EX-ORDIUM

YOUNG ADULTS AND TV SERIES.
NETFLIX AND NEW FORMS OF SERIAL NARRATIVES
FOR YOUNG VIEWERS

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Tra i maggiori mezzi di narrazione visiva, le serie tv si rivelano oggi estremamente popolari e pervasive, in grado di accattivare un grande pubblico al di là del genere e dell’età. A incrementare questo fenomeno, il recente avvento e sviluppo di piattaforme in streaming on-demand, tra cui Netflix, dove gli adolescenti e i giovani adulti ricoprono una notevole parte del pubblico di riferimento. L’articolo vuole indagare come le serie tv per adolescenti, pur rifacendosi ai canoni della letteratura per ragazzi, stiano contamindiando le modalità di narrazione e fruizione delle storie per giovani adulti, presentando potenziali rischi nella modalità di utilizzo, spesso legate a pratiche come quella del binge watching (guardare programmi televisivi per un lungo lasso di tempo e senza soste). Il presente articolo intende quindi proporre una panoramica di alcuni dei contenuti e dei formati offerti dalle opere per giovani adulti nella piattaforma streaming e tracciare le tendenze di un profondo cambiamento nella loro fruizione, un cambiamento che presuppone un impegno critico e un’attenzione pedagogica al fine di servirsi di questi nuovi media evitando i pericoli a essi correlati.

Nowadays, tv series are one of the major visual-narrative media: they are extremely popular and persistent and they can captivate a wide audience beyond gender and age. This trend was boosted by the success of on-demand streaming platforms, such as Netflix, where a great percentage of the target audience con-
sists of teenagers and young adults. The present paper aims to investigate the influence of tv series for teenagers – mainly based on children’s literary tradition – on new forms of narration and fruition of stories, providing new potential risks in their usage, often connected to practices such as binge-watching (watching tv series for a long time with no break). The present paper wants to offer an overview of the most common contents and formats offered by tv series for young audiences in the streaming platform and to outline new tendencies regarding a complex change in their fruition; a change that implies critical commitment and pedagogical attention so as to utilize new media avoiding foremost dangers.

1. TV series: storytelling from past to present

TV series are narrative works of fiction that consist of episodes characterized by totally or partially self-conclusive plots. They are developed through a series of recurring characters and places that generally follow a macro-narrative (Brembilla & De Pascalis, 2018). The plots proposed through this format build on the canons of cinema and literature and cover different genres, from fantasy to thriller, from historical to romantic fiction (Innocenti & Pescatore, 2014, pp. 4-8). These stories follow a particular narrative mode, seriality: a tv fiction is not simply a story divided into several parts, but it consists of isolated and independent units, whose division is carefully arranged for both artistic and commercial reasons. This strategy is not entirely new but dates back to literary expedients that characterized the 19th Century, when novels, including those by Charles Dickens, were frequently serialized and published in monthly episodes. This format

[...] aroused in the reader the expectation of a new episode, and induced the author to write intriguing endings, full of suspense, so as to face the audience’s expectations, exploiting the possibility of the magazine’s editorial format to reduce the distance between text, content, and reader. In the seriality of the contents [...] the link between the narra-
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...structure and the industrial process of serialization was therefore legible, i.e. between the increase in the diffusion of available editorial formats and the narrative models that were emerging (Lino, 2016, p. 2).

Therefore, serialization, whether literary or audio-visual, requires considerable attention during its structuring: the plot should be clearly solved and single units should be characterized by cliff-hangers, a technique in which the narrative is suspended at the height of tension, generating suspense, so as to keep the curiosity of the reader/spectator high (Rossini, 2016). Drawing on the literary canon for childhood and adulthood, TV series use a different medium to renew some of the structures at the basis of storytelling, which are now characterized by a cross-media and mass-media nature (Faeti, 1983). Starting for example from the fairy-tale (Cambi, 1999), many TV series have reinterpreted metaphors and narrative strands to offer stories anchored to the past, but evolving in modern techniques and sensibilities (Barsotti & Cantatore, 2019).

Originally, television series were structured in close relation to the medium through which they could be followed – television – and for this reason the episodes were often disconnected from each other, without a narrative continuity (Innocenti & Pescatore, 2014; Rossini, 2016). A first turning point occurred between the 1980s and 1990s, when series began to acquire greater artistic value, even if they were still perceived as an inferior art form compared to cinema, a “bad copy” (Sepiwall, 2014). Initially, the two narrative formats were profoundly different: cinema was enjoyed in theatres, where audiences could pay attention to details, quotes, possible twists and turns, an art that fully involved the

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1 Original Italian text: «[…] suscitava nel lettore l’attesa della nuova puntata, e portava l’autore a scrivere finali intriganti, ricchi di suspense, spesso alla luce degli orizzonti di attesa del pubblico, sfruttando così la possibilità del formato editoriale della rivista di accorciare la distanza tra testo, contenuto e lettore. Nella serialità dei contenuti […] era quindi leggibile il legame tra la strutturazione della forma narrativa e il processo industriale della serializzazione, ovvero tra l’aumento della diffusione di formati editoriali disponibili e i modelli narrativi che si andavano delineando». 

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viewer without distractions. On the contrary, television series were initially enjoyed at home, in an environment that is often confusing, and they interacted with an unaware, passive, and not fully interested spectator: a product that « [...] must be simple, easy to understand, [...] redundant, in order to allow viewers to leave temporarily for certain tasks, as it often happens at home, and then be able to continue watching it without trauma»\(^2\) (Sepiwall, 2014, p. 10). Therefore, series were perceived as secondary narrations, but they have found a reversal in the last few years: cinema has become more generalist, more and more popular, while TV series, that have been untied from the limits of the TV schedule to reach platforms such as Netflix, have evolved into a more complex art, which in many cases takes up (if not even surpasses, in some brilliant examples) the cinematographic narration as far as aesthetic, thematic and formal choices are concerned. Thus, it is a narration that requires critical tools to be understood, appreciated and enjoyed in the most efficient way even by the youngest (Cambi, 2010; Di Bari, 2013; 2017), as it is capable of generating a precise socially shared imaginary, which is the result of culturally recognized narrative universes (Barsotti & Cantatore, 2019; Beseghi, 2017).

The new medium has therefore led to new narrative structures: TV series have revolutionized the intertwining of stories, proposing narratological structures that break the rules of traditional storytelling to experiment with linearity and fragmentation, making the most out of the “fragments” offered through the episodes (Innocenti & Pescatore, 2014; Lino, 2016; Rossini, 2016). So new writing trends are born, among which we can remember the hybridization of literary genres, often connected in borderline, intersectional works; a greater narrative complexity generated by the temporal extension that characterizes the series; the presence of choral narratives, with detailed insights into both primary and

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\(^2\) Original Italian text: « [...] deve essere semplice, di facile comprensione, [...] ridondante, per permettere agli spettatori di allontanarsi momentaneamente per alcune incombenze così come accade nella fruizione casalinga, per poi riuscire a riprendere la visione senza traumi». 
secondary characters; new experimentations with temporality, which sees screenwriters and directors playing with space and time. The character is also transformed: he or she is no longer a good and noble fairytale hero (Cambi, 1999), but an anti-hero with lights and shadows, often balanced between good and evil, so as to represent everyday life more realistically. Therefore, spectators can count on a greater identification and a deep empathic contact that makes these narratives particularly close to the experience of those who are watching the show (Rossini, 2016; Sepiwall, 2014).

2. Netflix: an audio-visual library for new filmic marathons

Netflix was created from an idea of Reed Hastings and Marc Randolph, who started a DVD rental company in 1997, and in 2007 founded the well-known platform, where both original films and audio-visual works from other studios are offered. Netflix catalogue ranges between genres and generations: documentaries, comedies, horrors, detective stories, romances, addressing an audience that goes from childhood to adulthood, through adolescence.

The platform differs from television programming to propose itself as an online television capable of reshaping the fruition of films and TV series (Innocenti & Pescatore, 2014). Netflix is based on the library model since it is presented as a film library with a free consultation, subject to the payment of a monthly subscription, which is a profound innovation as far as the role of the viewer is concerned: without the constraints previously dictated by television times, the viewer can choose where, how, when and for how long to enjoy the desired product (Bremilla, 2018).

Moreover, Netflix focuses on user profiling to propose customized options: the main page of the site presents not only works that could be appreciated by the subscriber (based on the preferences expressed and the products previously watched by the viewer) but also benefits from a database of thumbnails, that
is a series of preview images for each work, which are suggested differently for every single customer. Thus, Netflix operates a customization strategy to offer each subscriber a unique version of the site, able to provide a tailored experience.

In addition, the platform offers large amounts of audio-visual contents, so as to attract a greater number of new users and to increase the number of hours spent viewing. More users also mean more information gathering, which might help the company to work on even more targeted choices. To expand its package, in 2012 Netflix chose to produce original shows referring to different genres. So, the platform does not follow a precise stylistic plan but offers diversified options in order to reach users who are very different in age, social class, gender and ethnicity.

Another of the peculiarities of the platform is the uploading of complete series, which are not presented episode by episode, as in the TV schedule, but fully accessible online. To encourage the consecutive vision of several episodes, Netflix uses what Paola Brembilla (2018) calls “playlist effect” (p. 54): the episodes of a series flow one after the other without interruption, like a continuous flow, unless the user voluntarily stops them (Castro, Rigby, Cabral & Nisi, 2019, p. 2). In this way, one of the key elements of the entertainment industry falls: controlled dissatisfaction, that is to say, the act of inducing the viewer to wait for the next episode, creating the desire to conclude a strategically interrupted narrative (Hass, 2013). With regard to the fruition of Netflix products, one of the most common and studied phenomena is binge-watching, which consists in the vision of a significant number of episodes (usually from 2 to 6) of a TV series, without interruptions: a sort of filmic marathon in which the user dives into the narration, with an average view-time that goes from 2 to 3 hours (Brembilla, 2018, p. 52; Castro, Rigby, Cabral & Nisi, 2019, p. 16; Innocenti & Pescatore, 2014, p. 3). Actually, this trend had already been widespread in the 1990s, but it has been recently encouraged by platforms such as Netflix, which stimulate and normalize this kind of vision through some strategies, such as the uploading of whole TV series, without whose presence this phenomenon
would not be possible. What increases the practice of binge-watching is also the accessibility of the products through a modest payment in comparison to the purchase of television series’ boxes. Besides, since Netflix can be used through different means, such as televisions, tablets, mobile phones, and computers, the practice can be easily carried out in very different contexts: anytime and anywhere (Brembilla, 2018, p. 53).

In 2013, Netflix commissioned an investigation to understand the way its viewers use the platform, employing a sample of 3,078 members of various ages. Of the subscribers, 61% claimed to use the platform at least once a week; 73% reported a positive perception of the practice of binge-watching, while 79% believed that this phenomenon made TV series more enjoyable than watching single episodes (Brembilla, 2018, p. 54). Looking at the reasons that lead viewers to this practice, binge-watching usually takes place at the end of the day or during the weekend to relax and have fun, as well as sharing the selected shows with peers, thereby enhancing social belonging and inclusion in a particular group. This phenomenon is not entirely intentional – 45% of the spectators say they spend more time than expected watching TV series or Netflix products (Brembilla, 2018, p. 54) – due to a great involvement with the narrative proposed, that is usually able to engage the viewer in a different, alternative world, just as leisure literature does, although with very different modes and effects (Castro, Rigby, Cabral & Nisi, 2019, p. 6).

3. TV series, teenagers and young adults

For what concerns the consumption of Netflix products by a young audience, the platform offers diversified content for both children and adolescents. Watching a high number of consecutive episodes is very common also at a young age. This practice allows boys and girls to get in close contact with new narrative universes that need to be critically considered, in view of a new media education (Antoniazzi, 2015; Cambi, 2010; Di Bari, 2017). In fact,
platforms such as Netflix provide products for young viewers with the intention of captivating new generations, and they do it trying to meet their habits and demands (Matrix, 2014, p. 122). For this reason, in 2013 Netflix signed a contract with DreamWorks to further expand its catalogue and to produce 300 hours of entertainment for boys and girls. These audio-visual works are displayed through different devices, such as televisions, tablets, mobile phones. Multiple devices are often used simultaneously: watching a series on TV and chatting with friends to talk about it or searching for information on social networks is a very deep-rooted tendency (Matrix, 2014, p. 123).

When linked to adolescence, binge-watching often generates debates about its negative effect on young people, both in terms of how it is experienced (often an excessive number of hours, including late-night hours), its content (sometimes violent or sex-related), and its consequences on social and school life (binge-watching is often associated with inactivity and isolation), drawing on what Sidneyeve Matrix (2014) calls the «rhetoric of moral media panic» (p. 124). These effects – which are potentially harmful even for an adult audience that is not particularly critical – should be considered in depth so as not to attack and demonize the medium itself, but the unaware use that new generations might make of it. This is a very broad issue that could also apply to new media such as video games or apps, which are often discussed from apocalyptic and integrated perspectives without mediations. Hence, from an educational point of view, the acknowledgment and comprehension of these new media, their modes of use, and the issues they deal with are fundamental starting points. In this way, we can better understand how to mediate the relationship between adolescents and media products.

The investigations reported by Matrix on the subject show that American teenagers and young adults decided to openly talk about their relationship with Netflix and the reasons why it is now preferred over television. Among the main reasons for spending many hours on the streaming platform, first and foremost the interviewees recall the desire to be part of society and,
in particular, of the peer group. Watching television series becomes a vehicle to connect with friends and peers, a source of dialogue, exchange, participation. Binge-watching is therefore interpreted as an attempt not to isolate themselves, but to keep up with others, to catch up with episodes and to participate in a direct discussion, avoiding spoilers (Matrix, 2014, p. 127).

A second reason emerges: the desire to relax and to fully experience a different universe. If handled correctly, the use of the platform can lead to the fruition of engaging stories, dense with meaning and food for thought, stories that are capable of seizing the anxieties of adolescence and post-adolescence, representing the diverse nuances of identity. In this respect, Netflix offers interesting and complex original productions from a narrative and filmic point of view. These narrations, however, should be cautiously mediated as they act in a wide panorama that includes not only outstanding products. Therefore, it is necessary to train a critical eye that can appreciate, compare and distinguish quality works (whether they are narrated by literature, cinema or other artistic forms), so as to consciously move in a wide range of productions (Cambi, 2010; Di Bari, 2013).

4. The teen drama and some of its narrative strands

Among the areas covered by Netflix, the teen drama stands out for being intentionally directed to an audience of teenagers and young adults. This narrative genre was developed in the 1990s in England and in the United States, and it usually deals with the life stories of young protagonists who have to face the difficulties of growing up and find their way (Barone, 2009). These narratives explore topics such as friendship, love, sexuality, family relationships, violence, bullying. The storytelling is characterized by insecurities, trauma, aspirations, and all of these elements constitute a genre that deliberately maintains a realistic perspective, tackling contemporary social issues even in those series that recall the canons of the fantastic (Feasey, 2009, p. 431).
Therefore, teenagers can find in these stories the same feelings, the same anguish, the same doubts felt in everyday life: these narratives allow them to give meaning to their existence (Moseley, 2001). However, the representation of adolescence in television series tends to be influenced by the life ideal sought by young viewers: sometimes, the characters are portrayed as extremely free, unrestricted, but at the same time far from adult responsibilities, besides being stereotypical in many cases (Raya, Sanchez-Labella & Duràn, 2018, p. 134). Although these works are mainly addressed to teenagers, as the adolescent phase is extending to an older age, these products are now enjoyed and appreciated also by young adults in their twenties and thirties. As a result, they are targeted TV series whose boundaries are particularly wide as they are often capable of involving a diverse range of users (Feasey, 2009, p. 431).

The subgenres of the teen drama are manifold, but the present study identifies four particularly common narrative strands that characterize the Netflix platform on a quantitative and qualitative level: the teen thriller; the educational series; the supernatural series; and the revival. Building on the aforementioned adolescent themes, these subgenres use children and young adults’ literature’s typical thematic and structural expedients in order to narrate common life experiences, albeit intertwined with fictional elements, as analysed in the following paragraphs.

4.1. The teen thriller

Today, many of the works proposed to teenagers rely on the thriller genre to captivate viewers through investigation stories. However, the typical elements of the detective story are mixed with teenage turmoil: on the one hand, we find murders to be unveiled, on the other, we meet love, friendships, desires, fears. Two works can give a good example of this category: 13 Reasons Why (2017) and Riverdale (2017).

13 Reasons Why is one of the most appreciated and popular original Netflix products, and not only among teenagers and
young adults. The series has caused an uproar for the controversial theme it presents: Hannah Baker, a high school student and narrator of the story, commits suicide by leaving thirteen tapes she recorded, in which she explains the reasons behind her dramatic gesture. Each tape tells how a different peer pushed her to exasperation, until her last, tragic decision was made. Clay Jensen, a boy in love with Hannah, decides to inquire into the matter, creating a narrative full of mystery. The work detaches itself from the lightness of the teen drama both for its dark tones and for its narrative and thematic depth: 13 Reasons Why deals with themes such as bullying, violence, rape, depression, connecting these issues to the adolescent world, yet not sweetening or simplifying them. Even though the epilogue is already known, the spectator is overwhelmed by the emotional depth of the work, by its suspense, by the harshness of the events, by the tenderness of the impossible love-story between the two protagonists.

Riverdale is a tv-series set in the homonymous and fictitious town, where a boy called Jason is murdered. This mystery must be solved by four young protagonists (Archie, Veronica, Jughead and Betty). This initial event is intersected with secondary stories, usually concluded in a single episode. The work is influenced by the thriller and noir genre as it offers a mysterious and frenetic narration that covers themes commonly related to adolescence. Among the sources of inspiration, Riverdale refers to cinema and literature: firstly, the work deliberately follows some of the elements of the famous TV series by David Lynch, Twin Peaks (1990), though it does not reach its aesthetic and narrative elegance; secondly, Riverdale is inspired by the series of comics for teenagers published by Archie Comics, which was particularly popular in the 1940s. Thus, this work draws on various sources of popular culture to offer a new product, specially packaged for teenagers, and thereby follows the typical dreams and fears of this phase of life.
4.2. Educational series

A large number of TV series that fall within the macro sector of teen drama deal with education, growth, and those transformations that lead to adulthood. This is a recurring theme in several narrative genres of this sector, but it is particularly important in some works specifically designed to represent some particular contexts of personal growth. Here, two very different cases are briefly exposed: *Atypical* (2017) and *Sex Education* (2019).

*Atypical* tells the story of Sam, a boy with a high-functioning autism spectrum disorder. The series associates the theme of autism with the most common adolescent dynamics: Sam has some difficulties in relating to others, but his world appears identical to the world of his peers: filled with fears, dreams, expectations. The work is an enjoyable product of great depth, that intersects the stories of all the people close to Sam, from his friend Zahid, eccentric and unconventional, to his sister Casey, up to the boy’s parents, portrayed in the middle of a conjugal crisis. Hence, the story outlines not only the protagonist’s experiences, but also the family dynamics that stand behind him, so as to make viewers understand the value of family relationships, a historically pivotal theme in children’s literature (Trisicuzzi, 2019). So, the series offers a wide and in some ways choral perspective, mainly focused on the emotions felt by the protagonist and on his training and personal growth towards adulthood.

*Sex Education* (2019) proposes a different kind of formation, namely the one concerning the sphere of sexual and affective education. Otis, the protagonist, is an outcast boy, son of a well-known sexologist. Since he is in close contact with his mother’s job, the seventeen-year-old boy decides to help his classmates resolve doubts and fears on the subject. The series deals with a topic that is often considered taboo, but wisely calibrates it: the show does not present a disproportionate romanticization and sacralization of the sexual sphere, but neither focuses on excesses or idealizations that could distort the viewer’s perception of reality. The protagonists approach the subject with curiosity, fear, and hope.
and embark on a journey of discovery of their own body and of the corporality of others; a journey guided by respect and critical understanding, albeit within the lightness of the product.

4.3. The supernatural

The supernatural strand interweaves the adolescent question with magical, paranormal events, often presented through the use of dark tones. In this way, viewers can see themselves portrayed through the fictional depiction of the adolescent characters, which offers realistic social and relational dynamics while introducing the users to fantastic, out-of-normal scenarios (Grandi, 2007). For example, *Chilling Adventures of Sabrina* (2018) follows the Nineties sitcom *Sabrina, the Teenage Witch* but reinterprets it in a “horror” perspective. Sabrina is a 16-year-old girl who lives with two witches (her aunts, Hilma and Zelda), and has a love story with a boy, Harvey. The protagonist is half-witch and half-human: a condition that will lead her to seek a balance in the liminal area to which she belongs. On the one hand, she finds the life of a witch, with dark colours and disturbing rituals; on the other, she experiences a normal life as a teenager, in her college, with her friends and her boyfriend. However, Sabrina does not want to choose between these two “sides”, as the two aunts would like her to do. Sabrina is a female character who deconstructs gender schema, who proposes a new gendered approach made of rebellion, of struggle to conquer her own space in the world, to assert her identity, breaking the silence and passivity that has historically characterized the female world (Dello Preite, 2019; Ulivieri, 2015).

*Stranger Things* (2016), on the other hand, evokes a nostalgic approach, for example opening with a direct tribute to Steven Spielberg’s film *E.T.* (1982). *Stranger Things* is a series whose atmosphere recalls the Eighties and for this reason it allows different age groups to identify with the characters, to get lost in the fantastic tones of the narrative. Will, one of the protagonists, disappears on the very same night when in a scientific laboratory the
border between our dimension and another is “broken”. *Stranger Things* follows three narrative paths, linked to three different generations: pre-adolescents, frightened by Will’s disappearance and willing to accept paranormal explanations; adolescents, represented through love plots and issues which are typical of this age; and adults, who try to carry on investigations to understand what happened to Will.

4.4. Revivals

Many TV series draw on nostalgia to attract a large number of viewers by paying homage to series, novels, films from the past, reinterpreted in a modern key or “referenced” in new contexts. The last few years have been characterized by great revivals of old popular series, re-proposed just as they were to address young and older viewers. As Brembilla notes, online media libraries are not only a showcase for new products but also aim to be a sort of archive that can offer old serial productions, that are already concluded and well known, to a nostalgic audience. Brembilla suggests two categories: rescue shows and revivals (Brembilla, 2018, pp. 61-62). In the first case, these TV series were cancelled from the programming, but re-proposed and relaunched on platforms such as Netflix. These products do not generate large profits, but enrich the catalogue and attract a new audience. The second category, revivals, works on a new form of popular TV series, re-awakening their potential through a product that is repackaged for contemporary audiences. For example, popularly acclaimed series such as *Gilmore Girls* (2000) or *Gossip Girl* (2007) have been re-proposed and they are still able to capture a notable audience and to develop themes and issues that have not gone out of fashion, such as family and friendship bonds.

5. Final note

The world of TV series, here analysed through the case study of Netflix platform, is nowadays particularly multifaceted and is
characterized by great media, social, and educational significance. Because of its recent development and popularity, it is necessary to explore this field to understand which narrative products are accessed by different age groups and, consequently, which stories involve and educate them indirectly, both to an aesthetic taste and to deal with the society they will meet and build as adults. In fact, these products hide limits and potentialities: on the one hand, their fruition is often uncontrolled, lacking a conscious mediation both in regards to the way they are viewed and to the themes exposed; on the other hand, this medium, when handled correctly and consciously, can provide stories with great filmic depth that could guide the viewers through contemporary issues, close to the teenage experience.

Because of the coexistence of these different elements, TV series, and specifically teen dramas, require an educational approach that stimulates a critical and active perception of the medium, especially with regard to a young audience, that should be able to find some interpretative tools to understand in depth what is offered by the platform. Although these products are often ignored by adults as they are considered part of the mass-media culture, and therefore secondary, informal educational tools, it is worth investigating those narratives proposed by Netflix to a young audience in order to understand how they indirectly but constantly affect young adults’ social and cultural perception, without underestimating the power of storytelling, whatever medium it uses to unravel.

Bibliography


