; Yoshimi, "'Made in Japan.'" On television and modernity more globally, see Morley, *Media, Modernity and Technology*, 275–310; Pertierra and Turner, *Locating Television*, 108–23.

9. Spigel, *Welcome to the Dreamhouse*, 31–59; Silverstone, *Visions of Suburbia*; Morley, *Home Territories*, 128–48.

10. Indicatively, see Charney and Schwartz, *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*; Donald, *Imagining the Modern City*; Friedberg, *Window Shopping*; Highmore, *Cityscapes*; Mennel, *Cities and Cinema*; Nead, *The Haunted Gallery*; Stewart, *Migrating to the Movies*.

11. There is an extensive literature here, but the originary texts are: Baudelaire, "The Painter of Modern Life"; Benjamin, "The Flâneur"; Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*. See also the essays collected in Tester, *The Flâneur*, and Donald's discussion of this figure in city/cinema scholarship, "Talking the Talk, Walking the Walk." Solnit summarizes the debate pithily: "What exactly a flâneur is has never been satisfactorily defined, but among all the versions of the flâneur as everything from a primeval slacker to a silent poet, one thing re-

mains constant: the image of an observant and solitary man strolling about Paris" (*Wanderlust*, 198).

12. The problem of the flâneuse is discussed in Wolff, "The Invisible Flaneuse"; Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity" in her *Vision and Difference*; Wilson, "The Invisible Flaneur"; Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City*; Ryan, "Women, Modernity and the City"; Friedberg, *Window Shopping*; Nord, *Walking the Victorian Streets*; Gleber, *The Art of Taking a Walk*; Solnit, "Walking after Midnight" in her *Wanderlust*.

13. Bowlby, *Just Looking*; Friedberg, *Window Shopping*.

14. *Sex and the City* ran for six seasons from 1998 to 2004. Susan Seidelman, who had depicted Madonna as a flâneuse figure in *Desperately Seeking Susan*, directed several first-season episodes, including the opening one. Full production details and episode guide can be found in Smith, *Manhattan Dating Game*, and on the HBO website.

15. Jermyn, *Sex and the City*, 80–81. On flânerie and *Sex and the City*, see also Richards, "*Sex and the City*"; Akass and McCabe, *Reading "Sex and the City"*; Arthurs, "*Sex and the City* and Consumer Culture." Haggins and Lotz give a shrewd account of the evolution of the series within the HBO network identity in "Comedy Overview," 164. The Brooklyn-set HBO drama *Girls* (2012–17), which includes occasional location material—often single iconic New York shots—has not attracted discussion of the city in the way that *Sex and the City* did, but both have been subject to criticism for the class and ethnic privilege of their heroines. See, for example, essays in Silva and Mendes, "HBO's *Girls*," such as DeCarvalho, "Hannah and Her Entitled Sisters," and Nash and Grant, "Twenty-Something *Girls* v. Thirty-Something *Sex and the City* Women."

16. While she discusses literature, not film or television, Marcus (in her *Apartment Stories*) is one of a small number of scholars who directly address home and the city together. Wojcik's suggestive notion in *The Apartment Plot*, which is concerned mainly with U.S. film 1945–75, does succeed in reconfiguring an understanding of the inside and outside of the city. She is particularly attentive to the role of Manhattan and the potential for a single lifestyle in apartment plots, and also has some interesting observations about television and the apartment plot. Billingham's 2000 book *Sensing the City through Television* analyzed five city dramas, including the San Francisco of *Tales of the City*, the London of *Holding On*, and the Manchester of *Queer as Folk*, but is more concerned with questions of identity.

17. Taunton, *Fictions of the City*, 2.

18. On the cultural status of television, see Brunsdon, *Screen Tastes*, 105–64; Boddy, "The Place of Television Studies"; Brunsdon and Gray, "The Place

of Television Studies"; Brunsdon, "Is Television Studies History?"; Newman and Levine, *Legitimating Television*; Gray and Lotz, *Television Studies*.

19. Polan explicitly addresses some of these transitions, and their discursive construction, in his "Cable Watching," as do Newman and Levine in *Legitimating Television.* There is an extensive literature on quality television, including most germanely McCabe and Akass, *Quality TV*; Anderson, "Producing an Aristocracy of Culture in American Television"; Kackman, "Flow Favorites."

20. "Editorial," *Cineaste*, 1.

21. Television scholars have been alert to the implications of these moves, as the titles of essays by Mills, "What Does It Mean to Call Television 'Cinematic'?," and Jaramillo, "Rescuing Television from 'the Cinematic,'" suggest.

22. See Brunsdon, "The Attractions of the Cinematic City," on the contours of the discussion of the cinematic city.

23. McQuire, *The Media City*, provides a sophisticated combination of media in this chronology, moving through Marville's photographs of nineteenth-century Paris (pre- and post-Hausmannization) and city symphonies, right through to CCTV and the digital home. McQuire does include television, and its aesthetics of liveness, in his discussion of the media city and "relational space," but his concern is with the broadcasting of private life, his preferred text *Big Brother*. See also Krajina, *Negotiating the Mediated City*; and Georgiou, *Media and the City.*

24. For example, the work of Robert C. Allen in his investigation of moviegoing in North Carolina, "Going to the Show," docsouth.unc.edu (see also his "Getting to 'Going to the Show'"), and the AHRC-funded Cinematic Geographies of Battersea project led by François Penz (cinematicbattersea.blogspot.co.uk).

25. The work of Mittell in particular has been associated with "complex television," which he has elaborated in relation to *The Wire* in *Complex TV* and its earlier online iterations. Scholarship on *Treme* such as that in the themed issue of *Television and New Media* 13, no. 3 (2012), particularly Helen Parmett's work, has contributed very interestingly to understanding the media ecologies of television cities.

26. Newcomb, "*Cagney and Lacey*," 403.

27. See Wheatley's exposition in *Spectacular Television*, 7.

28. A point that is exemplified by the pioneering 2009 University College Dublin conference Television and the City, organized by Diane Negra and Liam Kennedy, in which six of the twenty-seven papers concerned *The Wire*, with two on *Sex and the City.*

29. Since the decline of the networks, the headquarters of TV companies, those other home spaces of television, have attracted interesting scholarship on the institutional architecture of television. See Spigel, *TV by Design*, 68–143; Ericson and Reigert, *Media Houses*.

30. Augé, *Non-places*.

31. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 32–36.

32. Curtin, "Media Capitals."

33. See the discussion in Pines, "Black Cops and Black Villains in Film and TV Crime Fiction"; on equal opportunities, see Brunsdon, "Structure of Anxiety."

34. The Brighton setting of this show also enabled the plausible employment of out gay police. While this book was in production, it was announced that *Cuffs* would not be renewed.

35. In addition to discussion of particular detectives, and urban and modern sensibilities in scholarship such as Worpole, *Dockers and Detectives*, and Moretti, "Clues," in *Signs Taken for Wonders*, this has long included curiosity about real settings for detective fiction, such as Jakubowski, *Following the Detectives*.

36. Jermyn, "Silk Blouses and Fedoras," examines the journalistic obsession with the blouses and, in a sophisticated, self-reflexive article, challenges the entertainment of the sexual sadism of this critically lauded show.

37. In a particular version of the television tourism discussed by Couldry in *The Place of Media Power*, Belfast gossip maintained in 2014 that this was a room number which has been booked up ever since.

38. The persistence of the dead woman in relation to feminism is suggestively discussed by Dillman, *Women and Death in Film, Television and News.*

39. Scholarship such as Nichols-Pethick, *TV Cops*; Piper, *The TV Detective*; Turnbull, *The TV Crime Drama*; and McElroy, *Cops on the Box,* explores some of the innovations and repetitions of this flourishing genre.

40. Bhabha, "Introduction."

41. Ellis, *Visible Fictions*, 5. On the nationalness of television, see Caughie, "Playing at Being an American"; Morley, *Home Territories*, 149–70. On the continuing salience of the category of the national in the analysis of television, see Turner, "Television and the Nation"; and Pertierra and Turner, *Locating Television*, chapter 2.

42. For example, a critical article by Larry Elliott about current economic policy in a national newspaper in 2014 was headed, "Del Boynomics—When Work and Tax Doesn't Add Up," *Guardian*, 11 August 2014, while the BBC called a 2014 documentary series "following the nation's wheeler-dealers" *Del Boys and Dealers* (1 May–11 June 2014). I live quite near a grocery store called

Only Food and Sauces, which declares its commercial empire as "New York, Paris, Cubbington."

43. Turner, "Television and the Nation"; Pertierra and Turner, *Locating Television*, chapter 2.

44. John Sullivan, the writer and creator of the program, observed, "I got the New York—Paris—Peckham idea on the side of the van from a packet of Dunhill cigarettes except theirs says London—Paris—New York. Del would have seen it and been slightly in awe of it and therefore impressed and stuck it on his van." Sullivan quoted in Clark, *"Only Fools and Horses,"* 201.

45. For an account of what might be at stake in Peckham as a location, see Stanton, "Peckham Tales." In the twenty-first century, Peckham is one of the fastest gentrifying areas of London as its historical poverty has kept property prices comparatively low.

46. See Brunsdon, *London in Cinema*, for further discussion of cinematic London.

47. Curtin, "Media Capitals," points to their historical ebb and flow by considering Los Angeles, Chicago, and Hong Kong. London is clearly, within his terms, a media capital, but it is also, in the terms of this book, a television city. In the British context, the changing situation of Manchester and Belfast is of interest, while in an international context, Mexico City and Bombay would reward attention.

48. The contours of this scholarship are outlined by Phillips and Vincendeau in their book on Paris and the cinema, *Beyond the Flâneur*.

49. On *Cagney and Lacey*, see D'Acci's exemplary study, *Defining Women.*

50. The Simenon Estate entered into new production agreements in the twenty-first century to make a series of British ITV (Independent Television) television films aimed at the international market starring Rowan Atkinson as Maigret. Filmed partly in Hungary, the first two of these, *Maigret Sets a Trap* (2016) and *Maigret's Dead Man* (2016), were judged sufficiently successful for further films to be contracted.

51. See notes to chapter 3 for references to scholarship on *The Wire.*

52. Wright, *On Living in an Old Country*.

Chapter 1. The Modernity of Maigret's Paris

Epigraph source: Audience Research Report, 21 November 1960, p. 1, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham (henceforth, WAC), T5/2, 167/1.

Note on archive sources for this chapter: The BBC Written Archives Centre holds more than seventy bulky files on the 1960s *Maigret.* There are individual files for each episode, and groups of files called, for example, "Maigret: Gen-