

RADIO RESEARCH 1941

edited by

PAUL F. LAZARSFELD

Director, Office of Radio Research, Columbia University

and

FRANK STANTON

Director of Research, Columbia Broadcasting System

The Most Important and Significant Book in Its Field

RADIO AND THE PRINTED PAGE

by

PAUL F. LAZARSFELD

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Radio Research 1941 is a highly important contribution to a new and particularly valuable field of research. It was first planned as a supplement to Dr. Lazarsfeld's own study, *Radio and the Printed Page*, but it has slowly shaped itself into a work which can stand on its own. It contains half a dozen illuminating and up-to-date reports, and it is certain to be indispensable to anyone interested in the problems, achievements, and future of radio.

In the past few years, radio research has captured the imagination of editors and publishers, radio men, social scientists, the advertising profession, and many others because it supplies the link between the radio performer and his audience. That this is of the utmost interest need not be emphasized.

The six studies here presented cover a wide range of topics and problems. The first three deal with the radio programs themselves:

Foreign language programs by Rudolph Arnheim and Martha Collins Bayne;

The popular music industry by Duncan MacDougald;

The radio symphony by T. W. Adorno;

while the second three deal with listeners, their reactions, and what effects radio has, or is apt to have, upon them:

Listening to serious music by Edward A. Suchman;

Youth and the news by Frederick J. Meine;

Radio comes to the farmer by William S. Robinson

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RADIO RESEARCH 1941

EDITED BY

PAUL F. LAZARSFELD

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

FRANK N. STANTON

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

DUELL, SLOAN AND PEARCE

NEW YORK

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first edition

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*The editors wish to thank Mr. John
Marshall for his many contributions
to the field of radio research.*

INTRODUCTION

MANY are the anecdotes and cartoons which describe the eerie feeling of a man standing before the microphone for the first time. Does he address the nation, or is no one in the entire country listening to him? Does he sound wonderful—or ridiculous? Will people do as he asks, or will they forget what he says even before he has finished?

Radio research is gradually linking the radio performer with his audience. If this has caught the public imagination more than other branches of research, it is undoubtedly because we are all radio listeners. We are all willing to talk about our radio listening and are interested to learn how far the radio has influenced us.

Thus it seems justified to submit to a larger public a series of six papers which present the relationship of listeners to the broadcasts. Through such studies the social scientist may help to contribute toward a more constructive use of radio.

The studies were directed from Columbia University's Office of Radio Research, financed by a grant of Rockefeller Foundation funds. The six publications selected for this volume are representative of the large range of topics and problems over which radio research is operating. The first three papers deal with radio programs themselves, showing

in effect the role of the broadcaster, while the last three deal with the listener himself, investigating his reactions and evaluating what influence radio has had or is likely to have upon him.

Programs are the result of the producers' intentions, the social forces working upon him, and the technological properties of the medium with which he is working. No specific radio situation can be fully understood without remembering all three of these factors. The first three studies presented here are examples of how each of these factors can be studied.

I. BEFORE THE MICROPHONE—THE ROLE OF THE PROGRAM

Study No. 1. Some time ago, the question was raised whether foreign language programs originating over local American stations served in any way to further activities harmful to the country in the present emergency. Systematic listening to almost all of these programs, however, disclosed that they held little danger from a political point of view. But the advertisements on these programs, on the other hand, turned out to have highly nationalistic implications. The character of the appeals is quite likely to make adjustment to his new, American environment more difficult for the immigrant. If reform is needed, then, it would have to start with the sponsors, and not, as previously believed, with the station managers.

Study No. 2. The formation of public taste can be well studied in the field of the popular music industry. Therefore, a study was initiated to determine what influences contributed to the popularity of a song. A simple technique was used. A song was traced from its conception by the artist to its final production on the air and its acceptance by the listener. At every point along the line of investigation, questions such as these were asked: How are the songs chosen? Who makes the choice? And why? The answers to these questions tell us why we hear what we hear.

The survey shows rather convincingly that once the publisher has decided to "plug" a song, this song will probably be a hit. The more established publishers are likely to get their songs on the hit-lists; performers all over the country are guided by them in making their selection of songs to play; and when the man in the street finally decides upon his favorite song, he has no idea that he has simply fallen in line with something which had been prescribed for him many weeks before.¹

Study No. 3. It is well known that audience impressions vary according to the medium by which they are communicated. For instance, the character of political oratory has changed considerably because the isolated listener must be

¹ The entire study was completed before the dispute between ASCAP and the radio industry started. It was kept on file because it was thought that after a settlement had been reached, it would be interesting to look at the situation once more and see what changes had come about. Now that popular music on the radio has returned to normalcy, it may prove to be a valuable background for the understanding of the new situation.

impressed by means other than the crowd assembled in a meeting hall.

The study of radio symphony is an attempt to record the differences between hearing music over the radio and seeing the actual performance. It was established, for instance, that if a person's love for music is due mainly to his experience as a radio listener, he is likely to prefer composers different from those who, in pre-radio times, had been considered "classical." There seems reason to believe that composers who place greater stress on melodic elements and who have a less rigid musical style, are more suitable to presentation over the radio. At the present time when a great effort is being made to cultivate an interest in new composers, the radio can be expected to play a very large part.

II. BEFORE THE LOUDSPEAKER—THE LISTENER'S RESPONSE

Study No. 4. The result just mentioned has a direct application to the study of the listener, "Invitation to Music." Here we have a chance to find out how the listener has responded to the attempts of the broadcaster to create in him an interest in music. It represents a detailed study of 800 listeners to the Masterwork Hour of New York City's radio station, WNYC. This study gives probably the first picture of the way in which radio influences its audience. Here are people whose interest in good music would never have developed had it not been for radio. And yet we see

that it is not radio alone which has stimulated their interest. It is the result of face-to-face contacts combined with the availability of good music on the air.

Study No. 5. Is radio likely to displace reading? "Radio and the Press Among Young People" tries to get at this acute question in two ways. News reading and listening habits among twelve hundred boys and girls have been analyzed to find out whether these young people, born in a radio age, depend on the loudspeaker as the exclusive source of news, or whether, like their parents, they slowly mature into the habit of reading newspapers. The evidence in this study definitely shows that as they grow up, young people add printed media to their news diet. The study also develops a political knowledge test, and compares the extent to which the young people are informed on current events. In all age groups those who both read *and* listen to the news are the best informed. Thus the future of reading does not appear too dark.

Study No. 6. The final study in this volume, "Radio Comes to the Farmer," has far-reaching implications. At one point, the study raises the question whether radio has made young people in farm families more content or less content with their daily lives. The radio provides good entertainment, and thus might help to overcome the main handicap of rural life—isolation. Or, on the contrary, through programs such as night club broadcasts, it might create a steady source of unrest for the young farm people. It appears that which of these two possible effects the radio

will have depends upon the personality of the listener. Those who, by all available criteria, are rather balanced, experience radio as an enrichment of the rural environment. Those with less balanced personalities derive from radio a further reason for discontent. Consequently, one cannot merely ask what are the effects of radio; the proper topic of research is, "What effects does radio have upon whom and under what conditions?" In this manner the study points to the direction in which future work on the effects of radio should move.

Radio research has long passed the point when isolated students could work on different problems. Only by cooperation of different skills and by utilization of all available material can we slowly gain a picture of what radio is doing to people in this country. Correspondingly, the acknowledgments to those who assisted in compiling this volume must be broad. The industry has contributed data and money; stations and schools have permitted us to use their facilities. Special thanks is due Dr. T. W. Adorno for his advice on all the studies in this volume related to music. All the authors are, or were at some time, staff members of Columbia University's Office of Radio Research. Each has worked on these studies far beyond the requirements of official duties.

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by Rudolf Arnheim and Martha Collins Bayne

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*FOREIGN LANGUAGE BROADCASTS OVER
LOCAL AMERICAN STATIONS*

A Study of a Special Interest Program

by Rudolf Arnheim and Martha Collins Bayne

INTRODUCTION

ONE of the problems with which the American system of broadcasting is faced arises from the necessity to conciliate the public service character of broadcasts and the commercial requirements of their sponsors. The advertiser necessarily wants the largest possible audience to listen to his program. This might lead to the neglect of minorities who call for special interest programs without furnishing the large market to which the advertiser feels he is entitled. The lack of "high grade" programs is to be understood as resulting from this dilemma.

But it is not always the case that the problem of special interest programs applies to sophisticated minorities. In the case of foreign language programs, for instance, the advertiser who wants to sell his goods to people who still speak European languages must generally face an audience of lower economic and educational status than the average popu-

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lation. And at a time when the country is most interested in speeding up the assimilation of its national minorities who have recently immigrated, the advertiser unconsciously retards this process by utilizing the national feelings of these groups as a sales appeal for his products.

The following paper presents available evidence on this problem of foreign language programs over local American stations. The efforts toward clarification have extended over a number of years and it is through a coincidence that they have acquired at this moment a certain degree of timeliness. In 1938 the Federal Writers Project of New Jersey, together with the Office of Radio Research, conducted a survey of the listening and reading habits of the immigrant population.¹ At that time the main interest was to compare the role of radio and the newspapers. When the returns were analyzed, it became clear that differences in the listening habits of the various nationalities could not be explained without referring to the actual supply and content of the programs on the air. In looking for such information, no really satisfactory material was found. In 1939 and 1940 data became available as to the total amount of broadcasts in the various languages, but the psychological implications of such data were rather meager. Finally, it was decided that at least a rough content analysis of the major available programs was indispensable for an intelligent understanding of the whole matter.

Thus, during the week of February 13 through February 19, 1941, 59 listening posts were set up throughout

¹ A report by Charles Churchill will be published in another context.

the United States. After a good deal of pre-testing, a questionnaire was developed which was to be filled in by specially appointed listeners, under the direction of their regional supervisors.² On the basis of the best available information, a representative sample of programs to be listened to was selected. Slightly more than 800 hours of foreign language programs were covered by this survey. Table 1a gives the number of hours included in our survey for each language and each area. Table 1b indicates the total number of hours which, according to a previous survey, were broadcast during this period; it will be seen that our survey covers about half the total supply, and that in some cases the number of broadcasting hours dealt with in our survey turned out to be even higher than the number of hours given in the best previous estimate. Our selection was made so that preference was given to those programs which were broadcast with certain regularity and continuity, on the assumption that a scattered fifteen minutes here and there would have little importance.

Only about ten listening hours (about one per cent of the schedule outlined in the beginning of the study) were not listened to because of minor misunderstandings or administrative accidents. Each listener and local supervisor who felt that he could contribute observations and comments was asked to do so. Summaries of these remarks are inserted as illustrative examples throughout the survey wherever they contain information about the specific topic and language.

² See Appendix I.

TABLE IA.—BROADCASTING HOURS COVERED BY THIS SURVEY

<i>Area</i>	<i>Italian</i>	<i>Polish</i>	<i>Spanish</i>	<i>Yiddish</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Lithuanian</i>	<i>Total hours</i>
New York, Metropolitan . .	129:10	48:00	10:15	61:30	39:35		288:30
Buffalo, N. Y.	7:05	18:15					25:20
Detroit, Mich.	12:30	44:20			2:30		59:20
Chicago, Ill.	29:00	69:30			11:30	21:00	131:00
Philadelphia, Pa.	30:30	9:30		16:00	12:00		68:00
Boston, Mass.	13:35						13:35
Scranton, Pa.	6:00						6:00
New Haven, Conn.	19:45						19:45
Milwaukee, Wis.		11:30			10:00		21:30
Texas			76:25				76:25
Jerome, Ariz.			12:20				12:20
California	21:30		60:00				81:30
Total hours	269:05	201:05	159:00	77:30	75:35	21:00	803:15

TABLE 1B.—BEST ESTIMATE OF TOTAL AMOUNT OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE BROADCASTING HOURS ON THE AIR DURING THE TEST WEEK

<i>Area</i>	<i>Italian</i>	<i>Polish</i>	<i>Spanish</i>	<i>Yiddish</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Lithuanian</i>	<i>All others</i>	<i>Total hours</i>
New York, Metropolitan . . .	134:36	33:49	16:49	84:31	36:55	1:30	25:00	333:10
Buffalo, N. Y. . . .	7:00	11:45						18:45
Detroit, Mich. . .	6:30	31:45		2:45	4:00	:15	11:25	56:40
Chicago, Ill.	38:45	92:45	1:00	10:30	10:30	22:30	65:15	241:15
Philadelphia, Pa. .	39:00	16:45		17:00	12:30	2:15	3:00	90:30
Boston, Mass. . . .	18:15	1:30		2:00		1:30	6:45	30:00
Scranton, Pa.	1:30	14:30					1:00	17:00
New Haven, Conn. .	17:00	1:15					:45	19:00
Milwaukee, Wis. . .	3:15	18:45			11:45		8:15	44:00
Texas			105:30					105:30
Jerome, Ariz. . . .			12:20					12:20
California	47:15		89:40	10:40			51:10	198:45
Baltimore, Md. . .	4:50	4:50		2:45	:15		3:35	16:15
Rest of country . .	40:00	64:20	39:33	5:40	13:09	1:30	110:22	274:34
Total hours	357:56	291:59	264:52	137:51	89:04	29:30	286:32	1457:44

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group. No such reports on Lithuanian programs are given because of the small number of hours covered. The reader will have to keep in mind the difference between the well-established statistical data and these incidental observations, which necessarily have a subjective element. The authors are indebted to the director of Columbia University's Office of Radio Research for his guidance during the collection, analysis and interpretation of the material.³

PROGRAM CONTENT

The General Structure of Foreign Language Radio Programs

A statistical analysis of our program sheets strikes a difficulty of material significance. The traditional notion of "program" which we generally associate with the network stations' broadcasts breaks down with this kind of broadcast. Less than one-third of the time is taken up by the customary program units. More than two-thirds of the time is devoted to what is called "participating programs." These are broadcasts filled in by the station as a background to commercial spot announcements. No regular unit of time can be perceived. There is no constant association between the program and the commercial announcement which follows or precedes it. The Spanish language stations are most outstanding for this type of participating program, and only in the case of the

³ The statistical analysis of the returns was carried through by Edward Suchman, whose collaboration was extremely valuable.

Lithuanian programs do the sponsored units cover more than half of the time investigated. Details can be seen in Table 2.

These participating programs are not identical with the programs customarily called "sustaining" by the networks. They lack their unity and continuity. Only in a small group of borderline cases is this different. For example, there are certain dramatic programs which are broadcast with regularity, but even then the sponsors shift frequently. The main distinction seems to be the one between programs which are organized and sponsored by outside agencies and that material which the station, itself, furnishes; in this latter case, scarcely any program policy is visible, and the haphazard program material has the character of fill-ins.⁴

⁴ This situation is reflected in the impressions which our listeners got from the general set-up of the programs. Their observations may be boiled down in this way. Normally, a certain length of time is dedicated each day at a given hour to the foreign language broadcast, and it has a constant name, for instance, "The Sunshine Hour." But this does not necessarily mean that the program regularly offered under such a constant heading really represents an organic unity. It does so, for example, in the case of a German program which consists of one solid unit led by one announcer. It regularly offers a shopping guide, the weather forecast, a news bulletin and musical selections from records. Some Italian programs, on the contrary, are obviously patched up to satisfy the requirements of a large number of different commercial sponsors. They are divided into small sections of from 5 to 35 minutes each, and these periods are bought by various commercial enterprises. Each of these sections has its own theme song taken from Italian music, some have their own announcers and also special titles referring to the product of the sponsor. The result is a rather awkward conglomeration of news, music, drama, medical advice, news and music, over and over again. As one listener from the Southwest reports, the system seems to be that the stations sell relatively large amounts of time on a long term basis to private agents (45 minutes a day are sold to a local Italian newspaper) who in turn partly parcel the time out to commercial sponsors, partly run the programs themselves on the basis of dedications and of short advertisements from a large number of firms, some of which recur every day and some not. Listeners repeatedly comment on the overcrowding of programs with advertisements.

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TABLE 2.—DISTRIBUTION OF TIME GIVEN TO SPONSORED AND PARTICIPATING PROGRAMS IN SIX LANGUAGES

	<i>Per cent sponsored</i>	<i>Per cent participating</i>	<i>Total per cent</i>	<i>Total hours</i>
German	22.8	77.2	100.0	75:35
Italian	46.8	53.2	100.0	269:05
Yiddish	21.6	78.4	100.0	77:30
Lithuanian	54.8	45.2	100.0	21:00
Polish	26.4	73.6	100.0	201:05
Spanish	17.5	82.5	100.0	159:00
Total per cent	31.4	68.6	100.0	803:15

The two types of programs, or rather, the two ways in which radio time is spent, are markedly different in content. Musical programs are most likely to be of the participating type, whereas dramatic programs are most likely to be sponsored. News and talks are about equally divided between the two types. For details see Table 3.

TABLE 3.—DISTRIBUTION OF TIME BETWEEN SPONSORED AND PARTICIPATING PROGRAMS FOR FIVE PROGRAM CONTENTS

	<i>Per cent sponsored</i>	<i>Per cent participating</i>	<i>Total per cent</i>	<i>Total hours</i>
Musical	22.6	77.4	100.0	585:50
News	49.7	50.3	100.0	68:48
Drama	64.4	35.6	100.0	97:08
Talks	45.0	55.0	100.0	30:45
Others	46.1	53.9	100.0	20:44
Total per cent	31.4	68.6	100.0	803:15

As the majority of radio time on foreign language stations is given over to participating programs, and as they, in turn, are mostly musical programs, we are not surprised to see that 73 per cent of all the radio time covered by our study is devoted to music. From other studies it is known that

slightly less than 50 per cent of all radio time on network stations and slightly less than two-thirds of all radio time on independent stations (which would include most of the foreign language stations) is spent on musical items. The foreign language programs thus cover more music than any other type of program on American stations. Insofar as the slow decline of the share of music over American stations during the last decade is considered a sign of progress, it might be said that foreign language programs are now at the stage at which American programs found themselves in their infancy.

From Table 4 it can be seen that there are considerable national differences in program content. Ninety-one per cent of the German programs consists of musical items, but only 56 per cent of the Lithuanian programs is spent on music. The only other considerable block of time can be found in the 23 per cent of dramatic programs in Italian broadcasts. News programs are especially scarce on German programs, which devote only 2 per cent of their time to them; they are not much more numerous on Spanish stations, which devote 4 per cent of their time to news. Relatively the largest amount of news can be found on Lithuanian programs. These stations also broadcast the greatest amount of talks (13.5 per cent of their total time). "Other" programs are quizzes, interviews and a few long invitations to local affairs, which are a cross between a plug and an institutional talk.

For a detailed study of the time distribution itself, the

TABLE 4.—DISTRIBUTION OF TIME SPENT ON DIFFERENT PROGRAM CONTENTS FOR SIX LANGUAGES
(per cent)

	<i>German</i>	<i>Italian</i>	<i>Yiddish</i>	<i>Polish</i>	<i>Lithuanian</i>	<i>Spanish</i>	<i>Total</i> <i>per cent</i>
Musical	91.0	61.3	68.1	73.3	55.8	88.1	72.9
News	2.0	9.2	11.3	11.9	15.1	4.2	8.6
Drama	1.3	23.3	6.4	11.1	10.4	2.6	12.1
Talks	4.5	4.2	8.4	1.9	13.5	3.1	3.8
Others	1.2	2.0	5.8	1.8	5.2	2.0	2.6
Total per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total hours	75:35	269:05	77:30	201:05	21:00	159:00	803:15

reader can turn to Table I of Appendix II, where information on type, content and language of the programs is listed.

Before going into a more detailed analysis of the main program types, three brief remarks of a general character may help to set the stage. It is clear from our listeners' observations that most foreign language programs, and in particular the musical ones, typically conjure up a rather anachronistic picture of the home country. Even apart from changes in the political situation, they reflect very little of what goes on at present in the various "mother countries." They suggest, rather, a dreaming back to that Germany or Poland or other homeland that the listeners left many years ago, and which by virtue of time and distance has become to them some sort of earthly paradise. German programs revive the social life of the lower middle class in the period of Imperial Germany, the Germany of the beer-cellars, the men's choral societies, the rifle-clubs, the birthday parties, especially in the smaller towns and villages. In Italian programs the appeal is often more of a regional than of a national character. This is not surprising since love for, say, Sicily or for the particular town or village of Sicily from which the Italian immigrant has come is probably greater than love for Italy itself.

This retrospective character of the foreign language programs is closely connected with the fact that, in general, they clearly are directed to the older people who have not yet lost contact with the language and are emotionally tied to the mother country. Little effort is shown to catch the

interest of the younger people who are born in this country or at least brought up under the constant influence of American language and customs. Italian programs in the Middle West, for example, showed no children's hours or other features specifically appealing to the youth. No sporting news was included in the programs.⁵ A Polish announcer told listeners with noticeable pride that he had received a letter from a young fellow who acknowledged his pleasure in listening to Polish music. This was so exceptional that the announcer returned to this fact several times. But no effort at all to influence the younger Polish generation was traceable to the radio. Only for Spanish programs in the West did our listeners conclude that there is little distinction as to age groups and that young Mexicans as well as their older compatriots seem to listen to them.

In regard to social status, German broadcasts show—mainly by the types of products advertised in them—that they appeal to middle-class people. Italian programs seem to go mainly to people of a somewhat lower income group, and similarly in the Spanish programs there were frequent references to credit, low price, and so on.

Musical Programs

A special record was kept of all musical selections heard over these stations during the week of the investigation, and

⁵ Attending a variety and drama show produced in West Chicago, our reporter found some three hundred people, among whom the middle-aged were in the majority. Entire rows of chairs were occupied by gray-haired men with their wives and daughters; very few young men were present. Women—all duly chaperoned—constituted a majority of the audience.

each interviewer was asked to distinguish between those selections which were national in character and those which were not.⁶ Table 5 shows that the overwhelming majority of the musical selections fall in the "national" category.

TABLE 5.—PROPORTION OF MUSICAL SELECTIONS WHICH ARE NATIONAL IN CHARACTER

<i>Language</i>	<i>Proportion national (per cent)</i>	<i>Total number of selections counted</i>
German	92.3	693
Italian	86.1	2,084
Yiddish	75.8	675
Lithuanian	84.8	148
Polish	88.3	1,908
Spanish	93.2	109
Total	87.2	5,617

The fact that—as Table 4 showed—a majority of foreign broadcasts are devoted to music should not lead to the conclusion that just entertainment per se, intended to give a pleasant and cheerful pastime, is the only offering of these programs. It is necessary to look more closely into the kind of music performed in order to find out what sort of satisfaction it may furnish and what influence it may exert. In this connection our listeners' remarks on musical programs may prove to be quite enlightening. They feel that popular music of a cheap, old-fashioned type prevails, and the element of emotion and sentiment seems even more stressed than melody and rhythm. In fact, songs are most frequently

⁶ The term "national" is used in a broad sense, referring to music sung in the national language, composed by a national composer or dealing with or referring to national topics.

offered, while instrumental music is rare. Nearly all the music is transcribed. An exception to this rule is reported only in the case of Spanish programs in the Southwest, but as the music on these programs generally is rather bad Mexican music offered by non-professionals,—in one instance by a quartet of four boys who appeared on the air for the first time—the benefit of this is doubtful. Songs are sung in the foreign language, even when the music has some other national origin, e.g., American.

Here is a typical listener-description of the music offered on a German program: "Songs of a popular type are given which are generally thirty or forty years old. Viennese waltzes play an important part, and if a piece of modern dance music wanders by accident into this company, it is a fox trot, which 'brings back memories' of not later than 1920. As to songs, there are nostalgic love songs such as 'Gardener's wife, why do you weep?'; melodramas: bride kneeling at mother's grave to ask her blessing; idyllic countryside romance: the Black Forest mill; wanderer songs; gypsy romanticism; drinking-songs and the crude humor of certain student songs about mothers-in-law abandoned to robbers in the forest, and about corpses rescued from the Berlin 'Suicide Canal.' A great proportion of the songs is very well known by every German and many of them are of a deplorably low level of taste. There are, of course, the Strauss waltzes and occasionally a piece by Grieg, Schubert, or even a short and light melody by Mozart. Among the (not very frequently given) military marches, there are

sometimes the beautiful marches of the 18th century (Frederick the Great). There are almost no good folk songs at all. The melodramatic romance of the worst type prevails. Associations with homeland idylls are stressed by announcements like this: 'Imagine yourself to be on the market square of a small German town and to be listening to the piece "Sparrows on the Roofs"!' Sometimes pieces are played whose composers or performers are now banned as Jewish in the mother country, for instance songs by Richard Tauber or music by Offenbach or Mendelssohn. Occasionally strictly patriotic music, mainly military marches, is offered. On the other hand, one program of patriotic American tunes was offered during the test period."

Italian music is of a popular type, and includes Neapolitan songs, Roman and Florentine "couplets" and "stornelli" as well as romantic songs and operatic arias. But also some American music is included. Polish programs abound in dance music. Jazz songs are performed in Polish and therefore often announced as Polish music. Good Polish folk dance music, such as mazurkas, *krakowiak*, is not used. A rather poor type of old-fashioned polkas and "oberkas" prevails. The translation of popular American or English songs into Spanish sometimes produced a curious mixture of antagonistic national characteristics, for instance in the case of "Roll Out the Barrel."

Good folk songs as well as classical music are neglected throughout the foreign language broadcasts. A low level of musical culture results. Some exception is made by the Jew-

ish music, which comes from Polish, Russian, Yiddish and Hebrew sources. It is mainly popular and cheap music, but a certain number of good folk songs and religious hymns are also offered.⁷

The picture which emerges from our listeners' reports shows that the whole question of music on these foreign language programs is of a very complex nature. It is quite probable that the particular type of music offered is what really appeals most to the listeners. Music heard in one's youth has an everlasting emotional meaning to most people, and by bringing back the tunes which accompanied daily life and embellished festivities in the home country many years ago the strongest possible spell is probably exerted. Old times are conjured up and the memory tie is fastened. Investigations beyond the limits of our present study would be needed to find out to what extent old-time music is favored on the foreign language programs because this is just what listeners want to get and what they cannot get from any other source, or to what extent a deliberate policy is involved. Still it seems safe to maintain that these musical programs represent an extremely efficient instrument for holding the national minorities together, especially as influences of an emotional character will generally prove to be more efficient than, say, intellectual reasoning, to people of a low cultural level.

⁷ External factors may influence the choice of music. There is an ever-increasing difficulty in getting records from the home countries. It is also reported that some sort of a renaissance of classical music arose from the fact that many of the Italian popular songs are ASCAP controlled and therefore unavailable to certain stations.

News Programs
(*Statistical Approach*)

News programs contain about four times as many foreign as domestic items. A checkup made by listening to news programs over a random number of small stations, at the same time that the listeners were listening to news programs over the foreign-language station, showed a ratio of one to one between domestic and foreign items on English news programs. This shows that the foreign language news bulletins, rather than giving regular information on American affairs to people who prefer to hear it in their own language, complement American news fare with a greater supply of items from foreign sources. Specifically, the proportion of foreign items in the foreign language news programs covered by our survey can be seen from Table 6.

TABLE 6.—PROPORTION OF NEWS ITEMS OF FOREIGN ORIGIN IN NEWS PROGRAMS

<i>Language</i>	<i>Per cent of foreign items</i>	<i>Total number of items covered</i>
German	92.1	89
Italian	84.2	1,507
Yiddish	92.9	57
Lithuanian	58.3	144
Polish	76.1	1,400
Spanish	80.3	443
Total	80.0	3,640

About 16 per cent of the news programs were carried by commentators. None of them were to be found on German or Lithuanian programs, and there was only one news com-

mentator who broadcast in Spanish. Nine per cent of the Italian programs were commentator programs, and 75 per cent of the Jewish programs used commentators.

To learn the editorial policy of these commentators it would be necessary to have the transcripts of their programs; our listener-reports were not designed to furnish material for such a qualitative analysis.

Our listeners were asked to record the news items broadcast by their stations according to source of news and topic. Numerous additional studies could be made on the basis of the material which is now available on these points. As an example of the findings which might be expected, we present here the distribution for the three languages for which we dispose of the largest number of items: Italian, Polish and Spanish. It will be seen how strongly the three types of programs differ.

On the Italian programs, news from London is about as frequent as news from Rome and more frequent than news from Berlin, while on the Polish and Spanish programs London news has by far the lead. If we add together Berlin and Rome news we find that Italians have more than twice as many items coming from Berlin and Rome as the Spanish and the Polish. We also find that Italian news programs give London news as against Rome-Berlin news in a proportion of about 2 to 3, while on the Spanish programs news from London and Rome-Berlin sources is nearly balanced, and on the Polish programs news from London is given almost twice as frequently as news from Rome or Berlin. The

TABLE 7.—DISTRIBUTION OF NEWS ITEMS BY SOURCE OF ITEM FOR THREE LANGUAGES
(Per cent)

<i>Source of item</i>	<i>Italian</i>	<i>Polish</i>	<i>Spanish</i>
London	17	20	14
Berlin	11	5	5
Rome	16	6	7
Spain	2	2	4
Russia	1	1	1
Rest of Europe	16	22	18
China and Japan	4	4	2
Rest of Asia and rest of British Empire	4	3	3
Africa	5	3	3
Mexico	0.5	0.4	18
Rest of Latin America	0.5	0.6	1
U. S.—not local	10	10	10
U. S.—strictly local	6	10	12
Source unknown or not reported by listeners	7	13	2
Total	100	100	100

fact that news from London sources, in absolute terms, is somewhat less frequent on Spanish programs is probably due to the fact that in the Southwest (where the majority of the Spanish language stations is located) Europe is, on the whole, of less importance. Spanish programs give slightly more space to news from Spain than the other two language groups do, but their outstanding news source is Mexico. It is important to realize that, especially in the Southwest, the "home country" for the Spanish programs is definitely Mexico, and not Spain. Interestingly enough, news from Latin America is as scarce on Spanish programs as it is for programs in the other two languages.—Unfortunately we are not able to say whether the difference in unidentified sources

is due to the varying degrees of difficulties our listeners encountered in catching the source, or whether there are differences in policy and routine on the parts of the stations.

The question of news broadcasts is obviously of great practical importance, and only after careful study will it be possible to make generalizations. It is certainly very characteristic for German programs to refrain from broadcasting news (see Table 4), and there can be no doubt that this is a result of a systematic policy.

Our listeners have had varying impressions concerning the news which does come in. We summarize their reports here, stressing once more that the reader must distinguish clearly between our statistically reliable results and these listener reports, which do not necessarily have the dependability of a systematic analysis.

Listener Reports on News

News bulletins in foreign languages are of obvious importance for those members of the community whom a low cultural level, isolating group life, etc., keep away from a sufficient knowledge of the English language. In extreme cases, people may have to rely entirely on the foreign language radio bulletins as a source of political information and influence, because they are not even able to read the local newspapers in their mother tongue.⁸

⁸ Shortly after the outbreak of war in September 1939, it was observed in a New England city that groups of Polish laborers were standing on the steps of fraternal buildings while one of them read the news from a Polish paper. At this time stations arranged the broadcasting of news bulletins in the Polish language.

Any examination of news programs in foreign languages has to start from the question of whether the political attitude of the corresponding "mother countries" do or do not share the American political viewpoint. Especially on the German and Italian programs, the news is very cautiously handled. Those in charge are obviously aware that they are treading on thin ice and are uneasy about it.⁹ Bulletins are explicitly presented as "International News Service translated into German," "without any personal comment," "literally translated," "word for word," etc. These statements are somewhat misleading, for messages are usually given in condensed form and the very selection of the stories and of the sentences actually translated and quoted involves a certain amount of editorial work, however cursorily done. Again, the date line of information given in a news bulletin is not always a reliable indication of the compiler's intention. News from British sources may still be selected with a view to present facts unfavorable to the Allies. In extreme cases, a date line may even cover information which could not possibly be expected from such a source; for example, on a German program an item "from London" reported the

⁹ It appears that the present cautious policy is the result of previous troubles. Residents of a Middlewestern city pointed out that they had observed a marked change in Italian news programs recently, and that an open pro-Italian and pro-Axis bias which was noticeable before has to a considerable extent been eliminated. From a New England town it is reported that troubles with the government induced one station to drop news broadcasts and to appoint a political "switch-censor" for all other announcements. The listener goes on to say that several years ago Italian programs were backed financially through the Italian consulates. At that time, Fascism was openly praised in these broadcasts and disparaging remarks against American institutions and newspapers occurred.

“tremendous military effect” of German raids over Britain. In an Italian bulletin a report “from London” of an RAF raid on Ostend said: “No military objectives were hit; the damage was slight.”

The very emphasis of the announcer’s voice, the noticeable glee when he is able to report a German military or diplomatic success, may essentially influence the effect of such a bulletin. As one report about Italian programs puts it: “News of Italian local successes taken from the official Italian communiqués is often read with a great deal of emphasis and a flourish of adverbs that characterize the modern Italian journalistic style.”

The structure of the news bulletin, the grouping of the items, etc., may lead to a slanting effect which would not appear from an analysis of the single items offered. The following description of an Italian news program may possibly represent an example of this kind: “The announcer reads a rather impartial selection of news items in order to advertise wines, and so on. One has the impression that the program has ended and, instead, a Dr. M. is introduced who proceeds to announce short items of British origin. The program is interrupted again by an advertisement for eye-glasses, and finally comes the news of Axis origin which is often dealt with extensively.”

More specifically, German news (from the East Coast stations) was described in the following way: “News from domestic sources is scarce and often stresses negative aspects, such as extensive reports on the Krivitsky case, lengthy quo-

tation of the anti-U. S. platform of a Japanese society, etc. Even news reports from a British source contain for the most part facts favorable to the Axis. Sometimes Hitler is referred to as Der Fuehrer."

Observations on Italian news bulletins in the Middle West lead to the following conclusions. There is a definite tendency to give priority to Rome news and to quote Italian and occasionally German writers and papers. Items from Axis sources are usually given more in detail, while those from the Allied capitals are often compressed into a few words or a single sentence. Care is taken always to present the two conflicting versions of controversial reports ("Rome says . . . but Athens denies . . .") but that is often done in a quite perfunctory way. The tacit assumption of the American radio to the effect that a British victory is desirable does not transpire from the Italian bulletins. Reports from the Far East—a topic in which Italian interests are possibly felt to be less involved—share the American viewpoint. Domestic news is dealt with shortly, but on the whole fairly. In general: though a certain pro-Axis bias is apparent here and there, it is clear that it is the settled policy of the stations to tone it down.

From the West Coast it was reported that Italian news bulletins were clearly different from the American pro-British attitude on the one hand and from the violently pro-Italian tendencies of local Italian newspapers on the other, one of which happens to be the sponsor of one of the radio news programs. East Coast Italian programs sometimes

frankly admitted unpleasant facts about the mother country, such as the progress of Greek troupes and successes of native rebels in Ethiopia. One program showed an advanced degree of Americanization in the news bulletins, which were given not in Italian but in English, and which instead of neglecting home news stressed local events. One of the Italian news programs in the Middle West seems to be offered in a sincerely pro-American way. The announcer quoted American sources, usually began his broadcast with a bulletin from Washington, spoke of Mr. Roosevelt as "our President" and of America as "our country." Finally, there is, on the East Coast, one Italian program openly anti-Fascist, anti-Franco and anti-Axis.

As to the possible origin of the news, one listener compared Italian news bulletins with short-wave news from Rome during the same time and came to the conclusion that it was unlikely that any items had been taken from that source.

Polish newscasters share the opinions expressed by their colleagues on the programs in English. They report about the activities of the Poles in Great Britain and stress the merits of Polish fliers working with the RAF and the Polish women working for the British Red Cross. The political situation is sometimes viewed from a specific pro-Polish, patriotic standpoint. One commentator referred to the Germans as "the old Knights of the Cross"—a term which is likely to arouse hatred in every Pole conscious of his country's history.

Yiddish news announcers and commentators also show themselves eager to stress the importance of British victories and United States help: they express repugnance for the Nazi-terror and refer to the anti-American spirit of Hitler sympathizers in this country. They are anti-German and pro-Roosevelt. Spanish programs also share American sympathies: the war situation is presented from the pro-British viewpoint, and apparently there is even less effort than on any American newscast to balance the news by giving reports from both sides. Many stories with a Mexican date line were taken from a local Mexican paper.

Dramatizations

Of the dramatizations covered by this survey, 81 per cent were serial dramas and 19 per cent were independent dramatizations. About one-third of all dramatic programs had an

TABLE 8.—LOCALE OF DRAMATIZATION

<i>Locale</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Italian</i>	<i>Yiddish</i>	<i>Lithu- anian</i>	<i>Polish</i>	<i>Span- ish</i>	<i>Total per cent</i>
America	^a	32.8	72.2	^a	50.6	8	39.2
Mother country		39.2	11.1	^a	26.4	46	34.6
Other		28.0	16.7		23.0	46	26.2
Total per cent		100.0	100.0		100.0	100	100.0
Total number of dramatizations	3	268	18	8	91	13	401

^a Too few cases for the calculation of percentages.

American setting. One-third were set in the mother country, and the rest were located in other countries, mostly of an exotic character. Table 8 shows the settings of all the pro-

grams by nationality. A rough classification of the content of these dramatizations is given in Table 9.

TABLE 9.—CONTENT OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE RADIO DRAMATIZATIONS BY LANGUAGE OF BROADCAST

<i>Types of dramatization</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Italian</i>	<i>Yiddish</i>	<i>Lithuanian</i>	<i>Polish</i>	<i>Spanish</i>	<i>Total per cent</i>
Historical	^b	9	12	20	8	23	10
Religious		11					8
Mystery		11	12		4	8	9
Romance		17	12		33	8	19
Family		20	35	30	16		19
Doctors		1					1
Humorous		28	23	50	32	54	30
Other		3	6		7	7	4
Total per cent . .		100	100	100	100	100	100
Total number of types ^a	3	324	17	10	91	13	458

^a Some of the total numbers of types given here are higher than the corresponding total numbers of dramatizations contained in Table 8, because in several cases more than one type referred to one dramatization, e.g., in the case of a "humorous family play."

^b Too few cases for the calculation of percentages.

It will be noted that a considerable number of these dramatizations are humorous in character. While humorous sketches play an important part in American programs also, one might speculate that immigrants, living in rather difficult circumstances, have a special desire for amusing plays. Before attempting any real interpretation, it would be necessary to know more about the kind of humor conveyed by these programs. As the problem was not anticipated, our information is too scanty to go further into this point. Religious topics appear only in the Italian dramas. This seems to be related more to the national than to the Catholic

background of this group of listeners, because otherwise it would appear on the Polish programs as well. The Polish dramatizations are distinguished mostly for their romantic implications. The Jewish programs are outstanding for their family stories, but there are not enough of them to allow many inferences to be made.

Again we add some general information on these dramatizations furnished us by our listeners.

Dramatic programs, according to them, are generally serials, similar to the "soap operas" on American programs. Sometimes they are reduced to five-minute telegram plays. Italian programs cultivate a type of melodramatic skit in the historical setting of the old Italy of the Doges or the Kingdom of Naples. The stories are based on popular Italian and French fiction of the past century (Eugene Sue, Dumas pere, Xavier de Montepin, Francesco Mastriani, etc.). Men wearing black masks, romantic bandits, members of the "mafia" and "camorra" are the leading characters—and so are orphans, derelicts, and the like. Religious serials dealing with the life of St. Francis of Assisi or the Confessions of St. Augustine are of the same operatic character. Another type of drama is characterized by titles such as "The Cursed Daughter" presenting an honest father's struggle for his daughter's virginal honor in an old-fashioned Italian country-life setting. Others, again, have mystery and gangster plots: Italo-Americans hunting for stolen wills and ransoms through the streets of New York or Chicago. They are interesting mainly because of a typical mixture of Italian

and badly pronounced English words. There are also a good many Italo-American stories in which the plot centers around an immigrant who has, often, left his wife and children behind, and who is fighting against both hardship and nostalgia for the old country. While the younger generation is presented as highly Americanized, old people cling to the manners of the old country and never overcome their feeling that they are living "abroad." At a climax of one story, an old man whose daughter returned to him thanked the Madonna for the miracle and exclaimed: "Joy came back to the old emigrant's heart!"

A prevalence of southern Italian dialects, especially in comedies, corresponds not only to the fact that a majority of the Italian immigrants are Southerners, but also to the theatrical situation in the mother country where the more genuine and genial productions are given by Neapolitan and Roman dialect troupes.

Yiddish sketches also, mainly crime and mystery stories, reflect the curious blend of English and foreign language typical for the linguistic as well as the mental situation of the group served by the programs. Polish serials are of equally bad taste, sometimes performed in good Polish, but not particularly revealing for the specific problems of the Polish immigrants, whose sensational and lachrymose adventures they present. Spanish dramatic radio production, in the Southwest, turned out to be scarce. One serial dealt with Mexican history of the time of Cortez. Another offered humorous happenings in the Sahara desert.

German programs seem to be extremely lacking in the dramatic field. The only program of this kind offered during the test period was an "American Presidents" series. One listener described the Andrew Jackson program as anti-democratic and anti-British; it was ironic about Frenchmen and stigmatized "parliamentary intrigues." The broadcast on Monroe was "more positive, except for another satirization of Frenchmen, in a scene on the acquisition of Louisiana." Another listener commented more positively about another program of the same series: "The American patriotic side was clearly expressed in the Jefferson program and democracy strongly emphasized." The play ended with an invitation to the audience to let the station know what they thought about this program and how they liked it.

Talks and Other Programs

Little of the time on foreign language stations is left for anything besides music, news and dramatizations. The few programs which one might consider informational in character do not permit a breakdown by nationality. Only about 50, of more than 800 hours, were devoted to talks and similar programs. Just for the record we add here the topics which were reported.

	<i>Number of items</i>
Religious talks	26
Family problems	23
Health advice	21
General information	12
Civics and American history	12
Straight education	4
Home economics	3
Other topics	11

Our listeners report that religious services and talks generally stick strictly to their subjects; but the main topic of one sermon in German was "endurance until final victory." Mention of the present war was carefully avoided in this speech, only the "present difficult days" were spoken of. The World War of 1914 was, however, referred to repeatedly, and the point was stressed that the "old homeland" had not been able to last it out at that time because of the overwhelming power of her enemies. This was the method used to make every listener draw his own conclusions as to what, in the preacher's mind, had to be endured today and what "final victory" he was alluding to. The audience was admonished not to lose hope or faith in God, and to endure and persevere.

In Yiddish religious talks the Rabbi or Jewish Philosopher mentioned sometimes the hardships of the Jews in German-occupied countries and the good opportunities for them in the United States. Polish programs presented Catholic services as well as a weekly program of the anti-Catholic Bible Students Association. Spanish religious programs turned out to be not largely Catholic. Most of them were from Protestant churches where, however, many Catholic ceremonies are used.

Humanitarian, medical, and similar advice is given by many of the foreign language broadcasts. A Yiddish program presents a mediation board of "Peace and Justice." Quizzes give some interesting information about the audience. An Italian quiz program in the Middle West showed that house-

wives seemed to be much at their ease with English, while occasionally they used a quaint mixture of English and southern Italian dialect. Some of the questions had a mild connection with Americanism, for instance, "Who was the greatest president of the United States?" Topics of an East Coast Italian quiz program for children were the purity of the Italian language in Tuscany, the leaning tower of Pisa, the exchange of lira, rouble, franc, dollar, etc. One question asked for a famous Italian conductor now living in the United States. Yiddish quizzes were mostly concerned with Jewish questions such as: "Which Popes had Jewish advisers?"—"Who are the three Jewish classical composers?"

The Yiddish programs contained some talks on exclusively Jewish problems, e.g., a governor's speech about the rescue activities of a Jewish committee or an interview in the building of another organization of this kind.

The Sunday talks of an Italo-American speaker on an Eastern program are described as a clear attempt to Americanize listeners by interpreting local politics. On another Eastern program a talk sponsored by a garment workers' union expressed the view that "Italy's sad plight is hard on all those who love Italy and are proud to be Italians." Such writers as Dorothy Thompson were praised, who view the situation objectively and liberally, and the speaker was confident that if Italians in this country were persecuted, President Roosevelt would stand up against such undemocratic procedure. "Italian boys don't like to fight a war which they never wanted."

At this point a few listeners' remarks on announcers may be inserted. Generally the English announcer speaks first and then gives the floor to his foreign language colleague. A German program in the Middle West, for example, starts daily with its theme song, a military march, then the English announcer says: "You are listening now to a program of musical records which will bring back memories to many of our citizens; your German announcer is Harold B.—Good morning, Harry!" German announcer chimes in quickly, in an ingratiating tone: "Good morning, Frank, and good morning, my *dear* radio listeners: the Musical Hour *greet*s you!" While the cozy intimacy of this announcer's voice was stressed by his Saxon accent, another announcer, on the East Coast, "had the voice of a typical Prussian sergeant major giving his announcements the flavor of barrack-yard commands." In general, northern German accents prevailed. The language used in the announcements abounds in the cheap, sentimental clichés to be found in housewives' magazines. Many Italian announcers had a Southern accent. Their expressions are those which were in vogue in Italy thirty or forty years ago, interspersed with anglicisms. One announcer in New England revealed by minor errors in the endings that he had learned Italian since childhood. In the Middle West, announcers—both men and women—were Italo-Americans with a full command of the Italian language. The style of the announcements was usually correct, sometimes old-fashioned, in one instance extremely poor and faulty. In one case, an announcer who gave announcements

also in English, spoke Italian with an American accent. Yiddish announcements have a large number of intermingled English words, partly owing to the fact that Yiddish is a composite language, rapidly changed by its linguistic environment. The Polish spoken was generally bad, uneducated, and vulgarly pronounced. Some announcers have simply forgotten Polish although their pronunciation remained pleasantly pure. But for one New England program good Polish of the Warsaw type was reported, with occasional Americanizations. The Spanish language used in the Southwest was not pure Castilian.

APPEALS

The Products Advertised

More than 5,000 products and services were advertised on the programs included in the survey. The list of these products and the frequency in which they appeared are summarized in Table 10.

This table can be viewed from several aspects. The merchandising expert might want to compare it with what he knows about advertisements on American programs. Going back to our files, he could even study the individual companies investing in foreign language advertising. Another view is a more social one. The customs and prevailing interests of the different nationalities come out quite neatly in the figures of this table. The Italian programs are especially de-

TABLE 10.—FREQUENCY IN WHICH DIFFERENT PRODUCTS ARE ADVERTISED IN SIX LANGUAGES
(Per cent)

<i>Products</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Italian</i>	<i>Yiddish</i>	<i>Lithuanian</i>	<i>Polish</i>	<i>Spanish</i>	<i>Total per cent</i>
Foods	4.3	22.3	18.2	6.1	8.2	10.2	13.5
Beverages	4.5	12.5	8.9	3.0	5.4	6.1	7.9
Furniture	13.7	10.7	6.5	8.3	14.7	8.7	11.3
Medicines	4.7	8.8	12.2	6.8	11.3	11.1	9.9
Movies	9.6	4.6	10.7	3.0	5.1	10.7	7.0
Prof. services	10.2	5.4	1.4	2.3	7.7	3.7	5.7
Clothes (men)	6.2	5.1	10.8	19.7	6.9	6.3	7.0
Clothes (women)	7.2	4.6	8.5	19.0	9.0	9.2	7.8
Cigars	0.4	4.5	0.3		1.1		1.7
Restaurants	5.9	1.0	4.5	3.0	0.5	5.8	2.6
Jewelry	4.1	2.1	0.2		4.9	3.1	3.0
Books, radios, etc.	5.5	1.9	1.8		1.9	1.7	2.1
Markets and stores	1.0	1.9	1.1	0.8	2.8	3.7	2.2
Candy and gum	0.2	1.5	3.9		0.2	0.2	1.0
Soaps	0.8	3.2	2.9		5.4	0.1	3.0
Travel agencies	12.1	0.5				0.1	1.4
Others	9.6	9.4	8.1	28.0	14.9	19.3	12.9
Total per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	512	1,492	646	132	1,509	833	5,124
Density (appeals per hour of broadcasting) ^a	6.8	5.6	8.3	6.3	7.5	5.2	6.4

^aThe average number of commercial announcements made during the programs is actually higher than this column indicates because each product or service advertised was counted only once for each program even though during the program it was announced several times.

voted to food and beverage products. For the Jewish programs foods and medicines are outstanding. The Lithuanian programs stress clothes; on the Polish programs furniture takes first place; on the Spanish programs movies come to the fore (movies are high on the Yiddish programs also); the German programs give services a high rank. It is impossible to go into all the details of this table; they must be left to the examination of the interested reader.

The outstanding feature of the table, from an administrative point of view, is the very great role played by travel agencies on the German programs. For all other languages travel agencies appear on not more than one-half of one per cent; but 12 per cent of all the advertisements on German stations come from travel agencies. The meaning of this becomes clear as soon as we add that these announcements are devoted nearly exclusively to contact with the mother country, i.e., to sending foodstuffs and money to Germany or to promoting re-emigration. For details see page 52.

One who undertakes to study foreign language programs from the point of view of minority assimilation is now approaching a point which should be of major interest. It is true that even for the musical programs, which prevail on the foreign language broadcasts, we were able to show that they are likely to awaken nostalgia by the tunes of the old country. But in the advertisements, which we now have to consider, strong national implications are much more palpable. And for a very good reason. The advertiser goes on the air in order to reach customers by means of a most successful

appeal. The assumption seems to be that the foreign language audience not only can be reached most efficaciously in its own language, but by appeals referring to its national particularities. It was found that 17 per cent of all the advertisements covered in some way made a national appeal. Before going into more systematic study of these appeals, it might be helpful to read a few remarks of our listeners on some general features of the commercials on foreign language programs.

Our listener reports show that foreign language programs abound in advertisements. Some programs are reported to spend 80 per cent of their time on advertisements. As one of our listeners observed, the frequency of commercials may perhaps be explained by the assumption that the listeners who want foreign language broadcasts have little choice of stations, so they are more willing to accept a larger number of advertisements than an American audience. (Still it remains to be seen whether beyond a certain saturation point commercials are not gradually losing their effect.) There seems to be a great deal of credulity, especially among the lower educated listeners; the radio announcer is considered to be in a position to know what is good.

There is a general appeal to the listeners which does not relate to the merits of the products, but to the fact that the manufacturer who provides entertainment for the listener deserves his gratitude. Announcers say: "A visit to our sponsors is acknowledgment of your appreciation of this program." Or: "Our programs are made possible by the cour-

tesy of the sponsoring firms. If you like the programs remember this fact when shopping." This method may lead to rather awkward results, as in the case of an Italian physician, who, after having given advice to pregnant women, suggested that the way for them to thank him was to drink more apéritifs.

Concerning Italian programs in the Southwest, it is reported that the proportion of advertisements and birthday dedications coming from smaller places exceeded the proportion of both the general and the Italian population living in these towns. The listener felt that if this were a general observation it might mean that radio plays a more important role in smaller places, at least as far as foreign language groups are concerned. In Yiddish announcements, proud Americanism can sometimes be found. "In the beautiful State of California, where under the world's most modern conditions B's vineyards are cultivated, vineyard workers go to their jobs with pleasure." Or: "Life is so beautiful in America that Palestine's sun will shine for you when you are drinking R's wines." Finally, it may be mentioned that one of the German programs on the East Coast announced repeatedly that its services were "available to all reputable business houses, but not for propaganda purposes of any kind."

National Appeals in Advertisements and Announcements

A more systematic analysis of national appeals on these programs must distinguish between commercial and non-commercial announcements. Non-commercial announcements

such as an appeal to come to the help of compatriots necessarily have national implications. This is partly true for commercial announcements also, e.g., for the advertisement of a picture house which specializes in films from the mother country, while, say, furniture does not have to, but *can* be advertised with special reference to the national minority. A preliminary statistical picture of the whole situation might be gained from Table II.

TABLE II.—NUMBER OF NATIONAL APPEALS IN 803 BROADCASTING HOURS

Advertisements of products or services	646
Movies and other commercial entertainment	176
Non-commercial entertainment	321
Serious meetings of national groups	58
Help to, or contact with, compatriots abroad	168
Total	1,369

The six language groups studied differ considerably according to the distribution of these appeals, as can be seen in Table 12. In this table, commercial entertainment, non-commercial entertainment, and "serious meetings" are combined into one group. The German programs are far in the lead with statements connecting the listener with the old country in the form of urging him to send money, foodstuffs, etc. The Spanish and Italian programs lead in appeals contained in advertisements of products. The Lithuanian and the Polish programs are outstanding for their invitations to entertainment and meetings.

There are probably different psychological implications in these appeals which will have to be followed up by direct

TABLE 12.—DISTRIBUTION OF THREE MAIN TYPES OF ANNOUNCEMENTS CONTAINING APPEALS, ACCORDING TO LANGUAGE OF PROGRAM

(per cent)

<i>Type of announcement</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Italian</i>	<i>Yiddish</i>	<i>Lithuanian</i>	<i>Polish</i>	<i>Spanish</i>	<i>Total</i>
Products and commercial services	46.4	59.5	46.5	20.3	25.8	68.0	47.6
Entertainment and meetings	25.9	33.7	36.7	76.6	58.3	31.4	40.5
Contacts abroad	27.7	6.8	16.8	3.1	15.9	0.6	11.9
Total per cent ..	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number ...	239	324	101	64	372	315	1,415

interviews with the audience. The effects of product and service advertisements are, so to speak, all contained in what the advertisement says. The effects of an invitation to a movie or social affair are only the beginning of a larger chain: their final effect depends completely upon what is done at the time of the event.

The appeal for help to and contact with compatriots abroad is still more complex. On the one hand it can be of a humanitarian nature, just as it goes out today to millions of Americans; or, on the other hand, it could be the strongest form of tie with the old country.

Product and Service Appeals

The appeals used in commercial advertisements of products and services can be further broken down into five groups. We have, first, those *advertisements which stress the national character of the product* being advertised, without other specification. This sort of advertisement recommends sausages, ham, meat, even permanent waves as German or

Polish. One typical advertisement on a German program appealed to the appreciation of "made-to-order" clothes, which is very strong in Germany where ready-made men's clothes are third-rate. There was also a typically German product to add to ground coffee, "Zichorienkaffee," catering to the traditional taste and preference of the German consumer. On the Italian programs, typical foodstuffs such as olive oil and spaghetti are offered, with appeals of this kind, and in the case of kosher products in Yiddish commercials the appeal to the specific customs of the group is almost automatic. Quite frequently, these announcements imply the suggestion that the national character of the products makes them superior. However, verbatim reports of all these ads would have to be available before a decision could be made of how often this implication is present.

Secondly, there are those *advertisements which explicitly refer to the old country*. Characteristic examples follow:

German-Americans as well as people in Germany have wine with their meals. It is a custom of the mother country.

If you want to taste old country sausage, try J.'s sausages. Just the same taste you are used to getting in Poland.

P. cigar—the kind you smoked in your own home town in Italy—and the same art used in making them as in Italy.

In a gown from S.'s bridal shop, a Lithuanian girl will look like a Lithuanian temple virgin of ancient history.

Surum Burum program with Lithuanian talent will remind the audience of the good old days in the old country.

If you want to wear typical Mexican costumes on charro days (fiesta) be sure and buy them at Paredos Dry Goods Store in Matamoros. Mexicans should wear typical Mexican costumes.

Another commercial from a Spanish program gives a curious example of the particular situation of American-Mexicans in the Southwest. Certain food products were guaranteed to be true Mexican dishes, but, it was added, "they can be made quickly, not like back home." The homeland appeal is linked up with a reference to this country's superiority.

A third group of appeals stresses that *the place of the suggested purchase employs people who speak the national language*. Examples read as follows:

Go to B.'s for service in your own language.

Italian firm for Italians, where we speak your language.

At the local Loan Company offices there are persons who can do business in Polish.

They speak perfect Spanish at the T. Automobile Company. Many Mexicans have bought cars at the T. Automobile Company and have been highly satisfied.

Go where the majority of employees are Mexicans and where your own language is spoken.

In the fourth place we have those cases where *patronizing compatriots is recommended or even made a duty*. Many of the sponsors are members of the national group to which they appeal over the air. As one of the listeners reports of a German program in a New England town, the element of confidence is stressed in the commercials. The whole set-up

is intended to give the audience the feeling that they and the sponsor form an in-group in which mutual confidence justifies the expectation that business relations with each other would be more satisfactory than with outsiders. Wherever possible the advertisers were introduced with a reference to their German nationality—"the German ticket agents R & R"; "the German oculist Dr. L."; "the German hatter . . ." Furriers state that they are Germans and have been favored by a German clientele for many years. One of them claims to be "the leading German fur house in town, with 75 per cent German customers." On a Polish program, a bakery offered "Polish cookies" stating that only Poles were employed by the firm. Other announcements of this type were the following:

The tavern-keeper is a genuine Berlinian. Berlinians are well liked by everybody for their modesty.

The owner of the M. B. Sales is the only such dealer who is a Lithuanian.

P. grand opening. Attendance urged, as the owners are Lithuanians.

Poles throughout the city should patronize a Polish optometrist, even though they live in distant parts of the city.

A Mexican will always get better values from another Mexican. So get your Chevrolet from a Mexican agent at the Central Chevrolet Company.

Finally there is an appeal very similar to one used frequently on American radio stations, but directed to the spe-

cific nationality group: "*All people of your nationality buy this product!*" The content of this fifth type of exhortation can be exemplified by the following typical quotations:

Many Mexicans have come from miles away to take advantage of the bargains at T. A. Company,

The majority of Poles in America love coffee and they find that canned milk makes the coffee taste better.

You will be as pleased as the rest of the Mexican colony, which we have served for many years.

Our olive-oil is preferred by discriminating Italo-American housewives.

These macaroni are used by the majority of worthwhile families in America and are known and used by good Italian housewives and cooks.

The frequency in which these appeals come in the different languages can be seen in Table 13.

It can be seen that the different nationalities follow somewhat different patterns. The advertisers on the German language programs overwhelmingly refer to the fact that the product they are selling is German. Almost half of all the advertising appeals used contain the message, "We sell German products." Also of importance in this group is the appeal to patronize compatriots, that is, to buy from fellow Germans. Among the Italians, however, we find the advertisers using the appeal of "Our product is used by thousands of Italians." The Italians refer to the patronizing of compatriots least frequently of all language groups. Advertisers

46 FOREIGN LANGUAGE RADIO OVER LOCAL STATIONS

TABLE 13.—FIVE TYPES OF NATIONAL APPEALS IN ADVERTISEMENTS OF PRODUCTS AND COMMERCIAL SERVICES

(per cent)

<i>Advertising appeal</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Italian</i>	<i>Yiddish</i>	<i>Lithuanian</i>	<i>Polish</i>	<i>Spanish</i>	<i>Total</i>
Reference to sale of a national product . . .	44.6	30.7	21	11	23	28.1	29.9
Reference to old-country habits	21.8	21.4	20	11	28	13.6	19.5
Reference to use of national language . .	3.9	8.3	53	11	9	16.8	13.8
Reference to buying from compatriots . . .	25.8	13.2		67	27	27.1	21.6
Reference to universal use of product by national group	3.9	26.4	6		13	14.4	15.2
Total per cent . . .	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number of appeals	101	182	47	9	98	214	651

on Yiddish programs find their greatest come-on to be referring to the use of the Yiddish language, either in the instructions for use of a product, or by their salespeople. More than half of all the Jewish appeals contain this reference to speaking Yiddish. For the Lithuanian group we have only nine cases. Six of these, however, contain the reference to patronize other Lithuanians. The Polish appeals are about equally divided among references to the sale of the national product, patronage of compatriots, and the continuation of old-country habits. This last appeal reaches its greatest importance among the Polish group, and is characterized by the statement, "Do as in the old country." Among the advertisers on Spanish language programs, the two leading appeals are those referring to the sale of Spanish products, and to patronage of Spanish tradespeople. The remain-

ing appeals are divided equally among references to the old country, use of the national language, and the universal use of the product by Spanish people.¹⁰

The interrelationship between appeal, product, and language of the program would deserve further analysis, which could easily be made from material in our files. Just for general orientation we add as Table 3 in Appendix I one more tabulation showing how different appeals seem suited to different products. As Table 4 in this appendix, we add the frequency with which national appeals are used for different products. It will be seen that restaurants and foods are most likely to be advertised with special national implications. It may well be that national foods play a role somewhat similar to the role of national music. Clothing and furnishings are least frequently advertised in a national frame of reference.

Entertainments and Meetings

While the different ways of introducing national appeals into advertisements of products and commercial services allowed a breakdown into five groups, a similar analysis seems unsuitable in the cases of the two further types of announcements mentioned in Table 12, i.e., announcements of entertainments and meetings and contacts with the home country, as the main purpose of such announcements is

¹⁰ The number of appeals given in Table 13 is larger than the number of commercial announcements in which they are contained because such announcements may use more than one type of appeal.

national in character. We therefore confine ourselves to reporting our listeners' remarks on these two subjects.

Programs regularly announce the schedule of all sorts of club meetings, dances, etc. In the frame of a German program on the East Coast, the leader of a dance and theater group for children reported regularly about her work, such as a children's festival with indication of the children and adults who participated. News of German Sport Clubs was given regularly. In announcing the programs of weekend parties, charity balls, anniversary dinners, etc., from a New England city, the prospect of hearing German national music, of being served national food, or seeing costumes from the old country were always mentioned especially. On a Middlewestern program, the "Original Old Heidelberg" announced a Viennese evening with good meals and variety shows; also a brewery firm sponsored a regular bulletin of social events organized by German societies. A women's association announced a party where hand-embroidered pillow cases would be given as prizes. There are rifle-clubs and card-playing clubs and, significantly enough, there is still an Austro-Hungarian Society. All the announcements were on a purely sociable basis, talking of entertainment, music, meals, singers, card-playing, etc.

A many-sided social life was revealed on the Yiddish programs, in the announcements of many hotels and halls for meetings and celebrations. Several Jewish societies informed the audience about their social activities. It is pointed out by one of our listeners that organizations and programs

of such meetings do not have many specific relations to Jewish life but closely resemble American activities of a similar type. Polish dances and meetings organized by the Polish clergy, the Polish House, or by Polish musical groups were announced on Polish programs. "Good drinks and Polish sandwiches will be offered, and you will have a good time." There was also a dance organized by Polish artists for the benefit of Polish actors in France. Announcements of Mexican community dances were made in Spanish with the appeal: "Come to dance and see all your friends." Church activities were also announced, and there is a "club," through which Mexicans become acquainted, exchanging letters through the radio station.

The foreign language motion picture houses announce their programs regularly over the air. In some cases, they sponsor short regular programs. Announcing an Italian film, such a picture house stated that many Americans and foreigners were going to see this film which American newspaper critics had distinguished with four stars. Italian theater groups announce their performances of plays which often are given by the same actors who perform in serial dramas over the radio. Several Polish programs announced performances of the documentary film "Poland Is Not Lost," as a "last opportunity to see how our native country used to appear." The film describes pre-war Poland and the effects of the Nazi invasion.

A German movie house in the East announced a film featuring the March offensive of 1918 and another one de-

pecting the German people in the second World War. For the following week a documentary film, "Bleeding Germany," was announced. Programs are accompanied by German newsreels. Other pictures announced were "The Traitor" with the "greatest star of Germany," Willy Birgel; "Das Rheinlandmaedel" (the Girl from the Rhine); "Waldwinter" (a saga of the old country); short reel about Venice, etc. A curious outsider among these films of recent Nazi production was "Kameradschaft," a film which not only dates from the pre-Nazi period but is one of the strongest anti-nationalistic propaganda films ever produced during the years of the Weimar republic: it stresses the international solidarity of workers and denies frontiers and anti-French feeling.¹¹

In this connection, efforts of the broadcasters to establish their programs in the social life of the community which they serve may be mentioned. It is a well-established prac-

¹¹ One of our reporters took the opportunity to visit a Middlewestern German movie house which regularly broadcasts its programs over the air. The program consisted entirely of German UFA productions and was in consequence very strongly propagandistic. There were two feature films, one dealing with an illegitimate village girl seduced by a city boy and driven to suicide by the inhuman fanaticism of a young Polish Catholic priest. The other one showed the heroic exploits of men in a German aviation squadron in the first World War, their successful fighting against the British, their humiliation after the armistice under the revolutionary and democratic government and their rehabilitation under the Nazi regime. The audience consisting of German families showed no signs of strong political interests, nor were there any attempts to start political demonstrations. Their reactions went chiefly to the "human" elements of the stories. During the projection of the newsreel, they were markedly thrilled by the speed of German E-boats; they laughed about the distorted tires of supposed British tanks carried by German trucks through French streets; but they remained silent during scenes from a big Nazi ceremony: Dr. Ley presiding at a Labour Front meeting in Warsaw.

tice to introduce musical selections as dedications to people who celebrate birthdays, anniversaries, and so on, on behalf of their relatives or friends who act as sponsors. The name and address of the honored person are announced. On Polish programs such greetings are often presented in verse and generally in the grandiloquent style which flourished in the small, rural Polish towns of the last century. There were also funeral greetings. On one German program, listeners are invited to send in jokes which are read every Wednesday and to send in postcards with name and address ("In order to have everything proceed in a correct way") voting for the best joke. Five dollars are paid to the person whose joke gets the majority of votes. Yiddish announcers invited listeners to write letters, to suggest quiz questions, and even to visit the studio and participate in the programs. Polish stations take less care of establishing personal connections with their listeners. The only invitation to the public picked up during the test period was to take part in a contest of soap-flakes.

Contacts Abroad

Our listeners report that on the German programs, travel agencies and other firms are busy recommending the sending of money and food parcels to relatives and friends in Germany. A typical announcement read: "Soon there will be Easter with our thoughts turning to the dear ones in the home country. Your German agency sends parcels, also small ones, and the recipient will send you a card, signed by him

and expressing his thanks. There is now a favorable exchange for gift-marks and re-immigration marks. As this agency has direct connections with the Deutsche Bank in Berlin and its office in Hamburg, you can be sure that the money which you have earned by hard labor is at your free disposal after your arrival in Germany. Even now you can travel to Germany, if you desire, via Japan and the Trans-Siberian Railroad or via Spain and Portugal." A delicatessen shop offered the sending of food parcels not only to Germany but also to unoccupied France. Money may be paid by installments. Food parcels will cause no deductions from the recipient's ration card in Germany. Warnings were often included to the effect that quick action may be advantageous as "Washington contemplates laws to prohibit sending money abroad." In one instance, people who sent monthly sums to Germany were advised to send larger sums now, giving orders to their German banks to make monthly payments to their German relatives from these sums. The advantages of such increased one-time transfers were indicated as saving transfer expenses, and as a safeguard against a future interruption of transfer possibilities.

On Italian programs, appeals of this type are very sporadic. The Sunday hour of a Middle Western program contained an invitation to send foodstuffs to the suffering Italian people, and our listener thought he heard in this connection a remark of the following type: "Of course we know where all this suffering comes from, but the point now is to help our people in Italy." Yiddish programs interspersed

musical programs daily with appeals to help Palestine's population in need and to support a Jewish organization's rescue work as well as the Greek War Relief Committee. Two of the Polish advertisers accompanied their announcements with an appeal to send food parcels to Poland through their services.

Announcements Related to American Matters

Against the 1,415 announcements containing a national appeal, there were 257 statements which dealt with specifically American subject matters. Of these, 78 were invitations to apply for citizenship; others dealt with a variety of topics, such as reminders to file income tax returns and appeals to vote for certain candidates in local elections. The following random selections taken from our listeners' report sheets and from their general observations may give a good idea of this type of announcements and appeals, which were about equally divided among all languages.

During a German program on the East Coast there were some spot announcements—given in English—about income tax returns, free defense training for qualified citizens, jobs as junior air traffic controllers, Air Corps recruiting, etc. In the Middle West the following announcement—in English only—recurred several times on a German program: "This program is presented by American citizens who are interested in good music. Be a good American citizen. If you or your friends want to become American citizens write to this station for advice." Other announcements from German language

programs read as follows: "Be in your heart a good American citizen. From many lands people have come to this country to become Americans." Or: "In this democratic country, the government allows radio broadcasting in our mother language. Justify that confidence and be a good American." On one occasion, the Joint United Political Committee of German-American Societies read a list of preferred candidates for a local election twice and urged all listeners to vote.

An East Coast Italian program which generally shows an advanced degree of Americanization, started one program, for no special reason, with: "Ladies and Gentlemen, listen with devotion to our national anthem." Another time they brought a special feature, "America—the Land of the Free" with the slogans: "Take citizenship—national unity—government of law—guaranteed rights" and, in connection with it, the mass playing of four American patriotic songs. Most Italian programs in the Middle West prefaced their broadcasts with a brief announcement in which listeners were told that to be an American citizen is "a duty as well as a privilege" and were encouraged to apply for citizenship papers. A booklet containing the pertinent information is sent upon request. An "Italian community hour" was introduced as addressed to "American citizens of Italian extraction as well as to lovers of Italian music." An agency announcement on an Italian program offered help to people staying here irregularly and drew their attention to the dangers of staying secretly in the United States. Other Italian announce-

ments read: "America is now our country. We live in a free land with a constitution and guaranteed rights. America is the land of the free." Or: "Americans are celebrating St. Valentine's Day, a day which is symbolic of our great fraternity, love, and liberalism."

On the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the Bill of Rights, a Polish announcement said: "America is the only way to happiness." The great advantages of American democracy were stressed: freedom of speech, press, religion, thought, etc. Polish listeners were frequently urged to be good American citizens and to urge friends to become citizens. They were also encouraged to do their duty at the polls "as true American citizens." Proud Americanism was often coupled with nationalistic fervor, as shown, for example, by the custom of one station in the Midwest to start the program with a Polish national song and to end it with the playing of "America" and the pledge of allegiance to the flag.

The Yiddish programs obviously are directed toward a strongly Americanized audience. Jewish listeners have many reasons for appreciating the advantages of American life offered to them. Programs show that Jews consciously enjoy living as free men in a free country. Their political interests correspond to the aims proclaimed by American radio stations. Their main enemy is fascism, their hope is Britain's victory and Hitler's defeat. As one commentator put it: "The same blow will throw down Nazi-Germany and anti-

Semitism.” During the day preceding Lincoln’s Birthday, Jewish programs each hour gave a five to ten minutes’ episode from Lincoln’s life, underlining the President’s fight for religious freedom and the equality of all Americans. On another Yiddish program it happened twice during the test period that after a patriotic song, within a musical program, the announcer interspersed exclamations like the following: “How wonderful is life in America—My letters arrive uncensored—I use the telephone without control—I am free to join the party I like—My property is protected by the law—The constitution gives the same rights to everybody.”¹²

Mexicans were advised to register with the immigration authorities and, repeatedly on one program, “to keep out of trouble.” Announcements praising American citizenship as an attractive thing to Mexicans were absent, although ways and means were presented in several announcements for those who were interested. In connection with such an

¹² Although the broadcasts in Yiddish revealed a high degree of assimilation, there is also a noticeable tendency to maintain and to cultivate the language and the religious conditions of the group. In several programs efforts were made on the part of various organizations to convince parents of the necessity of a Jewish education and a knowledge of the Yiddish language. The serial programs of the Yiddish Cultural Committee stress the importance of the Yiddish language for the maintenance of a Jewish culture. The Jewish Philosopher often advises Jewish parents to send their children to Yiddish schools. He says: “If you want your children to be liberal, give them a Jewish education. If you give them a general education, they will become radical and will lose every connection with the Jewish past.” It is no coincidence that all the young people who address letters to the Jewish Philosopher write in English. The Jewish American youth understands Yiddish but speaks English. Otherwise it would seem strange that the Yiddish programs have no sport news at all.

appeal for Americanization, Mexicans were invited to go to night school, to pay income tax, etc.

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION

This survey, after describing the extent of local foreign language radio broadcasts, has brought out certain of their general characteristics. Almost three-fourths of the time spent on these stations is devoted to music of a predominantly national character, and more specifically to music that brings back memories of that life of the home country which many of the listeners may be supposed to have known. According to the reports of our listening staff, the average quality of this music as well, indeed, as the cultural level of the programs in general, is low. Commercial announcements appeal strongly to the national character and refer mostly to the needs of lower income groups. The programs are clearly designed for older listeners, many of them are addressed to housewives, while very few attempts were noted to obtain the favor of adolescents and children, who are brought up in this country and speak English and in whom the mention of the home country may provoke only vague associations.

There are differences among the various language groups, in part, due to their particular social, geographic, etc., position in this country and the psychological characteristics of their members; and, in part, due to the present relations

between their former homeland and the United States. For example, on the Polish, Yiddish, Spanish, and probably on the Lithuanian programs, this country's pro-democratic and anti-Axis policy is shared sincerely and wholeheartedly, while on the German and many of the Italian programs there is a cautious maneuvering ranging from camouflaged favoring of the former home country's interests to a carefully balanced attitude of neutrality. There may even be differences between different programs serving the same group, exemplified in our survey by the attitude of the Italian programs.

But looking at foreign language broadcasting in this country as a whole, a tendency to maintain the status quo of the listeners' stage of assimilation or even to drive him back to a setting of life which he left beyond the ocean many years ago appears to be the outstanding feature of most of the foreign language programs examined in this survey. At a time when the solidarity of the people of this country must be considered a matter of vital interest, it seems opportune to examine the question of what should be done about radio programs which, by their present policy, may hamper the further amalgamation of large groups of immigrants.

One simple answer is to prohibit them entirely; but obviously this would work a hardship upon the immigrant listeners, many of whom speak no English, and derive comfort from listening to a language they knew and music dear to them from their youth. But not only this; wiping out foreign language broadcasting would destroy a precious

channel of influence. It would be almost like willfully stopping up the immigrant's ears. So another answer would be to use these existing facilities as a vehicle for Americanization. In order to succeed, however, it must be realized what function these programs perform in the realm of the lives of immigrant listeners. Studies devised to answer this question more precisely on the basis of interviews with listeners are under way, but general speculation can well provide a tentative answer.

Is listening to foreign language broadcasts a vice of stubborn outsiders, or is it to be looked upon as an attempt to procure comfort and mental security in a difficult social situation? Many an immigrant, and especially if he belongs to the low income group which constitutes the audience to the foreign language programs, faces isolation from the American community. He often finds himself alone among people whose language, habits and opinions, whose food, etc., are foreign to him. Everybody is busy as a part of a huge mechanism—the newcomer stands aloof. He alone does not know the rules of the game. There is the further disappointment that in looking for jobs, in school, and in many other respects, the recent immigrant and his children are discriminated against. Furthermore, economic troubles which he had intended to escape in turning his steps towards a country with greater possibilities and wealth have, for the most part, only continued.

In this state of helplessness and isolation, the immigrant naturally turns to people who are in the same situation as

he is, who speak the same language, come from the same country, cherish the same ideas and memories, like the same food, etc. Here he finds escape from bewilderment, here is a familiar setting. He meets people to whom to turn in emergency and to whom he can complain if he feels depressed. A considerable experience of solidarity ought to be developing among local national groups, and it is not surprising that even in the long run, many immigrants choose the path of lesser resistance and lesser effort rather than set about the arduous task of adjusting to the life of the new country.

It is obvious that American radio programs in English would bring discord into the esoteric life of these groups. Still, radio has become an indispensable element of modern family and community life. Foreign language broadcasting fills the gap. It fits harmoniously into the situation; it uses the language that everybody uses in the house, it offers the songs that mother would sing, and more or less corroborates father's opinions on politics. Together with the foreign language newspapers, the moving picture houses, and the many national associations, societies, clubs, etc. (of whose activities our survey gives only a vague idea) it completes the group's artificial independence of the outside world.

A transformation of these radio programs could be meaningful only if it proceeded concomitantly with a transformation of the group members' life and institutions as a whole. This again would reach only the exterior manifestations unless something very substantial was being done to improve the material and psychological conditions which cause the

maintenance of the groups. The first step towards the Americanization of immigrants to be taken is that of finding for them a better place in the mechanism of production of the country and of conveying to them the feeling of being welcomed as equal members whose gifts and energies are sought by the community. Only then can one hope to adjust the "superstructure" of their life, their sources of recreation and information, etc., to their new situation as citizens or future citizens of the United States.

In attempting to do this for radio programs, one should again keep in mind the fact that these programs are not an isolated phenomenon. They do not function just as "entertainment" but gratify certain specific needs. Hence their reorganization would be effective only if the new needs growing out of the listeners' changing general situation in the community, were taken into consideration. While any insistent harping upon a few ideas may develop unexpected and undesirable resistance, a positive response may be won by radio programs designed in every detail to supplement the practical efforts made to introduce the new members to their rights and duties, i.e., by offering information about life in this country, by giving concrete advice on how to adapt, and by conveying the heartening experience of being needed and esteemed.

It appears that occasionally interspersing into programs of this type praises of democratic ideals would not suffice. The listeners in this study report that announcements concerning citizenship, scattered patriotic talks and songs, and the like,

tend to stand out of the programs as odd spots instead of giving the character of an American institution to foreign language broadcasting as a whole. This effect would probably not be changed if such appeals were increased in number and in length, even if they were produced with artistic originality, vividness and good taste rather than in a rhetorical, stereotyped style. Nothing but a thorough reorganization of the entire program would do—a reorganization which would consider every item and detail, from the theme melody to the church hour, and from the announcer's voice to the wording of advertisements. Moreover, it would have to be a reformation not imposed upon reluctant broadcasters, but carried out by gifted and convinced individuals who would combine enthusiasm for an important mission in the service of their country with a first-hand knowledge and a warm-hearted understanding of the needs of the people they want to win over.

It should not be difficult to eliminate the artificial and highly unreal atmosphere of the foreign language broadcast programs without destroying their essential character of being directed toward a definite group of immigrants. A certain loss of sentimental and traditional values could be compensated for by fresh sources of real, present-day life, which would probably come as a relief after the monotony and stagnation of the present programs. Studies have been made, for example, showing that many recent immigrants do not know where to turn when they are ill or in some other personal difficulty. Material filling such needs can very well

work into helpful radio scripts. When jobs are scarce, employment hints would be very important. Organizations which endeavor to bring the younger generation of immigrants and native-born families together could use radio for their promotional activities. All the thinking which has been done on the relationship between radio and community work could profitably be applied to this problem.¹³ News bulletins could be cautiously adapted to the American view, even while maintaining a preference for news referring to the mother country. Good news comments might turn out to be a most effective feature. Dramatizations could create understanding of everyday American life and deal in a constructive way with the immigrant's path to complete adjustment. English language courses, if given in a light, humorous style, possibly by a member of the foreign language group itself, would probably prove very successful. Current American songs could be translated into the foreign language or commented upon and thus be made more understandable. Relays of outstanding dance-music, and the like, could be arranged from the large networks to make the programs more attractive. Good and faithful translations of important speeches, such as those of the President, could easily be given the very day they take place, and occasionally outstanding American politicians, writers, artists, sportsmen, etc., who happen to have a fair command of that particular

¹³ For a discussion of the services which radio can perform along these lines, and suggestions for how they can be brought about, see Lazarsfeld, Paul F., "Audience Building in Educational Broadcasting," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 14, No. 9, May 1941, 1-9.

language, might consider it worth while to gratify the foreign language listeners by short, cordial speeches. (A special technique for this sort of broadcast has been developed by the foreign propaganda departments of the broadcasting stations in the principal European countries, particularly by the British Broadcasting Corporation.) In many instances it would be possible to facilitate the immigrant's introduction to a new world by linking up American ideals and principles with those of his own mother country. One of the listeners engaged in this study suggested that democratic ideas could easily be connected with those of the Italian Rinascimento as preached by Mazzini. German history and literature too is rich as a source of democratic and humanitarian tradition.

Developed along such lines, foreign language radio broadcasts may be able to give effective aids in introducing valuable new elements into the American culture. But such a reorganization could become effective only as a part of a more comprehensive program aimed at solving the social problem of foreign language groups as a whole.

THE POPULAR MUSIC INDUSTRY

by Duncan MacDougald, Jr.

GENERAL BACKGROUND¹

The "Industry"

THE object of this study is to contribute coherent and specific information about the way in which the popularity of hit songs is determined by the agencies controlling the popular music business. The method of ascertaining these factors has largely been to trace the life of a typical hit from its creation to the sale of the commercial piano copy, and to point out in the steps of this life story those forces which come into play for the purpose of enforcing the acceptance of the song. The study develops the thesis that the making of the majority of "hits" is largely predetermined by and within the industry.

It is in direct contrast to the general opinion of Tin Pan

¹ The present study was completed prior to the conflict between The American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers and Broadcast Music, Incorporated. This controversy has created a completely irregular situation in the popular song industry which has not been studied because obviously, once the two copyright agencies have come to an understanding, things will revert to normal. Also, it seemed desirable to avoid taking any stand in the matter.

The author wishes to acknowledge the continual help he has received from Dr. T. W. Adorno in the theoretical organization of his observations in the field, and in the formulation of his final report.

Alley which clings to the ideology that the success of songs represents the spontaneous, free-will acceptance of the public because of the inherent merit of the number. However, it will be seen in the following pages that in the case of most hits many factors other than the song's actual merit are responsible for its "popularity."

Before going into the details of how songs become hits, it is necessary to discuss the business setting which plays such an important role in predetermining the success of songs—the broader aspects of the popular music industry known as Tin Pan Alley.

It is essential first of all to explain what is meant by the term "industry." The term is not to be taken literally, but metaphorically. What, then, is the basis of using it at all?

The word industry is used primarily because all this music²—"production numbers" from musical revues and films excepted—is produced in terms of direct consumer consumption. In other words, this is music designed expressly for the market, as shown by the confession of almost every song writer that he definitely tries to "*write a hit*," that is, write a song that will *sell*. This is something which contemporary popular music has in common with all the "light music" that has been written since the establishment of a gulf between serious and light music production and does not necessarily constitute a criterion for industrial produc-

² An analysis of the lists of radio performances of popular songs in the trade press reveals that some 8 per cent are from musical revues, approximately 25 per cent from films, and the remaining 67 per cent are "pops."

tion, where concepts such as mass-production and use of machines, etc., are necessarily involved. Secondly, when speaking of the music industry one often thinks of the division of labor which outwardly manifests itself in the fact that practically every song hit has at least two writers, and moreover that the actual composing is quite apart from the "arrangement." This seems to suggest on the surface industrial "rationalized" methods. However, the fact that many hands contribute to creating the song actually points more to a manufactural than to an industrial production. Division of labor alone does not constitute an industrial process and has been a familiar method of production throughout the manufactural era.

It should be stated further that the practice of including a number of people in song production—usually at least two writers (the lyric writer and the composer), and frequently other persons (the inventor of the title or lyric idea, the man who writes down the music, the harmonizer, and so on) is not due to an actual rationalization of production. The reason most often suggested is the deficiency of the half-amateur who has an idea but cannot write it down or dramatize it. The many musicians incapable of scoring are also cited. However, the fact that Tin Pan Alley stuff is written by men without sound musical training and that Irving Berlin, for instance, must use a specially constructed piano because he can work in only one key, has already become part of the great American legend. An expert on the musical

scene in America, Miss Minna Lederman, suggests that it is the "Broadway tradition" that is important here rather than the well-plugged "ignorance" of the supposedly naive composers. There is a kind of vested interest in running the "industry" this way. For several generations Broadway has nurtured a tradition of musical as well as other types of illiteracy; the association of lowbrowism with success is still a vigorous faith on the Main Stem and appears today to be artificially promoted rather than genuine. It is quite probable that a number of the composers can "score," "arrange," and do all the necessary things involved in writing a serious composition; yet they do not do it because of the traditional set-up of the industry.³ In any case, the division of labor in the production of song hits is itself of a largely irrational character and leads in many instances to an overlapping of functions and to conflicts between the different agencies involved in song production. It is certainly not a question of a well-planned and systematic idea of dividing labor in order to facilitate the process, reduce overhead costs and operate at maximum capacity. Thus it must be discounted as an index of "industrialization."

There is still a third point of view involved in the use of the term industry, and the last one offers mere justification to the use of the term. Roughly speaking, *the methods of distribution used in the popular music business are*

³ An analogy may be found in Hollywood, where certain very well-trained European composers working for the film companies actually were forbidden to score their own works because that was considered exclusively the arranger's job.

largely borrowed from those used by any industry producing consumer goods which do not strictly belong to the necessities of life. The promotion and distribution of popular songs is not left to chance nor to the spontaneous success or failure of the offered material in the market. What makes this process so similar to the industrial one is its highly developed "system," all of whose parts are directed toward one end: the enforcement of the material upon the customer. As a result of various circumstances, this systematic character today has reached a stage where the exploitation of songs has become largely automatic. An appreciable analogy is to be found in women's fashions, which are manipulated and determined by the producer, i.e., the designer or style expert.

The "Market"

A rough estimate, based upon information gathered in interviews within the industry and open to further investigation, reveals that there are some sixty popular music publishers.⁴ These sixty publishers audition an estimated 50,000 songs annually—many of them "repeats," i.e., the same song auditioned by different publishers—and publish and work on some 2,000 popular numbers. Of these some 350 to 400 songs benefit by extensive radio exploitation, while the others are "knocked around," receiving several performances here

⁴ Bruce and Silver (*How to Write and Sell a Song Hit*, New York, 1939, p. 193) give a list of 50 well-known publishers, while some 40 popular music firms are listed in the New York Classified Telephone Directory. It must be assumed, however, that there are additional firms engaged in publishing popular music that are not given in these sources.

and there and selling a few hundred copies of sheet music. A computation of "Air Performance Lists" compiled by the Accurate Reporting Service, an organization that checks and reports upon the number of performances of all popular songs broadcast over radio stations WABC, WAAF, WJZ and WHN, WNEW and WOR, reveals that there are at least 300 songs currently "on the market." This figure includes, of course, "standards" (such songs as "Sweet Sue" and "St. Louis Blues") and the so-called "old favorites" (selections such as "Londonderry Air" and swing arrangements of the songs of Stephen Foster) which comprise 10 to 15 per cent of all popular songs heard on the air.

The industry estimates that an average of 35 to 40 new songs are placed on the market each week. Of these numbers, however, only some five to eight new songs receive enough air performances via New York radio stations to be included in the plug lists of the trade press.

The Hit

The business ideal of the industry is to create a "hit."

A song is classified as a hit when it sells 75,000 copies of sheet music, and it is estimated that not more than twenty songs reach sales of 100,000 copies each year. A figure of 300,000 is now considered phenomenal for a popular song, and rarely do more than five numbers attain this popularity annually. Although record sales have increased 500 per cent since 1932, the low year of the industry, few songs ever

reach a sale of 500,000 records, while an average hit sells some 250,000 recordings.⁵

The average life of a popular song may be estimated at some twelve weeks. Spectacular novelties such as "The Music Goes Round and Round," or so-called "rhythm numbers," for example "Flat Foot Floogie," enjoy an extensive though short-lived popularity of six to eight weeks, while less sensational material such as waltzes and ballads may remain in favor for ten to twenty weeks.

It is pertinent here to cite comparative figures concerning the life and popularity of songs twenty years ago before radio became the principal medium of exploitation. Songs considered "good sellers" sold 500,000 sheet music copies, as compared to 50,000 sheet music copies now; "smash hits" sold as many as 2,000,000 sheet music copies to a corresponding sale of 300,000 copies under present conditions. Before radio, a best-selling song was popular for as long as eighteen months; now, however, the life of a hit is rarely more than four months.

Thus will be seen the tremendous changes which have taken place in the popular music industry. Twenty years ago songs were "plugged" by the song pluggers themselves,

⁵ It is impossible to arrive at an accurate ratio between the sale of sheet music and of records, this being due to the fact that the record may be purchased for the sake of the rendition by a favorite performer, or for the selection on the other side. In the case of some songs—particularly novelties and rhythm numbers—the sale of records may greatly exceed the sale of sheet music. It may be noted here that in 1939 some 16,000,000 copies of sheet music were sold (*Variety*, April 9, 1941, p. 1), as compared with an estimated 45,000,000 popular records (*Musical Merchandise*, January 1940, p. 50).

vaudeville entertainers, singers and traveling bands for a period of several months before they became hits. Now a song is introduced, exploited⁶ and "played to death" all within a corresponding period of a few months. A listener then probably heard less than three performances of a hit in a week; listeners now may hear a hit from three to six times daily. Publishers then could count on the popularity of a song lasting for one to two years; now a publisher knows that his song will last only three to five months.

In attempting to ascertain what factors are chiefly responsible for these important changes in the popular music industry, it is natural to assume as do publishers, that radio has been the principal agent. In a certain sense this is probably true. Nevertheless, there are other very important factors which have contributed to these changes, among which are: (1) the significant price differential—most sheet music now is priced at 30 or 35 cents as compared with 10

⁶ To what extent the highly organized plugging mechanism of the industry has succeeded may be seen in the following figures. According to statistics compiled by the Federal Communications Commission for 1938 (latest available data), some 40 per cent of all station time is devoted to popular music—more than any other classification of program—on all radio stations in the country. A breakdown of the 1938 performance records of the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers made by Broadcast Music, Inc., reveals that 388 songs performed more than 10,000 times (1.8 per cent of the total of 21,038 selections tabulated) accounted for 8,604,894 performances (47.1 per cent of all performances), while an additional 2,121 songs performed up to 10,000 times (10.1 per cent of the 21,038 selections tabulated) accounted for an additional 6,678,359 performances (36.6 per cent of performances). Thus the relatively small number of 2,509 selections accounted for 83.7 per cent of all performances. A specific example of this concentrated plugging may be found in the case of the song "Says My Heart" which was performed over WABC, WJZ and WEAJ 258 times during the four week period June 22, 1938, to July 13, 1938—an average of 9.2 times daily.

cents and 25 cents in pre-radio days, (2) preference for other forms of recreational interest such as the movies, automobiles in place of pianos, etc., and (3) curtailed recreational budget due to economic reasons (the 1929 depression). Accordingly, one must not oversimplify the matter. The total and general effect of radio upon popular songs may be summarized as follows: While the length of a song's popularity has been materially shortened, the extent (number of listeners) of its popularity has been greatly increased. In absolute terms, i.e., the number of people who hear and may remember a song at all, the popularity of a song hit has been increased by intensive radio plugging, whereas in relative terms the opposite is true: its life cycle is very much shorter (three months as compared to eighteen months), its sheet sales have materially decreased (50,000-150,000 as compared with 500,000-1,000,000), and it is probably less known (as an *individual* song) than the pre-radio hit.

Tendency Toward Economic Concentration

The meaning of a "hit" can be properly understood only against the background of the total business setting of the industry. One tendency appears to be outstanding within this setting: the tendency toward economic concentration. The following information serves to illustrate this.

As has been observed above, there are at present some sixty publishers of popular music. It is important to note that of these, fifteen, namely: Berlin, B-V-C, Chappell, Crawford, Famous, Feist, Harms, Miller, Mills, Para-

mount, Remick, Robbins, Santly-Joy, Shapiro-Bernstein and Witmark, produce by far the great majority (some 90 per cent) of all hits. Substantiation of this is seen in the following lists of "15 Best Sheet Music Sellers" selected at random from three issues of *Variety*, which reveal that only four publishers other than those named above—ABC (a subsidiary of Berlin), Lincoln, Olman and Tenney—were included in these plug lists of 45 songs:

15 BEST SHEET MUSIC SELLERS ("VARIETY")

<i>February 22, 1939</i>	<i>August 24, 1938</i>	<i>November 23, 1938</i>
Harms 2	Berlin 3	Robbins 2
Robbins 1	Robbins 2	Famous 2
Paramount 3	Santly-Joy 2	Santly-Joy 2
Witmark 2	Mills 1	Shapiro-Bernstein . 1
Shapiro-Bernstein . 3	Remick 1	Berlin 1
Santly-Joy 1	Shapiro-Bernstein . 1	Mills 1
Berlin 1	Miller 1	Feist 1
Chappell 1	<i>Olman</i> 1	<i>ABC</i> 1
Miller 1	Famous 1	B-V-C 1
	<i>Tenney</i> 1	Remick 2
	Paramount 1	<i>Lincoln</i> 1

Additional information pertaining to the domination of the industry by these fifteen firms, which are hereafter to be designated as "Big Publishers," is shown by the fact that of the 45 "most plugged" songs selected from the same issues of *Variety*, only four other publishers—ABC, Gilbert, Lincoln and Spier—were represented.

Furthermore, reference is made to the January 14, 1939 issue of *The Billboard* which reveals the following pertinent facts: (1) of the 33 tunes which gained the top position on

15 MOST PLUGGED SONGS ("VARIETY")

<i>February 22, 1939</i>	<i>August 24, 1938</i>	<i>November 23, 1938</i>
ABC 1	Robbins 2	Robbins 1
Witmark 2	Paramount 1	Famous 3
Robbins 1	Shapiro-Bernstein . 1	Shapiro-Bernstein . 1
Shapiro-Bernstein . 1	B-V-C 2	ABC 1
Chappell 1	Remick 2	Crawford 1
Santly-Joy 1	Santly-Joy 2	<i>Lincoln</i> 1
Paramount 2	Berlin 2	Santly-Joy 1
Mills 1	Feist 1	Remick 1
Famous 1	<i>Gilbert</i> 1	Harms 1
Remick 1	<i>Spier</i> 1	Miller 1
Miller 1		Witmark 1
Harms 1		B-V-C 1
Berlin 1		Feist 1

The Billboard's radio plug list for 1938, only two music firms (Spier and Lincoln) other than Big Publishers were represented, and (2) of the thirteen tunes which gained the top position on *The Billboard's* "Sheet Music Leaders for 1938," twelve were published by Big Publishers, the solitary exception being ABC, the Berlin subsidiary.

It is interesting to note that a number of band leaders are affiliated with smaller music firms. Among the performers controlling or having an interest in music firms are: Tommy Dorsey (Sun Music), Fred Waring (Words and Music), Benny Goodman (Regent Music), Raymond Scott (Circle Music), Ray Block (Major Music) and Guy Lombardo (Olman Music). The significance of these connections is obvious; the leaders plug songs issued by their affiliated firms at every opportunity—particularly during radio broadcasts. As far as could be learned, these publishing firms are not connected with the Big Publishers.

Another fact pertaining to the universal tendency toward concentration within the popular music industry is the domination of the Big Publishers, who produce 90 per cent of all popular songs, by the Hollywood motion picture companies.

Eight of the biggest publishers (Harms, Witmark, Remick, Robbins, Feist, Miller, Famous and Paramount) are either owned outright or directly controlled by motion picture companies. In addition, several other Big Publishers, including Berlin, Chappell, Crawford and Santly-Joy, serve as plugging outlets for Hollywood film companies.

To understand the connection of Tin Pan Alley with Hollywood it is necessary to look back more than a decade to the time when talking pictures first came into prominence and songs were featured in musical films. Picture producers realized that the exploitation of songs was a highly complicated procedure, and instead of competing with Eastern publishers, they decided to purchase outright or acquire controlling interests in leading music firms in New York. By controlling these publishing houses, they would not only have the most effective means of exploitation available, but would also increase their income through the profits made by the publishers.

The firms connected with picture companies serve primarily as "advertising agencies" for the publicizing of film songs and, of course, of the film itself. Numbers from pictures usually take precedence over all other numbers in the publisher's catalog; when a film score is ready for exploitation the songs being currently "worked on" are temporarily

set aside and the plugging machine is set in action to exploit the songs from the picture. The publisher must introduce—and popularize if possible—these film selections at all costs. Whatever losses are sustained can be written off by the controlling film companies as “advertising expenses.”

When Hollywood entered the popular music business, independent publishers were faced with the stiffest sort of competition. As noted below, the business of making a hit is a very costly one; independent publishers therefore found it increasingly difficult to compete with music firms owned by picture companies and backed by their unlimited resources.⁷

The whole process of exploiting a song has indeed grown to be an involved and expensive one, due to the elaborate and costly organization necessary to popularize the material,⁸ and

⁷ Data about the relation between Tin Pan Alley and Hollywood can be found in *The Billboard*, January 14, 1939, p. 11 and January 6, 1940, p. 10. According to *The Billboard*, only 18.3 per cent of the top radio tunes during 1938 and 1939 and 17.3 per cent of the best selling songs for 1938 and 1939 were published by “independent” publishers.

⁸ As approximately 25 per cent of the publishers present an estimated 90 per cent of the songs heard over the air, it would be very important to find out whether or not almost all potential hits are automatically in the hands of Big Publishers, while the smaller firms may have songs of equal merit which they are unable to exploit to the degree necessary to “put them over.” In this connection the following experiment is suggested:

Procure three new songs which are to be “worked on” by Big Publishers and three new numbers from small publishers who are unable to exploit them in the usual expensive manner. Then submit the six songs anonymously (without mentioning either composers or publishers) to two panels consisting of five “performers” (orchestra leaders, arrangers, vocalists) and five “amateur listeners” (students, housewives, secretaries). Ask the two panels to distinguish between the allegedly superior songs (melody and lyrics) of the Big Publishers and the poor numbers (sic) of the small firms. The assumption to be tested is that the panels will not be able to detect any very great superiority or greater appeal in the songs which will be plugged into “popularity” by the resources and highly developed plugging mechanisms of the Big Publishers.

the industry estimates that it costs a Big Publisher from \$5,000 to \$15,000 to "make a hit." According to *Variety*⁹ the overhead expenses of "The Big Three" firms approximate \$1,000,000 annually, while an estimated "\$150,000 is spent by the industry per week to conduct the business of making song hits."¹⁰

MAKING AND PUBLISHING POPULAR SONGS

Making a Popular Song

It is not a question here of the socio-psychological aspects of composing a song or writing its lyrics. It should be observed at once that any "romantic" notion of the creative artist must be excluded in order to arrive at an understanding of "how a song is written." The process must not be viewed in terms of a spontaneous creation, but rather as a very practical, almost cold-blooded process carried out according to a standardized pattern based upon past success. Popular songs nowadays are more or less "hacked out," a procedure which in a sense is similar to the working of jigsaw puzzles.

The following remarks apply merely to the process of labor—the mechanics—involved in the writing of a song. As mentioned above, with few exceptions (the most notable being the songs of Cole Porter and Irving Berlin) popular

⁹ *Variety*, January 15, 1941, p. 39.

¹⁰ *Swing*, December 1939, p. 26.

songs are written by several—at least two—collaborators: the lyricist and the melody writer. It is hard to get an exact reply to the frequently asked question of whether the melody or lyrics is written first, as most publishers are very fond of emphasizing the role of supposedly irrational inspiration in song making. One may assume that in the case of one-half of all songs the melody is thought of first, while the others of course come into being through the lyrics. However, it should be noted that a number of the outstanding hit successes of the last years, such as “My Reverie,” “Once in a While,” “Beer Barrel Polka,” “Sunrise Serenade” and “Deep Purple” were originally conceived as melodies, some of them having been purely instrumental pieces.¹¹

When the lyricist happens upon an “idea” or a phrase which he feels may be the foundation of a song, he may give it to the collaborating melodist who in turn tries to build a melodic phrase around it: the lyricist may give the composer only the title, a partially completed lyric, or the lyrics in their entirety. In the majority of songs it may be assumed that both lyric and melody are developed at the same time, with the collaborators working simultaneously to fit the parts together.

¹¹ A tentative explanation may be offered. The invention of instrumental melodies is not limited by any consideration of the words. Further, instrumental melodies may employ large intervals which are usually regarded as “unsingable” in vocal music. This larger scope of invention may sometimes account for fresher and more characteristic tunes which can be better remembered and which are afterwards vocally adapted for the very reason that they are characteristic, which was originally antagonistic to the typical song invention. At least two of the above-mentioned song hits, “Sunrise Serenade” and “Deep Purple,” use larger intervals than can usually be found in vocal hits.

When the composer receives the title, a part, or all of the lyrics of the proposed song, he must then build a melodic structure around the "idea." This is done in two ways: usually by "picking out" on the piano a melodic theme to suit the title or important line, or sometimes by humming or whistling a phrase similarly suitable to the lyrics. Composers strive to incorporate the title "on the nose," i.e., in the opening line of the chorus, on the theory that only the first lines of many songs are known to the listener. If the writer is unable to utilize the title in the first line, he may interpolate it in the second, third, or fourth line. Publishers consider it very important for the name of the song to be used at least three times in the development of the lyric, so that it may serve as a sort of tagline, slogan, or trade-mark for the number. As there are so many (fundamentally similar) songs on the market at all times, they consider it an advantage that a song advertise itself and thus single itself out in the mind of the customer.

Acceptance of a Song

Songs are usually submitted to one of the Big Publishers for an audition by the officers of the firm—usually an executive and his two managers, "Professional" and "General." Here the publisher is confronted with the necessity of deciding whether he thinks the song will be a hit. In judging songs, there are, of course, certain fixed canons by which publishers attempt to estimate the material in terms of hit-potentials.

Fundamental tenets of the popular music industry are: (1) that the melodic line be "simple and easy to sing and play"; and (2) that the lyrics be "romantic," "original," and/or "tell an appealing story"; (3) that the melody of the chorus be 32 bars long. An interesting insight into the evaluation-psychology of publishers is that they search avidly for so-called "original" lyrics, but are very skeptical of any original melodic presentation. Only top-ranking composers can "get away with" songs which do not conform to these standardized requirements.

In the last few years publishers have been giving more and more attention to lyrics. One leading publisher stated that "the lyrics, in the case of a ballad, are ten to one more important than the melody." However, this appears to be an expression of personal evaluation rather than empirical evidence.¹²

In accepting a song, the publisher is consciously or unconsciously influenced by the following important factors:

1. The outstanding success of a certain type of song in the past,
2. The reputation and past hits of the composer,

¹² Results of preliminary research concerning the problem of melody vs. lyrics might be mentioned here. Thirty-three purchasers of sheet music at a large New York department store were asked the following question while buying piano copies: "Why did you buy this song—for the melody or for the lyrics?" In direct refutation of the Tin Pan Alley theory that the lyrics are the most important part of a song, all 33 purchasers specified that they bought the song "for the melody." It is interesting to note that many buyers voluntarily criticized the "sameness" and "banality" of the lyrics.

3. The adaptability of certain songs to the performance-style of orchestra and vocalist.

With regard to factor 1, the following example may be given: After the phenomenal popularity of the cowboy ballad, "The Last Round-Up," the market was flooded with similar Western songs. But only one, "Boots and Saddles," was a big hit.¹³ In connection with this, Bruce and Silver quote in their quips "How Publishers Drive Writers Crazy,"¹⁴ the frequently heard lament of the publisher—"I'm looking for another 'Last Round-Up.'"

As to factor 2, it is important to note that when a publisher auditions a song by a "consistent writer" who has composed a number of hits he is immediately disposed to consider the song favorably, even though he may personally feel that it has no hit potentialities. Publishers are often afraid to refuse a song by a consistent writer because it may be published by another firm and developed into a big seller. What happens is strongly reminiscent of certain practices in the field of industrial patents. Many songs are accepted—in some cases an advance royalty is even paid—and then "put on the shelf." Later the song may or may not be published, but whatever happens, the publisher has prevented a possible rival from using it. As an alternative the publisher may have it printed but not "worked on."

¹³ It is reported that in England an estimated dozen songs of this nature were successful—songs which were also exploited in America, but with little or no success.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

Whenever it is rumored around the industry that such-and-such a song-writing team has a "terrific song," publishers immediately make every attempt to purchase the number, and bid almost recklessly for it, without evaluating potential hit qualities of the song. Frequently the "terrific" song, once it has been purchased and published, turns out to be a "dog," attaining only a minimum of popularity.

The influence of a writer's reputation in creating this demand is a very great one—greater it may be assumed than publishers are willing to admit. This prestige-reputation finds characteristic expression in the language of advertising media which corresponds closely to advertisements of newly published books.

When both writers are well known, the advertisements usually read as follows:

A New Rhythm Hit by 2 Star Songsmiths
SMARTY PANTS

Lyric by Johnny Mercer, Music by Walter Donaldson.¹⁵

When one writer is better known than the other, obviously his reputation is capitalized upon, as seen in the following ad:

This ain't no idle rumor—the song's got stuff and humor
HOLY SMOKE (Can't Ya Take a Joke)
by JOHNNY MERCER¹⁶

The music to this number was composed by an "unknown" composer in collaboration with Mercer in an amateur-profes-

¹⁵ *Variety*, December 20, 1939, p. 32.

¹⁶ *Variety*, December 20, 1939, p. 32.

sional song-writing contest, yet his name was omitted from the ad—presumably because he was not an established writer. Johnny Mercer is recognized by the industry as one of the most successful lyricists, and the fact that a song bears his name is an important factor in its acceptance by the publisher and subsequent performance by band leader and vocalist. As prestige-reputation plays such a great role in the music business, it might even be assumed that the inclusion of the name of an unknown writer might be something of a handicap.

In addition to such “plugging” of reputations of writers, performers are sometimes featured in the promotion of songs as is found in the following conspicuous advertisement in *Variety*.

Announcing . . . ORRIN TUCKER'S NEWEST NOVELTY
HIT “WOULD'JA MIND”¹⁷

Before November 1939, Orrin Tucker was a relatively little-known band leader, but by January 1940 he had achieved sensational popularity by reviving and featuring the very popular song, “Oh, Johnny.” Thus he acquired prestige and a reputation for “making a hit.” Accordingly the publisher of “his newest novelty hit” is capitalizing on his past success.

To the industry—specifically publishers, band leaders and vocalists, recording executives and radio program managers—the names of the writers of a song are very important, and a considerable part of the success of songs can be

¹⁷ *Variety*, December 13, 1939, p. 38.

traced—indirectly of course—to the prestige and reputation of the composers. Outside the industry, however—specifically to the “average buyer of sheet music”—the names of writers mean nothing. The music-buying public apparently does not have the slightest interest in the composers of popular songs; it merely *accepts* them as products of the radio. Exception to this of course must be made in the case of the top-ranking musical comedy writers who are well-known to a certain limited public in the so-called “sophisticated New Yorkers” stratum. These writers—Jerome Kern, Cole Porter, Rodgers and Hart and Irving Berlin, to name the most prominent—are a definite part of their recreational interests and are accordingly very well-known and highly esteemed by this particular group.

The importance of the third factor, namely, the adaptability of certain songs to the performance-style of orchestra and vocalist, may be disputed, since the arrangement of songs is to a much greater extent independent of the fundamental melodic material than the layman would expect. Thus the basic material of some of the most famous swing numbers, such as “Tiger Rag,” is rhythmically exceedingly primitive and by no means “hot.” It may be a different matter in the case of the original composition’s adaptation to the style of certain vocalists. The publishers realize that favorite performers—for example, Rudy Vallée, Kate Smith, Bing Crosby, and the Andrews Sisters—contribute greatly to the success of songs, and song writers make a point of compos-

ing numbers to suit such vocalists. The fact that a song is written for a particular band appears to be a feature of its promotion more than an actual characteristic of its style which might influence its publication.

In the very revealing section, "How Publishers Drive Writers Crazy," Bruce and Silver cite a frequent remark of popular music publishers: "It's not commercial."¹⁸ As the word implies, this objection means that the song does not conform sufficiently to the commodity-standards of Tin Pan Alley. If a song is well written, i.e., if it possesses any characteristics which might be called literary or poetic, it would almost certainly be refused on the grounds that "it's a good song, all right, but it's *not commercial*." The most intelligent popular songs are the production-numbers of Cole Porter, Rodgers and Hart, Harbach, Hammerstein and Kern, but with few exceptions these selections do not sell well throughout the country. The general public prefers *obvious* songs with simple melodies and commonplace lyrics. Thus a maudlin ballad such as "There's a Gold-Mine in the Sky" will far outsell an entire musical comedy score of distinctive, interesting numbers by Cole Porter.

If a publisher feels that a song definitely has hit-potentialities, but is unwilling to trust his own judgment, he will frequently consult band leaders and other performers for their reactions. The opinion of performers wields considerable influence upon the publisher, and on this point Bruce

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 4. See also T. W. Adorno, "Ueber Jazz," *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, 1936, p. 243 f.

and Silver are quoted again: "Here's your song back. *Lombardo doesn't like it!*"¹⁹

Alterations and Arrangements

In accepting a song, the publisher often makes changes in the lyrics and melody (more frequently in the lyrics) which he feels will enhance the selling possibility of the number. Such was the evolution for example of "Deep Purple," one of the biggest sellers of 1939. The composer of the melody (it was originally a piano solo), Peter De Rose, and the well-known lyricist, Mitchell Parish, were assigned to transcribe the instrumental composition into a "popular song." "Four times De Rose and Parish manipulated the music and lyrics, but in each case a certain phrase necessitated revision. Six weeks later the finished *product*²⁰ was presented for the first time."²¹

The alteration of the lyrics and the melody by the publisher is of considerable psychological interest. It is common knowledge that the majority of publishers (and executives of music firms) are not trained musicians, and in all probability know less about the (most desirable) melodic structure of a song than the composer. However, as a publisher he has the power to make changes and accordingly tries to overcome this feeling of musical inferiority and lack of capability by altering certain parts of the number to suit

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

²⁰ Note the use of this term.

²¹ *Swing*, November 1939, p. 24.

himself. It may be assumed also that the organizational apparatus of the music industry acquires a sort of weight of its own which tends to touch upon everything merely in order to show its own importance, even when there is no necessity for change within the material.²² A very similar tendency toward this more or less irrational and useless rewriting to enhance the prestige of what might be called the bureaucracy of entertainment may be observed in the field of moving pictures, particularly with respect to script writing. Naturally all such changes are explained on the ground that the publisher "has had more experience and exercises better judgment in knowing what the public wants than the actual writers."²³

When the manuscript (lyrics and melody) has been turned over to the firm, the publisher sometimes pays the writer or writers an advance royalty of \$50 to \$500, the amount of which depends chiefly upon: the estimated hit-potentialities of the song; the standing and reputation of its writers; the opening in the publisher's current catalog for a song of the type submitted; "angles," i.e., assurances from performers that they will play the as yet unpublished song, and perhaps make a recording of it; and bidding for the song by other publishers.

²² Cf. T. W. Adorno, "The Fetish Character of Music and the Retrogression of Listening," *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, Vol. 7, 1938, p. 336.

²³ An experiment such as the following might reveal significant information: the first draft of "Deep Purple" by De Rose and Parish should be submitted for comparison with the finished product to the two panels suggested above. It might be assumed that the panels would not find the final version greatly superior to the original one, or even find it to be a "better song."

It should be parenthetically remarked here that when publishers pay a relatively large advance, they stress the point in selling the song to performers and producers.

After the necessary copyright²⁴ formalities have been cleared, the song²⁵ goes to the arranging department where the standard commercial piano copy (such as is sold at music stores) is made in one key. Simultaneously the title page for the commercial copy is made by special artists at a cost of \$15 to \$50. "Black and whites" are made from the commercial piano copy. These are also known as "professional copies" and "artists' advance copies," and are circulated throughout the industry and among performers.

The procedure of making-up and disseminating dance orchestrations and vocal orchestrations is not the same with all publishers. If a publisher is confident that the song he is just publishing will be successful, he has dance and vocal arrangements (the latter usually in three or four keys) made at the time the standard commercial piano copy is laid out. On the other hand, a publisher may wait several weeks before issuing the arrangements to determine how the song "is shaping up"—to see whether there is a sufficient demand for it. As dance orchestrations are expensive—costing from \$50 to \$150 each²⁶—and as many orchestras have their own

²⁴ A copyright extends over a period of 28 years, and is renewable for another 28 years.

²⁵ The above "blow-by-blow" account of the exploitation of a song was obtained from one of the Big Publishers; it is to be assumed that this procedure is more or less the same with all large music firms.

²⁶ According to the December 18, 1939, issue of *The Enquirer*, one arranger, Jack Mason, is responsible for the stock orchestrations of 33 per cent to 50 per cent of the top radio tunes.

arrangers, it sometimes happens that the publisher does not issue a dance arrangement.

When stock arrangements of a song are made up, they are sent as a matter of course to almost all important bands in all parts of the country. "Name bands" rarely ever use the "wholesale" orchestration (called a "stock arrangement"), but have their own arranger make up a new one in the orchestra's particular style.

Many of the best known bands have their own arranger (Fletcher Henderson with Benny Goodman, Sy Oliver with Tommy Dorsey, etc.) who are more or less "members" of the band, traveling with them, and continually supplying them with new arrangements. In addition to orchestrating, such arrangers—particularly colored ones—"drill" the band, i.e., supervise the rehearsal of new songs.

Besides this type of arranger, there are also "free-lance" arrangers who work independently on order. They may make either stock arrangements for the publisher or a special arrangement for a particular band. Some of the best musicians among band leaders, such as Count Basie, Duke Ellington and Benny Carter make their own arrangements.

An interesting aspect of the role of the arranger in the success of popular songs is found in the importance that little known orchestras throughout the country attach to the orchestrations of the leading arrangers. Thus it frequently happens that certain songs are selected by "local" bands because they are arranged by such skillful arrangers as Jimmy Mundy and Jack Mason. In such cases the song itself loses

all identity as a song, being de-individualized to the final degree. The actual *song* means nothing; the arrangement everything, and *any* of the endless Tin Pan Alley products would serve the same purpose.

It should be noted here that distinctive arrangements play a far greater part in the success of hits than is generally realized. Special mention must be made of the brilliant orchestrations of Duke Ellington, Fletcher Henderson and Benny Carter, who are among the most talented musicians in the entire field of "light music," and who are musically far superior to most Tin Pan Alley "composers." Accordingly their arrangements should be considered among the most important accomplishments in popular music.

EXPLOITATION

Preliminary Stage

The preliminary stage of exploitation may be described as follows: Advance copies ("black and whites") are sent out to all names (from 1,000 to 2,500) on the publisher's mailing list. Such a list includes program directors of radio stations throughout the country; musical directors of radio stations; program directors of the leading advertising agencies that sponsor commercial radio programs; singers and performers; and recording and transcription companies.

These same "black and whites" and, in addition, a dance arrangement for orchestra—when such is made—are sent

to: the major transcription companies; recording companies; and the music libraries of the networks and key stations. Similarly, all the leading orchestras—about 200—get dance arrangements. Finally, sample commercial piano copies (as sold), along with advertising material, are sent to music stores in all parts of the country. After this preliminary groundwork has been laid, the publisher begins to work on the song actively, that is, to “get it played” over the air and in places of entertainment and have it recorded.

According to the industry, it requires ten or fifteen weeks to advertise and exploit a popular song. These figures may be broken down as follows:

1. Preliminary advertising, which involves the circulation of the song among dealers, performers, radio stations and recording and transcription companies (from three to six weeks).
2. “Working on” the song, continuous exploitation by radio plugging (from three to six weeks).
3. Drive week, culmination of intensive plugging (one week).
4. “Follow-up” exploitation (two to five weeks).

The Song Plugger

Thus far the principal figures seen in the process of making a hit have been the writers of the song and the executives of the publishing house. Now the plugger appears—the protagonist in the struggle to get a song over to the public.

Song pluggers are hardy, indefatigable, insistent and relentless individuals whose sole mission in life is to persuade, wheedle, cajole and implore band leaders and singers to "do" their songs. As there is inevitably so much nagging—so much relentless persecution of performers by song pluggers—there has naturally come to be a feeling of hostility and resentment against this system.²⁷

During both the first and second stages in the process of making a hit it is the song plugger's function to communicate with performers and persuade them to play the song or songs his firm is working on. Big publishers employ from three to seven pluggers to carry out their campaigns, and their existence is the most hectic in the entire music business. They sleep by day, grab a bite of breakfast at noon, pore over program schedules in the afternoon, and then plug in the evening. Pluggers have between ten and twenty "contacts to make"—singers and band leaders to search out and convince that their current songs are the finest ever created by mortal man.²⁸

As the campaign of exploitation swings into action, the pluggers avidly study advance program schedules of bands on the major hookups, make plans for "lining up" network "shots," and in the evening begin to plug. Into the restau-

²⁷ Cf. *Metronome*, March 1938, p. 12, for a symposium, as it were, presenting the attitudes and reactions of pluggers and performers toward each other.

²⁸ Song pluggers with leading publishers receive from \$75 to \$150 a week, plus some \$25 to \$75 for expenses. "Professional Managers," i.e., "head pluggers," are paid as much as \$250 weekly and have larger expense accounts.

rants, nightclubs and hotels they go to buttonhole the band leader and begin their "spiel."

During this preliminary period of exploitation of three to six weeks, the song receives a certain amount of popularity—to a great extent synthetic, it is true—receiving some fifteen to forty radio performances a week over the two major networks (NBC and CBS). Orchestra leaders and singers agree that the usual audience reaction to a song at its introduction is a negative one, it is therefore necessary to repeat the number several times before it "catches on."²⁹ Thus the new song is formally introduced to the nation at large, to be played three to eight times nightly over coast-to-coast networks for a period of eight to ten weeks. In the meantime, the publisher anxiously scans weekly sales figures to determine audience reaction in terms of sales and to formulate plans for the important "drive week."

*Selection of Popular Songs by Performers*³⁰

Despite the fact that they are reluctant to admit it, publishers do dictate to a very great extent the tastes of the audience, and the process of developing a hit has become, in its broader aspects, an automatic one. Probably the most important factors influencing a performer to use a song is

²⁹ This can probably be explained in terms of recognition value. See T. W. Adorno, "On Popular Music," *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*, Vol. IX, No. 1, 1941, p. 32 ff.

³⁰ Because of the lack of documentary evidence, no mention has been made in this study of the many and varied methods of "getting songs played" (payment for plugs, payment for arrangements, loans, "favors," bribery, etc.), that have long been characteristic of the industry. It is of course obvious that these practices have been instrumental in the "success" of many songs.

the assurance of the publisher that it will be plugged and exploited. An estimated thirty-five to forty new songs are placed on the market each week. As only three to five (new songs, including standards and special numbers) are added to a band's library each week, it is obvious that leaders cannot audition all the new tunes that appear, but must as a rule confine their choice to songs which they know will be exploited into popularity by powerful publishers. As Artie Shaw says: ". . . few leaders play a new song solely because they think it's good. They play it only when a publisher assures them it will be the firm's No. 1 tune—the tune the publisher is going to work on and put money behind. They take no chances of introducing a song and then having it die on them."³¹

Orchestra leaders are hesitant about accepting a song, even though they may feel it has real merit, unless it has some "head start" to popularity, usually through the influential reputation of noted writers, or the publisher's assurance of extensive exploitation. No orchestra leader is in a position to have a costly arrangement made for a song and devote considerable time and effort to rehearsing it only to have it fail to become popular. He therefore makes his selection of songs—in most cases—from those which he knows will be exploited by the publisher.

Further confirmation of the automatic nature of the process of making a hit is found in the trade press:

³¹ Artie Shaw, "Music is a Business." *The Saturday Evening Post*, December 2, 1939, p. 68.

The disinclination among (radio) vocalists and band leaders to act on their own tastes or take a chance on something that the other fellow isn't using amounts almost to a phobia. *Their choice of numbers is dictated solely by either of two things: (1) the tune has a top or close to top rating on the "most played" list, or (2) the publisher has promised to make it his No. 1 plug.*³²

In addition, though of course much less important, personal factors, which have little if anything to do with the actual merit of the song, likewise enter into the decision of orchestra leaders concerning the numbers they use. Every dance band leader likes to be known as the "introducer" of very successful songs to induce the public to regard him as an outstanding maker of hits. Accordingly, he may refuse to use a number unless his picture will be featured on the cover of the commercial sheet music with the tag-line "Introduced and Featured by . . ." In this connection, it is interesting to note that a song may appear with the photographs of as many as twenty different leaders on the cover, the procedure being to substitute a different leader's picture after a certain number of copies have been printed. In this fashion propaganda and prestige are created for a number of performers. If an orchestra leader is on location outside New York, his photograph is placed on the covers of sheet music distributed in that city. This accounts for the unusual fact that pictures of obscure orchestra leaders are featured as "introducers" of big hits, whereas actually their part in popularizing them is a very negligible one.

Similarly a leader will use a song if the publisher will

³² *Variety*, January 3, 1940, p. 91.

give him an "exclusive performance" right to introduce it for a period of from three to six weeks. By such an arrangement, the orchestra records the selection and features it as often as possible on the radio, becoming after several weeks closely identified with its success.

Recording executives more or less automatically record songs by noted writers—generally published by Big Publishers—even though they may consider them inferior material. This is especially true in the case of musical comedy and film tunes; when writers who have turned out a series of successful musicals or films, complete a new score, the majority of the selections—good or bad—will be recorded without question by the major companies. Similarly, recording companies usually will automatically record songs from Big Publishers on the assumption that the songs of these firms will be developed into hits.

In connection with recordings, it should be pointed out that some leaders are reluctant to accept a number into their libraries unless it is given to them to record. This implies that the majority of selections in their catalogs is made up of numbers which they have recorded. By featuring these songs, they are able to create a demand for their recorded versions.

"Drive Week"

After the first two periods of exploitation, it is customary for the publisher to climax his promotional activity by a week of intense plugging designed to play the song into the ears

of the maximum number of listeners. This decisive phase of exploitation, known as "drive week," represents the culmination of the plugging campaign. Before drive week the plugger must prevail upon as many orchestra leaders and singers as possible to co-operate with him and push the song he is working on to the top of the "sheet." This means that he must persuade them to play his song, regardless of its real popularity, on as many of their broadcasts as possible over WABC, WEAJ and WJZ and their affiliated networks. If the plugger is successful in his contacts, drive week ends with the song in the number one position—or at least a place among the leaders—on the "sheet," possibly having received as many as 55 "shots" on the *Variety* lists. (The plug lists in *The Billboard* and *The Enquirer* include only songs played between 5:00 P.M. and 1:00 A.M.; numbers on these lists therefore are credited with fewer performances.)

Such a drive week enables the publisher to form a definite idea of how the song "is going over." The performances are not entirely an end, but largely a means of advertising. Through this concentrated plugging, the song has reached what might be considered its maximum audience, and unless sheet sales show a favorable reaction to this period of intensive exploitation, the plugging campaign for this particular song is ended and the publisher goes to work on another tune. It is true that there is usually a "follow-up" period of from two to five weeks immediately after the drive week, in which the pluggers still keep the song played frequently, though not as frequently as before. If there is not by this

time a definite rise in sales figures, the song is abandoned as a "dog" that will soon disappear from the air.

The "Sheet"

As the "sheet" plays such an important part in the popular music industry, an explanation of this remarkable song-score board and its influence is appropriate here. The sheet is a list of the currently popular songs with the number of radio performances (10 or more) received by each one over the three major networks (WABC, WAAF and WJZ) from 5:00 P.M. to 1:00 A.M. "Making the sheet" each week is the principal goal in life of every song plugger, and his success is judged by his ability to get songs on the sheet and keep them in high positions in this tabulation of plugs.

Of the three such plug lists that appear in *The Billboard*, *Variety* and *The Enquirer*, perhaps the most important to the trade is *The Enquirer* sheet issued each Sunday. In addition to the usual numerical listing of plugs, *The Enquirer* carries an accompanying column by the paper's music editor that sums up the week's activities of the song pluggers, excerpts of which (from the issue of December 18, 1939) are given here:

"All the Things You Are" took first place, with 11 lengths to spare, guided by Eddie Wolpin and staff, who also spotted "I Didn't Know What Time It Was" in third place tie for Henry Spitzer at Chappell's. Clever work, boys. "Who Told You I Cared" grabbed place coin, handled by Norman Foley and Colleagues—Jack Robbins' staff piloted "Lilacs in the Rain" into 6th position, while Johnny White's warriors dropped "Can I Help It" into the 5th

hole. The Santly-Joy staff *upped* "Honestly" from 14th to 9th place.

Of particular interest in this column is the admiration expressed in jargon borrowed from the sporting world for the prowess of the pluggers in "piloting" their songs. Here the emphasis does not fall upon the quality of the song or its natural popularity, but almost completely upon the plugger's ability to "up" it to a high position on the sheet. In other words this is the success story of pluggers and their accomplishments and not of songs per se.

Once a song is high up in the plug lists, its "popularity" is increased as it is played more and more on commercial programs—solely because it is a leader on the sheet. In an article³³ by a Big Publisher that singles out the sheet as the "greatest evil in the music business," the situation is well expressed:

What is occurring today in the music business as a result of the sheet may result in a major casualty. *Seldom are any popular songs of the day judged by orchestra leaders and performers on their melodic or lyric merit. For the most part, and especially on large commercial radio programs, a song is played only if it attains high representation on the weekly recapitulation report—regardless of its musical worth.*

Elsewhere in the trade press³⁴ the dependence of agency-sponsored programs upon the plug lists is commented upon:

³³ Jack Mills, "Taking Radio Plugs for a Ride," *The Billboard*, December 31, 1938, p. 79.

³⁴ *Variety*, January 24, 1940, p. 35.

As for the commercial programs overseered by ad agency men the repertoires still depend on how they stand on the "most played" list. If it isn't among the first 10 or 15, the agency producer no want.

Thus the sheet may be cited as one of the reasons why the level of the average popular songs remains so low. If such an easily accessible standard of mass acceptance and predetermined influencing of tastes is available, there is little chance that anyone will dare to make experiments with new forms and invest time, money and energy to enlarge the range of these products.

High Pressure Plugging of Songs and Entertainers on the Radio

Exploitation by means of artificial build-up not only includes plugging in the literal sense of the ceaseless repetition of the same number but also to the way of presentation, to announcement, name plugging, build-up of orchestra leaders, all-star polls, and so on. The following examples may illustrate some of these aspects of plugging.

A very important psychological effect is the build-up by radio announcers of certain songs and featured performers. Frequently songs are presented to the radio audience as "the latest smash hit" or "one of Tin Pan Alley's most outstanding contributions."

As publishers seize every possible opportunity to spread favorable propaganda for their songs, it would be logical to assume that they would concentrate on getting announcers

to introduce songs in this pseudo-enthusiastic manner. However, as far as could be ascertained from interviews with the announcing staffs of the two major networks, announcers are rarely approached by publishers requesting favorable introductions of this nature. Such "build-ups" are prohibited at NBC by a regulation which requires announcers to present sustaining programs of dance music as simply as possible and without any unnecessary plugs concerning the popularity or "outstanding" character of any song. CBS has no specific ruling against announcements which might serve to influence listeners favorably toward a particular song, but according to information obtained, the network would be quick to act against any excessive plugging on the part of its announcers. When such build-ups do occur, they are usually interpolated by the announcer to inject some element of "human interest" in the necessarily monotonous routine of announcing a number of similar dance tunes.

On the other hand, there are commercial programs that make definite attempts to popularize and "glamourize" the performers (orchestras, orchestra leaders, singers and song writers) and the material (renditions and songs) featured on these programs.

In industrial civilization there is a tremendous temptation to be interested in "the best," "the biggest," or "the finest." It is particularly true that the American is irresistibly lured by superlatives and is drawn into favoring "the best," "the newest," or "the king" of this or that. Thus Jimmy Dorsey,

who was only recently labeled "The World's Greatest Saxophonist" was named by both "All-Star Polls"—sponsored by *Metronome*³⁵ and *Down Beat*³⁶—as "The Greatest Alto Saxophonist," receiving 975 votes in *Metronome's* mythical band of stars and 5,109 in the contest conducted by *Down Beat*. Johnny Hodges, who is regarded by musicians and jazz experts as a vastly superior musician, received, as a comparatively obscure member of Duke Ellington's orchestra, only 594 votes for second place in *Metronome's* poll and 1,219 ballots for third place in the *Down Beat* voting.

The influence of prestige-reputation and build-up upon producer and consumer may be illustrated at this point by a brief history of the song "Day In—Day Out" from manuscript to hit-dom. Johnny Mercer and Rube Bloom are recognized by the industry as outstanding "consistent writers" with a number of past successes to their credit. Any song that they write, therefore, is certain to be given favorable consideration by publishers, consciously or unconsciously, reflecting an attitude of "this-may-be-another-terrific-hit," or "if-I-don't-take-it, some-other-publisher-will."

Once this song has been published by a Big Publisher (in this case B-V-C), it is extensively exploited by leading performers.

Now comes the build-up on the part of the program announcer as the song is introduced on the Camel Caravan³⁷

³⁵ *Metronome*, January 1940, p. 12.

³⁶ *Down Beat*, January 1, 1940, p. 12.

³⁷ Camel Caravan, August 22, 1939, 9:30 E.S.T. over WABC. Wm. Esty Agency.

featuring Bob Crosby's orchestra, Helen Ward and Johnny Mercer:

CROSBY: Yes sir! Where else in the country can you get this *sensational two-for-one*. Our *lovely* singer Helen Ward, and in the same package, a *brand-new song with words by our versatile verser, Johnny Mercer*.

"CUSTOMER" in the Dixieland Music Shop: Sounds *swell* to me.

CROSBY: It's a Dixieland Music Shop *Exclusive*, because it's *the first performance on the air*.

CUSTOMER: That Johnny Mercer certainly keeps busy. Just give him a pad and pencil, and the first thing you know Johnny comes out with a lyric like "Jeepers Creepers"³⁸ or "You Must Have Been a Beautiful Baby."³⁸

CROSBY: That's right, and "Cuckoo in the Clock," "Could Be" and "And the Angels Sing."³⁸

CUSTOMER: That's a *lot of hits for any man in one year*.

CROSBY: It sure is, and *we know you're all going to sing, dance and whistle this new one into another winner*. So here it comes, *words by Johnny Mercer, music by Rube Bloom, sung by Helen Ward, and Johnny calls it "Day In—Day Out."*

As predicted, the song "Day In—Day Out" was "sung, danced and whistled into another winner," and October 21, 1939, it was the Number One song on the Hit Parade. On October 24, 1939, this selection was again featured on the Camel Caravan with the following build-up:

CROSBY: Not long ago we gave *a new song its first demonstration*, and I remember I said to Johnny Mercer, who wrote the words, "John T," I said, "*that is a lallapalooza of a lyric. That,*" I said, "*will be the nation's number one hit before Hallowe'en,*" end quote.

³⁸ Listed as one of the 20 Best Sellers for 1939 (*Variety*, January 3, 1940, p. 124).

And sure enough it is, with music by Rube Bloom and *words by Johnny Mercer*.³⁹

The new song now bears close resemblance to a "best-seller" on the book market. Just as it is "the thing to do" to read the most publicized book of the day, it is correspondingly advantageous from the prestige standpoint to know—and very often to like—"the most popular song in the country."

Listeners who heard the first presentation of "Day In—Day Out" in all probability feel that they are "in on" an important introduction, and are likely to be interested in following the career of the song to see whether it will really become a hit or will turn out to be just another song. Theirs is a "personal interest," and on rehearing it as the country's most popular song, they are in a position to tell friends with a feeling of pride and prestige: "I heard that song the first time it was played on the radio."

Such pseudo-enthusiastic plugging is not limited to songs, as performers of this music are frequently heavily plugged in a similar fashion in an attempt to convince the listener that the program in question features "the greatest" performers on the air. Of special interest are the following samples of "build-up" given Benny Goodman during the past four years—plugging which has had an incalculable effect in making the radio audience accept him and his orchestra unconditionally as "the greatest swing-band" of all time:

³⁹ Camel Caravan, October 24, 1939 (9:30 E.S.T.), over WABC.

ANNOUNCER: Ladies and gentlemen: It is my pleasure and my privilege to introduce a man whose soaring genius marks him not as a mortal man, but as a man among tens of millions of mortal men—Benny Goodman, Capital B-E-N-N-Y G-O-O-D-M-A-N.⁴⁰

ANNOUNCER: The makers of Camel Cigarettes present the Saturday night Camel Caravan with Benny Goodman, and *the greatest assembly of swing artists in the world.*

. . . And here he is—The King of Swing—Benny Goodman.⁴¹

ANNOUNCER: And now—one of those early rockeroos *that put Benny Goodman on the throne, and made him the King of Swing.*⁴²

In similar fashion featured singers and instrumentalists are enthusiastically plugged:

JOHNNY MERCER: And one of the *main reasons it's really going places is the way Bob Crosby sings it.*⁴³

ANNOUNCER: Yeah, you're right. She's here. *The Queen herself*—Mildred Bailey. *The one who started a style of singing no one's ever been able to copy.* We hear that Bailey style *at its best tonight as Mildred sings one of the most beautiful ballads of recent months—*“The Lamp Is Low.”⁴⁴

GOODMAN: And incidentally, Charlie Christian, who was unknown six months ago, is being named in this same poll (“All-Star Band Contest” in *Down Beat Magazine*) *as the best swing guitarist in the country.*⁴⁵

Not directly connected with this investigation of popular music on the air, but still of great interest and importance are the “All-Star Polls” conducted by various trade journals.

⁴⁰ Camel Caravan, October 7, 1939, at 10:00 over WEA.F.

⁴¹ Camel Caravan, October 21, 1939, at 10:00 over WEA.F.

⁴² Camel Caravan, October 21, 1939, at 10:00 over WEA.F.

⁴³ Camel Caravan, October 3, 1939, 9:30 E.S.T. over WABC.

⁴⁴ Camel Caravan, October 7, 1939, 10:00 E.S.T. over WEA.F.

⁴⁵ Camel Caravan, December 2, 1939, 10:00 E.S.T. over WEA.F.

These yearly contests purport to present a composite all-star dance band, as selected by the magazines' readers. Although the magazines stress the fact that the voting is done chiefly by "musicians," i.e., qualified judges of instrumentalists, the results indicate that a large number of votes are cast by jitterbugs, who could in no way be called discriminating appraisers of genuine, outstanding musicianship. It is, of course, significant that of the sixteen performers named on *Down Beat's* "1939 All-American Band,"⁴⁶ eleven are name band leaders⁴⁷ in their own right, four are featured instrumentalists with name bands (three with Goodman, one with Bob Crosby), while the remaining position was filled by the highly publicized Bing Crosby.

It may be safely assumed that important among the dominant factors motivating the preference of jitterbugs for certain bands and performers are: (1) the hero-celebrity lure of certain leaders, (2) (largely overlapping the first point) the prestige-popularity influence of name bands, and (3) sensationalism of performers.

Probably the most important factor in influencing ignorant and undiscerning jitterbugs to vote for certain musicians is the prestige and reputation of favorite name bands and leaders. *Metronome* comments as follows upon the prestige influence:

⁴⁶ *Down Beat*, January 7, 1940, p. 13.

⁴⁷ It is revealing to note that *Down Beat* was forced to eliminate the choice of band leaders in subsequent polls, as it was obvious that a great many votes were cast solely because of the leaders' prestige and reputation.

Note throughout that in all departments, *men playing with name bands drew large votes, greater in many instances than their musicianship warrants.*⁴⁸

In this statement lies the explanation of countless ballots—the “glamorous” mass-appeal of the celebrity.

Even more convincing evidence of the irresistible lure of prestige and the positive effects of plugging is found in the record of Charlie Christian in *Down Beat's* “1939 All-American Band.”⁴⁹ Until Christian joined the Benny Goodman band in the summer of 1939, he was a totally unknown musician in Oklahoma. Six months later, as a heavily plugged feature member of Goodman’s orchestra, he was named “The Best Guitarist in the Country” with a total of 2,665 to 1,877 votes for his nearest competitor.

As far as sensationalism of performers is concerned, one must have a rather primitive idea of this sensationalism. Its criterion is not based upon instrumental virtuosity or artistry, but upon—“the louder the better.” This can be confirmed by a comparison of the applause of broadcasting studio audiences—made up largely of jitterbugs—following solo performances by Gene Krupa (drums), Harry James (trumpet), and Jess Stacy (piano) of the Benny Goodman orchestra. In each case it was noted that the loud and spectacular soli of Krupa and James were received with much more ostentatious enthusiasm than those of Stacy, although there are few jazz experts who would admit that Krupa and James are superior musicians.

⁴⁸ *Metronome*, January 1939, p. 14.

⁴⁹ *Down Beat*, January 1, 1940, p. 13.

The result of the whole plugging mechanism in all its different aspects may be summed up as follows: The public at large—more specifically the radio audience—has been led more and more to the point of merely accepting these songs as standardized (musical) products, with less and less active resentment and critical interest. While the accepted songs are being incessantly hammered into the listeners' heads, the prestige build-up strives to make the audience believe that this constant repetition is due to the inherent qualities of the song, rather than to the will to sell it—either for prestige or for profits. Thus it may be assumed that this controlled repetition and manipulated recommendation seem to tend to the standardization of the tastes of the listener and the subsequent gradual eradication of these tastes.

THE RADIO SYMPHONY

*An Experiment in Theory*¹

by T. W. Adorno

The Problem

TO make a study of what radio transmission does musically to a musical structure or to different kinds of music would be a vast undertaking. It involves problems of a great many types and levels, concerning the material and the technicalities of transmission,² which can be solved only by the close collaboration of analytically minded musicians, social scientists, and experts on radio engineering. Here would appear

¹ The author wishes to express his indebtedness for editorial assistance to Josef Maier and George Simpson.

² Of the related problems, which may very well basically affect the structure and the meaning of broadcast music, we refer only to one: the problem of the hear-stripe. Even if the set functions properly, the "current," namely, the thermal noises, can be heard. These continuous noises constitute a hear-stripe. The hear-stripe, which of course varies with the quality of the set, tends to disappear from the musical surface as soon as the performance takes shape. But it still can be heard underneath the music. It may not attract any attention and it may not even enter the listener's consciousness; but as an objective characteristic of the phenomenon it plays a part in the apperception of the whole.

One might venture to suggest that the psychological effect of the hear-stripe is somewhat similar to the awareness of the screen in the movies: music appearing upon such a hear-stripe may bear a certain image-like character of its own. Since at the present stage in technical development—particularly by means of FM—this undercurrent of noise is supposed to be abolished, the present study does not take into broader consideration this particular aspect of the field.

the problem of the role played in traditional serious music by the "original"—that is, the life performance one actually experiences, as compared with mass reproduction on the radio. Or one would have to investigate to what extent the technical conditions of jazz in themselves establish a configuration of quasi-mechanized technique with quasi-subjective expression weirdly analogous to that of the actual mechanization of radio transmission with the quasi-expressive ballads with which our radio programs are jammed. Attention must be accorded to Chamber music, which structurally is best suited to radio transmission but which, for socio-psychological reasons, is very rarely heard over the air.³

It is not our intention to do more than suggest the significance of such problems here. Instead of elaborating them systematically to their fullest extent, we restrict ourselves to one example analyzed in detail, in order to demonstrate concretely the implications as well as the complexity of the field. We are primarily concerned with pointing out the fact that serious music as communicated over the ether may

³ The fact that a majority of listeners prefer "symphonic" music to Chamber music can be accounted for as follows:

- a. the factor of primitive and spectacular strength of sound, its "publicity character";
- b. a multicolored structure is more attractive to the untrained ear than a unicolored one;
- c. the specific symphonic intensity and emphasis, a feature, in which Chamber music is more or less lacking;
- d. the structure of symphonic music of the "classical" period is often simpler than that of Chamber music of the same period. This holds good particularly for the question of polyphony. The texture of classical Chamber music is generally more polyphonous than that of symphonies. Polyphony, however, to most listeners is the main obstacle to understanding.

indeed offer optimum conditions for retrogressive tendencies in listening, for the avalanche of fetishism which is overtaking music and burying it under the moraine of entertainment. The statement of the problem and the model analysis which we offer here are in the nature of a challenge to musical and social research. We are undertaking an experiment in theory.

The subject matter of this experiment in theory is the fate of the symphony and, more specifically, of the Beethoven symphony, when it is transmitted by radio. The reasons for this approach are sociological and musical. A typical statement exhibiting official optimism presents claims that today "the farmers' wives in the prairie states listen to great music performed by great artists as they go about their morning housework."⁴ The Beethoven symphony is popularly identified with such great music. The truth or falsity of such complaisant statements concerning the spreading of great music, however, can be gleaned only by an investigation into their presuppositions, namely, the naive identification of a broadcast with the presentation of a life symphony.

The musical reasons for the choice of the symphony as instance, become clear in the course of the analysis. Beethoven is selected not only because he is the standard classic of cultural sales talk in music, but also because his music exhibits most clearly some of the features we regard as par-

⁴ Dixon Skinner, "Music Goes into Mass Production," *Harper's Magazine*, April, 1939, p. 487.

ticularly affected by radio transmission. Earlier symphonic music is less exposed to changes by radio because the problem of sound volume and the issue of dynamic development play a lesser role than in Beethoven; the later romantic symphony is less characteristic because it does not offer the central problem of the radio symphony: the problem of the fate of the "integral form."

Characteristics of the Symphony

Even those who optimistically assume that radio brings great symphonic music to people who never heard it before, concede that symphonies brought to the overburdened hypothetical farmer in the Middle West are somewhat affected and deteriorated by radio transmission. But in principle, they maintain that these differences matter only to the musical snobs⁵ who know so much about music in general and about symphonic music in particular. The finer shades and differences—so they say—are of no importance to the layman who must first become acquainted with the material. Better a symphony that is not quite as good as it is supposed to be in Carnegie Hall, than no symphony at all. Whoever dares to oppose such a view is likely to be regarded as an esthete who has no true sympathy for the needs and desires of the people. Yet the social analyst must risk being castigated as a misanthrope if he is to pursue social essence, as distinct from the façade.

Analysis of a radio symphony must rid itself of the com-

⁵ Cf. Robert West, *S-o-o-o-o You're Going on the Air*. New York, p. 56.

mon-sense view that the alterations brought about by radio have no significant bearing on the symphonic purpose. To begin with, it must cast off the conventional definition of symphony which asserts that it is merely a sonata for orchestra.⁶ For insight into the changes a Beethoven symphony suffers in radio transmission, depends upon the specific understanding of symphonic form as it crystallized and maintained itself in the comparatively short period of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. This specific understanding is not furthered by analyzing the symphony in stereotyped terms such as exposition, development, repetition, or even more subtle ones such as the antagonism of the two main subjects of the exposition,⁷ their "bridge," their conclusion, the way they develop and undergo their modified recurrence. However easy it may be to identify all those typical constituents of form in every Beethoven symphony, they are essential not abstractly, but only within the inter-

⁶ Cf. Paul Bekker, *The Symphony from Beethoven to Mahler*, Berlin, 1918. Paper read before the Frankfurt Main Association for Modern Art, 1918, p. 8.

⁷ The "dualism" of themes, which is, by most commentators, urged as the main characteristic of the sonata form in general and the symphonic form in particular, actually plays only a minor role in Beethoven. Generally the "second" theme is by no means in marked contrast to the first theme (as it is, for instance, in the first movement of romantic symphonies even as early as Schubert's C Major and B Minor) but is carefully "mediated" with the first theme to avoid any sharp contrast which might endanger the unity of the whole movement. Further, in Beethoven the so-called second theme is very seldom "one" theme but, in most cases, a unity of manifold thematic ingredients so that it is often difficult to identify one particular thematic *Gestalt* as "the" second theme. This is especially apparent in one of Beethoven's most famous symphonic pieces, the first movement of the Ninth Symphony. The replacement of the actual Beethoven symphony by patterns of late romanticism is reflected even in the way in which musical commentators talk about it: they mistake it for Tchaikowsky.

play of the inexchangeable content of each work. Such schematic identification actually is *too* easy: any approach starting from the mere recognition of those invariants, tends to deliver listening up to a mechanical process in which any symphony can be replaced by any other which has the same framework.

If reference to those terms does not add much in the actual following of a specific work, it is even less helpful in achieving an understanding of the meaning and function of symphonic form *per se*.

What characterizes a symphony when experienced in immediate listening, as distinct not only from Chamber music, but also from orchestral forms such as the suite or the "tone poem," is a particular intensity and concentration. This intensity rests musically upon the incomparably greater density and concision of thematic relationships of the symphonic as against other forms. This density and concision are strictly technical and not merely a by-product of expression. They imply first a complete economy of craft; that is to say, a truly symphonic movement contains nothing fortuitous, every bit is ultimately traceable to very small basic elements, and is deduced from them and not introduced, as it were, from outside, as in romantic music.⁸

⁸ Extreme examples of this characteristic are evident in some few works of Beethoven in which the first and second themes are actually identical and only presented in a different mode, as in the first movement of the *Appassionata*. Such cases are exceptions, but only in the sense that they bring to the fore a tendency which operates to one degree or another latently throughout Beethoven's mature works. The identity of the basic motifical content of apparently widely divergent themes of a Beethoven movement can be demon-

Secondly, this economy itself does not reside in a static identity, as in preclassical music. It is not content with mere repetition, but is intrinsically bound up with variation. If everything in a Beethoven symphony is identical in its ultimate motifical content, nothing is literally identical in the sense of plain repetition, but everything is "different" according to the function it exercises within the development of the whole. A Beethoven symphonic movement is essentially the unity of a manifold as well as the manifoldness of a unity, namely, of the identical thematic material. This interrelationship of perpetual variation is unfolded as a process—never through mere "statement" of detail. It is the most completely organized piece of music that can be achieved. Every detail, however spontaneous in emphasis, is absorbed in the whole by its very spontaneity and gets its true weight only by its relation to the whole, as revealed finally by the symphonic process. Structurally, one hears the first bar of a Beethoven symphonic movement only at the very moment when one hears the last bar. Romanticism failed to produce symphonic works of this exacting character because the increase in importance of the expressive detail as against the whole, rendered impossible the determination

strated in a less obvious yet striking example,—the Waldstein Sonata. Here the character of the second theme, in E major—its "cantability"—is actually very different from the character of the first theme in C major—its quick pulsation. Yet the second theme is based upon an "inversion" of the intervals of the first theme, within the space of a fifth. One may characterize this technique in Beethoven as that of universal variation. In later composers this technique has been employed only by Brahms and by the Schoenberg school to any large extent.

of every moment by the totality. While listening to a typical romantic symphony one remains fully conscious, sometimes all too conscious,⁹ of the time it consumes, despite the immensely progressive novelty of the details. With Beethoven it is different. The density of thematic interwovenness, of "antiphonic" work, tends to produce what one might call a suspension of time consciousness.

When a movement like the first of Beethoven's Fifth or Seventh Symphonies, or even a very long one such as the first of the *Eroica* is performed adequately, one has the feeling that the movement does not take seven or fifteen minutes or more, but virtually one moment. It is this very power of symphonic contraction of time which annihilates, for the duration of the adequate performance, the contingencies of the listener's private existence—thus constituting the actual basis of those experiences which, in commentator phraseology, are called the elatedness of an audience as a result of the sublimity of the symphony.

The Role of Sound Intensity

To what extent are the inherent constituents of the Beethoven symphonic form realized by radio?

To start from the most primitive fact about symphonic music: it may be stated in terms of "absolute dynamics," the meaning of which is well-known from the visual sphere, particularly from architecture. A cathedral acquires an essential

⁹ The famous slogan about Schubert's "heavenly lengths" applies to this fact.

condition of its actual function, as well as its esthetic meaning, only in proportion to the human body. A model of a cathedral in table size is something totally different from the actual cathedral, not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. On the Campo Santo in Genoa, there is a tomb in the form of a diminutive imitation of the Milan dome. The building itself, which is of highly questionable architectural value, becomes plainly ridiculous in miniature: the impression one has is much like the one received upon seeing the sugar-coated architecture of wedding cakes. The question of absolute dimensions in architecture has its counterpart in music in the question of absolute dynamics.

The power of a symphony to "absorb" its parts into the organized whole, depends, in part, upon the sound volume. Only if the sound is "larger," as it were, than the individual so as to enable him to "enter" the door of the sound as he would enter through the door of a cathedral, may he really become aware of the possibility of merging with the totality which structurally does not leave any loophole. The element of being larger may be construed comparatively in terms of the intensity range; that is to say, the intensity range of symphonic sound must be larger, because of the exigencies of symphonic form, than any musical range the individual listener can conceive of producing himself either by singing or playing.¹⁰ Absolute symphonic dimensions, furthermore, carry with them the existence of an experience which it is

¹⁰ This largeness of sound has nothing to do with noisiness, but simply with the necessity for enclosing the listener. It is not a matter of loudness but of a wide range between minimum and maximum sound.

difficult to render even in rough terms, but which is, none the less, fundamental in the apperception of symphony and is the true musical objective of technical discussion of auditory perspective: the experience of symphonic space. To "enter" a symphony means to listen to it not only as to something before one, but as something around one as well, as a medium in which one "lives." It is this surrounding quality that comes closest to the idea of symphonic absorption.

All these qualities are radically affected by radio. The sound is no longer "larger" than the individual. In the private room, that magnitude of sound causes disproportions which the listener mutes down. The "surrounding" function of music also disappears, partly because of the diminutions of absolute dimensions, partly because of the monaural conditions of radio broadcasting. What is left of the symphony even in the ideal case of an adequate reproduction of sound colors, is a mere Chamber symphony.¹¹ If the symphony

¹¹ Here, as in innumerable other cases, radio is an executor of musical and social tendencies which have developed extraneous to it. In musical production itself, independent of radio, the form of Chamber symphony and other hybrids between orchestra and Chamber music, have gained an ever-increasing importance since Schoenberg's *Kammersymphonie* (1906). Whatever the merits of this development for composition itself, the transformation of a Beethoven symphony into a *Kammersymphonie* by radio, certainly undermines what is conventionally regarded as a main asset of radio transmission, namely, its seemingly collective message. It is hard to reconcile the experience of collectivity with that of "chamber." The German musicologist, Paul Bekker, went so far as to define symphony by its collective message, by its community-building power. Obviously, this theory loses its point when the situation of symphony listeners becomes one of complete atomization, such as symbolized by millions of individuals scattered among their various "chambers," at the same time as the symphony they get is a Chamber symphony.

today reaches masses who have never before been in touch with it, it does so in a way in which their collective aspect and what might be called the collective aspect of the symphony itself, are practically eliminated from the musical pattern,—which becomes, as it were, a piece of furniture of the private room.

One must be careful not to derive therefrom a premature judgment on radio, or try to “save” music from it. The abolition of the “surrounding” quality of music on the radio, has its progressive aspects. This “surrounding” quality of music is certainly part of music’s function as a drug, the criticism of which, inaugurated by Nietzsche and revived by such contemporary writers as Jean Cocteau, is justified and has been considerably furthered by radio. The drug tendency is very clear in Wagner where the mere magnitude of the sound, into whose waves the listener can dive, is one of the means of catching the listeners, quite apart from any specific musical content. In Beethoven, where the musical content is highly articulate, the largeness of the sound does not have this irrational function, but is the more intrinsically connected with the structural devices of the work, and is therefore also the more deeply affected by broadcasting. Paradoxical as it may appear, a Beethoven symphony becomes more problematical as a broadcast than the music of a Wagner opera.

Threat to the Structure

This may be made clear by such a well-known piece of music as the first movement of the Fifth Symphony. It is characterized by its simplicity. A very short and precise motif, the one with which it opens, is conveyed by an unabating intensity of presentation. Throughout the movement it remains clearly recognizable as the same motif: its rhythm is vigorously maintained. Yet there is no mere repetition, but development: the melodic content of the basic rhythm, that is to say, the intervals which constitute it, change perpetually; it gains structural perspective by wandering from one instrument or instrumental group to another and appearing sometimes in the foreground as a main event, at other times as a mere background and accompaniment. Above all, it is presented in gradations, dynamic developments, the continuity of which is achieved through the identity of the basic material. At the same time, this identity is modified by the different dynamic grades in which the basic motif occurs. Thus the simplicity of the movement is inextricably bound up with an elaborate richness of texture: the richness prevents the simple form becoming primitive, while simplicity prevents richness from dissipation into mere details. It is this unity within the manifold as well as this manifoldness within that unity which constitute the antiphonic work finally terminating in the suspension of time-consciousness. This inter-relationship of unity and manifoldness, and not only the

loudness of the sound, is itself affected by the dynamic reductions of radio.

First of all, the whole building up of the movement upon the one simple motif—the creation *ex nihilo*, as it were, which is so highly significant in Beethoven—can be made understandable only if the motif, which is actually nothing in itself, is presented in such a way that from the very beginning it is underscored as the substance of everything that is to come. The first bars of the Fifth Symphony, if rightly performed, must possess the characteristic of a “statement,” of a “positing.” This positing characteristic, however, can be achieved only by the utmost dynamic intensity. Hence, the question of loudness ceases to be a purely external one and affects the very structure of symphony. Presented without the dynamic emphasis which makes out of the Nothing of the first bars virtually the Everything of the total movement, the idea of the work is missed before it has been actually started. The suspension of time-consciousness is endangered from the very beginning: the simple, no longer emphasized in its paradoxical nature as Nothing and Everything, threatens to degenerate into the trite if the “nothingness” of the beginning fails to be absorbed into the whole by the impetus of the statement. The tension is broken and the whole movement is on the verge of relapsing into time.

It is threatened, even more, by the compression of the dynamic range. Only if the motif can develop from the restrained pianissimo to the striking yet affirming fortissimo, is it actually revealed as the “cell” which represents the

whole even when exposed as a mere monad. Only within the tension of such a gradation does its repetition become more than repetition. The more the gradation is compressed—which is necessarily the case in radio—the less this tension is felt. Dynamic repetition is replaced by a mere ornamental, tectonic one. The movement loses its character of process and the static repetition becomes purposeless: the material repeated is so simple that it requires no repetition to be understood. Though something of the tension is still preserved by radio, it does not suffice. The Beethoven tension obtains its true significance in the range from Nothing to All. As soon as it is reduced to the medium range between piano and forte, the Beethoven symphony is deprived of the secret of origin as well as the might of unveiling.

It could be argued that all these changes by radio turn the symphony into a work of chamber music which, although different from symphony, has merits of its own. A symphony, conceived in symphonic terms, however, would necessarily become a bad work of chamber music. Its symphonic simplicity would make itself felt as poverty in chamber music texture, as lack of polyphonous interwovenness of parts as well as want of extensive melodic lines developed simultaneously. Simplicity would cease to function in the symphonic way. Clearly, a Beethoven symphony played on the piano by four hands, although it is only a one-color reproduction, is to be preferred to a chamber music arrangement, because it still preserves something of the specifically symphonic attack by fingers striking the keys, whereas that

value is destroyed by the softened chamber music arrangement, which, by virtue of its mere arrangedness, easily approaches the sound of the so-called salon orchestra. Radio symphony bears a stronger resemblance to the chamber music transcription than to the simple yet faithful translation into the mere piano sound. Its colorfulness is as questionable as it would be in a salon arrangement. For the sound colors, too, are affected on the air, and it is through their deterioration that the work becomes bad chamber music. Symphonic richness is distorted no less than symphonic simplicity. While trying to keep the symphonic texture as plain and transparent as possible, Beethoven articulates it by attaching the smallest units of motifical construction to as many different instruments and instrumental groups as possible. These smallest units together form the surface of an outspoken melody, while their coloristic differentiation realizes at the same time the construction and all its interrelationships underneath the surface. The finer the shades of motifical interrelationships within the construction, the finer necessarily the shades of changing sound colors. These essential subtleties more than anything else tend to be effaced by radio. While exaggerating conspicuous contrasts, radio's neutralization of sound colors practically blots out precisely those minute differences upon which the classical orchestra is built as against the Wagnerian, which has much larger coloristic means at its disposal.

Richard Strauss, in his edition of Berlioz' *Treatise on Instrumentation*, observes that the second violins—never

quite so brilliant and intense as the first violins—are different instruments, so to speak, from the first.¹² Such differences play a decisive part in the Beethoven articulation of symphonic texture: a single melody, subdivided between first violins, second violins and violas, becomes plastic according to the instrumental disposition—that is to say, the elements of the melody which are meant to be decisive are played by the first violins while those intended rather as incidental are played by the second violins or violas. At the same time, their unity is maintained by the fact that they are all strings playing in the same tonal region. Radio achieves only unity, whereas differences such as those between first and second violins are automatically eliminated. Moreover, certain sound colors, like that of the oboe, are changed to such an extent that the instrumental equilibrium is thrown out of joint. All these colors are more than mere means of instrumental make-up, that is, are integral parts of the composition which they as well as the dynamics articulate; their alteration consummates the damage wreaked by radio upon symphonic structure. The less articulate symphony becomes, the more does it lose its character of unity and deteriorate into a conventional and simultaneously slack sequence, consisting of the recurrence of neat tunes whose interrelation is of no import whatever. Thus it becomes ever more apparent why it is Beethoven who falls victim to radio rather than Wagner and late romanticism. For it is in Beethoven that the idea of

¹² Hector Berlioz, *Instrumentationslehre*, ed. Richard Strauss (Leipzig), I, p. 64.

articulate unity constitutes the essence of the symphonic scheme. That unity is achieved by a severe economy of means forbidding their reduction, which is inevitable by radio.

Trivialization

In the light of the preceding analysis, the hackneyed argument that radio, by bringing symphony to those formerly unfamiliar with it, compensates for its slight alterations, tilts over into its opposite: the less the listeners know the works in their original form, the more is their total impression necessarily erroneously based on the specific radio phenomena delivered to them. And these phenomena are, in addition, far from being structurally consistent. One is tempted to call them contradictory in themselves. A process of polarization sets in through radio transmission of the symphony: it becomes trivialized and romanticized at the same time.

The trivialization of symphony, first of all, is bound up with its relapse into time. The compression of symphonic time is relaxed because the technical prerequisites have been made blunt. The time the radio symphony consumes is the empirical time. It is in ironic keeping with the technical limitations imposed by radio on the live symphony that they are accompanied by the listener's capacity to turn off the music whenever he pleases. He can arbitrarily supersede it,—in contrast to the concert hall performance where he is forced, as it were, to obey its laws. It may be questioned whether symphonic elation is really possible or desirable. At any rate, radio expedites its liquidation. Its very sound tends to

undermine the idea of spell, of uniqueness and of "great music," which are ballyhooed by radio sales talk.

But not only the spell and the high-flown notion of symphonic totality fall victim to mechanization. The decline of the unity, which is the essence of symphony, is concomitant with a decay of the manifold comprehended by it. The symphonic particulars become atoms. The tendency toward atomistic listening obtains its exact and objective technical foundation through radio transmission.¹³ The meaning of the music automatically shifts from the totality to the individual moments because their interrelation and articulation by dynamics and colors is no longer fully affected. These moments become semi-independent episodes, organized mainly by their chronological succession.

The symphony has often been compared with the drama. Though this comparison tends to overemphasize the dualistic character, the dialogue aspect of symphony, it must still be admitted that it is justified in so far as symphony aims at an "intensive" totality, an instantaneous focusing of an "idea" rather than an extensive totality of "life" unfolding itself within empirical time.¹⁴ It is in this sense that radio symphony ceases to be a drama and becomes an epical form,

¹³ This tendency is perhaps the most universal of present day listening on the sheerly musical level. It is furthered by features as divergent as musical recognition contests that put chief emphasis on the isolated detail, the "theme," just as books that tell the reader how to memorize the main tunes of famous symphonies by subjecting them to certain words, and the standardization of popular music where the whole is so stereotyped that only the detail fetches the listener's attention.

¹⁴ Cf. Georg Lukács, *The Theory of the Novel*, Berlin, 1920, p. 31.

or, to make the comparison in less archaic terms, a narrative. And narrative it becomes in an even more literal sense, too. The particular, when chipped off from the unity of symphony, still retains a trace of the unity in which it functioned. A genuine symphonic theme, even if it takes the whole musical stage and seems to be temporarily hypostasized and to desert the rest of the music, is nonetheless of such a kind as to impress upon one that it is actually nothing in itself but basically something "out of" something else. Even in its isolation it bears the mark of the whole. As this whole, however, is not adequately realized in the phenomenon that appears over the air, the theme, or an individual symphonic moment, is presented like something from a context itself blurred or even absent. In other words, through radio, the individual elements of symphony acquire the character of quotation. Radio symphony appears as a medley or potpourri in so far as the musical atoms it offers up acquire the touch of having been picked up somewhere else and put together in a kind of montage. What is heard is not Beethoven's Fifth but merely musical information from and about Beethoven's Fifth. The commentator, in expropriating the listener's own spontaneity of judgment by prating about the marvels of the world's immortal music, is merely the human executor of the trend inherent in music on the air, which, by reassembling fragments from a context not itself in evidence, seems to be continually offering the reassurance: "This is Beethoven's Fifth Symphony." The image character of radio cannot be altogether explained by abstract reference to physi-

cal conditions alone, but these conditions must be shown at work on the symphonic structure, wreaking havoc on musical sense.

Quotation Listening

The issue of "quotation" is inseparably bound up with the structure and significance of symphonic themes themselves. Sententious precision which summarizes the meaning of preceding dramatic development or situation, is an age-old ingredient of dramatic structure. The sententious passages, by reflecting upon the action, detach themselves from the immediacy of the action itself. Through this detachment they become reified, emphasized, and facilely quotable. The abstract generality of maxims for practical life into which they translate the concrete idea of the drama, brings them close to the banal. At times the sententious moments supersede concrete dramatic sense altogether. There is the revealing joke about elderly ladies who express delight in "Hamlet" with the single reservation that it consists of quotations. In the realm of music radio has realized a similar tendency and has transformed Beethoven's Fifth Symphony into a set of quotations from theme songs.

The symphonic theme of the Beethoven period may structurally very well be compared with the sententious element of the drama. It consists in most cases of the triad. It is based on the triad harmonically and it circumscribes the triad melodically. As the triad is the general principle of major-minor tonality, the triadic theme has a touch of "generality" itself;

it is, to a great extent, interchangeable with other triadic themes. The striking similarity between the material of movements as totally different as the Finale of Mozart's G Minor Symphony from the Scherzo of Beethoven's Fifth, bears witness to this generality. This generality of symphonic theme is balanced by its precision, which is in the main achieved by one short and distinct rhythmical formula apt to be remembered as well as to be repeated. Musical commentators have often compared symphonic themes with mottoes in literature, and German musicology frequently alludes to "head motifs" (Kopfmotive) as opening a symphonic movement.

All this points up the sententious character of the symphonic theme. It is this character that offers the theme up to the process of trivialization by radio. The triviality characteristic of live symphonic themes serves a double purpose: that of "generality" transcending the specific case in which they appear, and their existence as a mere material for self-development. Radio interferes with both these purposes. Being atomized, the symphonic theme fails to show its "generality." It calls for significance just as it is. From the viewpoint of consistent symphonic construction it would be possible to imagine a substitute for the famous second theme of the first movement of Schubert's B Minor Symphony,—the so-called "Unfinished." The radio listener who does not care much for the movement and waits for the theme would get the shock of his life if it were replaced by another. Moreover, the theme that sticks out because it has lost its dynamic function, can no longer fulfill its truly musical role—which

is to serve as a mere material of what follows—as soon as everything that follows is visualized only from the viewpoint of the undeveloped material of the theme. Hence, in the isolation of the symphonic theme, only the trivial remains. And in turn it is the triviality of the symphonic detail which makes it so easy to remember and own it as a commodity under the more general trademark of “culture.”

For by sounding like a quotation—the quintessence of the whole—the trivialized theme assumes a peculiar air of authority,—which gives it cultural tone. Only what is established and accepted as a standard social value is quoted, and the anxiety of the listeners to recognize the so-called Great Symphonies by their quotable themes is mainly due to their desire to identify themselves with the standards of the accepted and to prove themselves to be small cultural owners within big ownership culture. This tendency again springs from the “electrocution” of symphony by radio, without taking into account radio’s social authoritarianism. It has already been mentioned that radio tends to present symphony as a series of results rather than a process. The more a particular result is set off against the process in which it gains creation, the more it ceases to be “the problem” of its own treatment. Within the symphonic process the theme has its fate. It is “disputed”; by radio the theme becomes definite. In the process of symphonic development it is not conceived as something rigid but fluent, even in its seemingly dogmatic first presentation. By radio even its musically re-

mote transformations sound like themes of their own. If one could say, exaggeratedly, that in symphonic music nothing is theme and everything is development—which holds good literally for some modern symphonic music, particularly for Mahler—one could say as well that by radio everything becomes “theme.” The emphasis which every symphonic moment acquires through the radio voice is unlike the emphasis which the symphonic theme possesses in its live “positing.” As positing, it owes its emphasis to the potentiality for process which it contains within itself. By radio it becomes emphasized because that process has been broken through and the theme absolutizes itself in its mere present subsistence, in its being as it is. It is this literal-minded and pharisaical self-righteousness of the theme which transforms it into quotation.

It must be emphasized that the substitution of quotation for reproduction does not mean a greater faithfulness to the original but just the opposite. Quotation is reproduction in its decline. While genuine reproduction would stand in a tension-like relation to its object and realize it by again “producing” it, quotation-reproduction sheds all spontaneity, dissolves all tension toward the object and seizes upon all particulars of the object as fixed and reified items. It is essential to the object, that is, the symphonic original, that it be reproduced in the sense of being produced again rather than of being photographed in degenerated colors and modified proportions. A Beethoven symphony is essentially a process; if that process is replaced by a presentation of frozen items,

the performance is faithless even if executed under the battle cry of the utmost fidelity to the letter.

Romantization

Radio symphony promotes the romantization of music no less than its trivialization. The authoritarian theme, the "result" replacing the process and thus destroying symphonic spell, acquires a spell of its own. History of symphonic musical production after Beethoven itself reveals a shift from the totality aspect to the detail which bears a strong resemblance to the shift which the Beethoven symphony suffers through radio. The shift after Beethoven took place in the name of subjective expression. Lyrical expression tends to emphasize the atom and separate it from any comprehensive "objective" order. Radio disintegrates classical music in much the same way as romanticism reacted to it. If radio atomizes and trivializes Beethoven, it simultaneously renders the atoms more "expressive," as it were, than they had been before. The weight which falls upon the isolated detail conveys to it an importance that it never has in its context. And it is this air of importance that makes it seem to "signify" or express something all the time, whereas in the original the expression is mediated by the whole. Consonantly, radio publicity proclaims the "inspiration" of symphonic themes, although precisely in Beethoven the movement, if anything, is inspired and not the theme. It is the romantic notion of melodic inventiveness which radio projects upon classical music strictly so-called. Details are deified as well as reified.

This has paradoxical consequences. One might expect that radio, since it affects the freshness of sound colors, makes them less conspicuous than in live music. Precisely the opposite is true. Together with the structural totality there vanishes in radio the process of musical spontaneity, of musical "thinking" of the whole by the listener. (The notion of musical thinking refers to everything in musical apperception that goes beyond the mere presence of the sensual stimulus.) The less the radio phenomenon evokes such thinking, the greater is the emphasis on the sensual side as compared with live music, where the sensual qualities are in themselves "better." The structural element of music—the element that is defamed by many listeners as "intellectual" though it constitutes the concreteness of the musical phenomenon even more than the sound—is skipped over, and they content themselves with the stimuli remaining, however shopworn these stimuli may be. In romantic music and even in romantic interpretation of Beethoven, those stimuli actually were the bearers of musical "expression." Deteriorated as they are now, they still maintain something of their romantic glamour. Certain of them today, through the radio, assume such a glamour even though they never had it before, because their institutionalization casts about them a social validity which listeners credit to the music. That is why the atoms, sentimentalized by radio through the combination of triviality and expressiveness, reflect something of the spell which the totality has lost. To be sure, it is not the same spell. It is

rather the spell of the commodity whose value is adored by its customers.

In the symphonic field those works surrender themselves to radio most readily which are conglomerates of tunes of both sensual richness and structural poverty—tunes making unnecessary the process of thinking which is anyhow restrained by the way the phenomenon comes out of the radio set. The preference for Tchaikowsky among radio listeners is as significant a commentary on the inherent nature of the radio voice as on the broader social issues of contemporary listening habits. Moreover, it is very likely that Beethoven is listened to in terms of Tchaikowsky. The thesis that music by radio is no longer quite “serious” implies that radio music already prejudices the capacity to listen in a spontaneous and conscious way. The radio voice does not present the listeners with material adequate to such desiderates. They are forced to passive sensual and emotional acceptance of predigested yet disconnected qualities, whereas those qualities at the same time become mummified and magicized.

Is Symphonic Music “Spread”?

This shows the necessity for starting from the sphere of reproduction of musical works by radio instead of from an analysis of listeners’ reactions. The latter presupposes a kind of naive realism with respect to such notions as symphony or “great music” on the air. If that music is fundamentally different from what it is supposed to be, listeners’ statements

about their reactions to it must be evaluated accordingly. There is no justification for unqualifiedly accepting the listener's word about his sudden delight in a Beethoven symphony, if that symphony is changed the very moment it is broadcast into something closely akin to entertainment. Further, the analysis invalidates the optimistic idea that the knowledge of the deteriorated or even "dissolved" radio symphony may be a first step toward a true, conscious and adequate musical experience. For the way a symphony appears by radio is not "neutral" with regard to the original. It does not convey a hollow one-colored effigy which can be "filled" and made more concrete by later live listening. The radio symphony's relation to the live symphony is not that of the shadow to the robust. Even if it were, the shadow cannot be given flesh by the transfusion of red blood corpuscles. The changes brought about by radio are more than coloristic; that they are changes of the symphony's own essential structure means not only that this structure is not adequately conveyed but that what does come out opposes that structure and constitutes a serious obstacle against its realization. Beethoven's musical sense does not match with the postulates it evokes itself when transmitted on the air. Reference may again be made to the coloristic element. The radio phenomenon produces an attitude in the listener which leads him to seek color and stimulating sounds. Music, however, composed in structural rather than coloristic terms does not satisfy these mechanized claims. The color of a Beethoven symphony in live performance as well as by radio is incomparably less radiant,

more subdued not only than those of Wagner, Richard Strauss, or Debussy, but poorer even than the supply of current entertainment. Moreover, the coloristic effects which Beethoven achieves are valid only against the ascetic background of the whole. The cadenza of the oboe in the beginning of the repetition of the first movement of the Fifth Symphony is striking only as a contrast to the bulk of the strings: as a coloristic effect in itself it would be "poor," and it is the misinterpretation of such relations which leads some of today's happy-go-lucky routine musicians who are nothing but competent, to such ingenuous statements as that Beethoven was not able to score well. If radio, however, brings into the limelight just such particles as the oboe cadenza, may it not actually provoke those opinion statements and even a resistance within the listeners—a resistance which is only superficially compensated by the official respect for established values—because the symphony fails to satisfy the very same demands which it seems to raise? But the resistance goes beyond unfavorable comparisons between the full seven course dinner in color of Whiteman's rendition of the "Rhapsody in Blue" and the frugal meal of the symphony in black and white consumed, as it were, as a meal merely. The transformation of the symphonic process into a series of results means that the listeners receive the symphony as a ready-made piecemeal product which can be enjoyed with a minimum of effort on his part. Like other ready-made articles radio symphony tends to make him passive: he wants to get something out of it, perhaps to give himself up to it,

but, if possible, to have nothing to do with it, and least of all to "think" it. If it is true that the experience of the actual meaning of symphonic structure implies something like an activity of concrete musical thinking, this thinking is antagonized by radio presentation. It is significant that the same listeners who are allegedly overwhelmed by symphonic music are also ever ready to dwell upon what they call their emotions as against what they call "intellectual" in music. For it is as certain that actual musical understanding, by transcending the isolated, sensual moments of music and categorizing them by the interconnection of the past and the coming within the work, is bound to definite intellectual functions, as it is certain that the stubborn and spiteful adherence to one's private emotional sphere tends to build a wall against these experiences—the very experiences by which alone a Beethoven symphony can be properly understood. Great music is not music that sounds the best, and the belief in that sound is apt to tilt over into frank hostility against what, though mediated by the sound, is more than sound. It is highly doubtful if the boy in the subway whistling the main theme of the Finale of Brahms's First Symphony actually has been gripped by that music. By the way he picks out that tune he translates it into the language of only a few. It may well be that this translation falls into an historical process, the perspectives of which go far beyond the limits of traditional esthetics.

If this be true, one should not speak about spreading music while that spreading implies the abnegation of the same

concepts of musical classicism, in the name of which serious music is handled by radio. At least no responsible educational attempt can be built directly upon radio symphony without taking into consideration that the radio symphony is not the live symphony and cannot therefore have the same cultural effect as the live symphony. No such educational attempt is worth undertaking that does not give the fullest account of the antagonistic tendencies promulgated by serious music in radio.

INVITATION TO MUSIC

*A Study of the Creation of New Music Listeners
by the Radio*

by Edward A. Suchman

THE PROBLEM OF SERIOUS MUSIC BROADCASTING

What Are the Issues?

THE educator and the broadcaster are not particularly famous for their agreement on how to pilot education over the air. Conferences between the two are marked by discord, with a concomitant amount of name calling. There is one topic, however, upon which they do agree—serious music. It appears to be an established fact for both parties that radio is rendering an excellent service in this field.¹ The broadcaster has impressive statistics relating to the amount of radio time devoted to good music. The educator beholds in these figures his dream of mass education for the millions of radio listeners closest to fulfillment.

¹ In this report we will use the term "serious music" in place of the commonly used expression, "classical music." There are two reasons for this: (1) "classical" in its musical sense is restricted to a very specific type of music, opposed to "romantic," and (2) "classical" in its popular usage implies a certain "standard value" not to be applied to music. It should be noted that the term "serious" does not refer to the mood of the music.

But one voice of dissent can faintly be heard. This comes from the musical expert. Assuming that radio music is reaching millions, are the effects desirable? Familiarity does not mean understanding—in fact, familiarity without knowledge may be an enemy of true appreciation. The happy accord between the broadcaster and the educator has been challenged.

Our task will be to find what facts we can on both sides of the controversy. What has the radio contributed to musical education, and how has musical education fared as a result of this contribution? Of equal importance will be the more general problem of radio as an educative tool. What can we infer about the process by which radio influences people from an analysis of serious music broadcasting?

The Pre-Radio Situation

In the year 1923, when the broadcasting of serious music began in earnest, the radio audience was automatically divided into three broad groups of varying proportions. A large number possessed no interest at all in such music, a much smaller group was in the process of developing this interest, and only a very minor group could call themselves really interested music listeners.² The manner in which an

² An exact definition of who is really interested in good music is difficult. For our purposes we shall simply assume that if an individual listens constantly to serious music broadcasts, he is interested. While valid objections can be raised as to whether a passive enjoyment of music can be called a sincere interest in music, to attempt a more exact definition would call for more information than could be gathered in this survey. It will be possible, however, to describe this interest in greater detail in the fourth section on the radio listener's approach to music.

individual became acquainted with music limited this interest to the very select. Family background was the strongest driving force, while the actual source of music was either the concert hall, one's own instrument, or the phonograph. These elements combined to place music out of the reach of the great majority of the people.

This was the situation when, on March 1, 1923, Gimbel Brothers began to broadcast a series of concerts and recitals. The radio was immediately seized upon by the educator as the agency for the development of a musical mass culture. It was presupposed that whereas people had to be taught to read, they already knew how to listen. All the broadcaster had to do was to provide the music and the interest would follow. The program director, troubled by the maintenance of acceptable sustaining broadcasts, readily obliged. This supply has been the keynote of radio music education.³ Eighteen years later, what are the results?

Who and How Studied?

While there are many ways such a survey might proceed, it seemed best for our purposes to combine the two elements we wished to study, an interest in music and radio listening, and to seek out those individuals possessing both characteristics. Respondents satisfying both these requirements were found among the listeners to station WNYC, a municipal, non-commercial station operated by the City of New York.

³ According to a survey made by the FCC in 1938, serious music constitutes 12.3 per cent of all music broadcast. (Exhibit No. FCC C-5, Table 38.)

The station has long been noted for its concern with serious music broadcasting and its most popular program, the *Masterwork Hour*, has become famous among music lovers. Access to the listeners could be had through the publication of a bi-monthly *Masterwork Bulletin*, containing a detailed list of the compositions to be played. The bulletin cost only three cents, and had reached a circulation of 9,000 at the time the study was made during the winter of 1939-40. Here, then, was a group of individuals with an interest in music and a reliance upon radio for the fulfillment of this desire to listen. While there is no way of knowing how representative these subscribers are of all radio-music listeners and of those individuals interested in music who do not listen to the radio, they do represent a group from which we might hope to secure the most enlightening information on the relationship of the radio to serious music.*

With this list of subscribers as the subjects for investigation, questionnaires were sent to approximately every tenth subscriber. Since previous studies have shown that there is a strong tendency for those individuals interested in the topic under investigation to reply in greater numbers than those less interested, and since we did not wish to lose these less concerned listeners, special efforts were made to secure com-

* There is some reason to believe that the WNYC audience is slightly more decided in its interest than the average radio-music listener. There is the possibility that had we based this report on a less proven sample such as, for instance, the listeners to the Ford Sunday Evening Hour, our conclusions would have been more pronounced. We do not have in our sample the more spectacular appeal of the big name conductor which is so important on the nationwide music broadcasts, and which introduces an additional non-musical factor to influence listening.

plete returns. Appeals were made over the radio and four follow-up letters were sent to all subscribers not answering. The questionnaire used in the fourth attempt was shortened and contained only the key musical questions. This technique produced returns from 95.1 per cent of the subscribers.⁵ That this precaution was well-advised could be seen from the final returns, which showed that had we based our analysis upon the returns to our first request only, we would have constantly over-weighted the results in favor of the more interested and better informed music listeners.

After the mail questionnaire returns were complete, and a preliminary analysis had been made, detailed personal interviews were made with 50 respondents. Several cases in which the role of the radio remained uncertain or where a peculiar contradiction was obvious were interviewed for clarification and explanation. All those cases which showed unusually interesting and promising relationships between radio and music, were followed up. Most of the case studies were made, however, wherever it was felt that our statistical results would be made more understandable by more detailed, pointed information. The analysis of these case studies was always made within the frame of reference set up by the statistical result being investigated. In this way we hoped to combine the most favorable aspects of both the statistical and case-study approach. In several instances the case-studies themselves supplied interesting leads for new statistical investigation.

⁵ For a detailed analysis of this problem see, "Who Answers Questionnaires?" Suchman and McCandless, *Jnl. Appl. Psychol.*, December 1940.

Determining the Role of Radio

The part to be played by the radio toward the development of an interest in music was conditioned by the listeners' pre-existing musical experiences. The radio could either *initiate* an interest in those listeners with no previous interest; it could *nurse* an interest in those listeners who had already received the starting impulse; or it could simply *supplement* an interest that had reached its full development.⁶

With these three types of responses as the basis for our investigation, the respondents were asked to classify themselves according to the following question:⁷

- (1) Please check that statement below which comes nearest to describing the part played by radio in the development of your interest in music. Read *all* of them before checking, and then *check only one* of the three.
- (a) If it were not for radio, I might never have become interested in serious music
 - (b) I became interested in serious music through other sources than the radio, but without the radio this interest would never have grown ...
 - (c) Radio was not the cause of my interest in music, but it has given me another means of enjoying music

⁶ A fourth alternative exists from a theoretical point of view. Radio might possibly lead to a decrease in interest in music among those listeners with a fully developed interest. This alternative, however, could not be studied among the subscribers to a radio-music bulletin.

⁷ This check list is deliberately leading in that we wished the respondent to classify himself clearly in one of the three groups. The lines of demarcation, however, are fairly obvious and the empirical value of this list can be seen in Appendix IA where several checks upon the respondents' interpretations are given.

As a check upon the respondent's own evaluation and as a source of more detailed information, the following questions were also asked:

- (2) Can you explain your answer to the above question in more detail?
- (3) Which two of the following factors were most important in developing your present interest in music? (*PLEASE CHECK TWO*)
- | | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|
| Radio-music commen- | | Concerts | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| tators | <input type="checkbox"/> | Friends | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Radio-music programs | <input type="checkbox"/> | Family | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Playing yourself | <input type="checkbox"/> | Opera | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Courses at school | <input type="checkbox"/> | Other (name) | |
| Books on music | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
| Phonograph | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
- (4) Can you tell us how you first became interested in serious music?

In addition, wherever any doubt or inconsistency existed, a personal interview was made with the respondent in an attempt both to clear up and understand the cause of the doubt. In this way three definite types of radio-music relationship were established.

The Problem Restated

Before proceeding further, it might be well to restate our problem in terms of research. We are interested in determining, first, who is being affected by the radio. *What personal characteristics do the new music listeners have in common?* The effects of radio upon society can be inferred to a large extent from an analysis of those groups most subject to its

influence. Secondly, we would like to study the process of musical development as brought about by the radio. *How does the radio create new listeners to music?* Radio can be made to function more effectively as an educational agency only if the mode of its operation can be determined. And thirdly, we would like to arrive at some evaluation of the musical interests of the new listener. *What do we know about the type of musical interest being created and what can we predict about the effect of these new cohorts of music listeners upon the existing musical culture?*

RADIO CREATES A NEW MUSIC LISTENER

Are There Any New Listeners?

There can be little doubt that broadcast music has resulted in an increase in the number of music listeners. While this increase probably remains far less than the millions attributed to it by enthusiastic broadcasters, it is an appreciable proportion in view of the limited number of persons interested in serious music altogether. While it would be misleading to conclude this from the present survey alone, it is logical to assume that the total effect of radio is a result of the efficiency of radio-music multiplied by the total number of persons exposed to radio. Even assuming this efficiency to be very low, the total product in view of the tremendous increase in exposed listeners must constitute an ever increas-

ing percentage of what was formerly a very limited and select group.

The results, as applicable to our sample of 9,000 *Master-work Bulletin* subscribers are given in Table 1. It shows that 15 per cent of the subscribers attribute an *initiating* influence to radio, 38 per cent a *nursing* or developing effect and 47 per cent a *supplementary* role. In other words, for every other subscriber, radio played an important role in the development of his interest in music. This is impressive from a numerical point of view, even allowing for the unknown representativeness of our sample.

TABLE 1.—DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO ROLE OF RADIO IN THEIR MUSICAL DEVELOPMENT

<i>Role of radio</i>	<i>Per cent checking</i>
Initiated (<i>If it were not for radio, I might never have become interested in serious music</i>)	15.2
Nursed (<i>I became interested in serious music through other sources, but without radio this interest would never have grown</i>)	37.6
Supplemented (<i>Radio was not the cause of my interest in music, but it has given me another means of enjoying music</i>)	47.2
Total per cent	100.0
Total cases	765

Just what is implied in this three-fold classification of the role of radio can be seen quite clearly from the respondents' explanations of their self-evaluation.

A young clerk with a high school education checks the radio as *initiating* his interest and explains,

How would I have known there was such a thing as good music without the radio? I had no musical education, and never would

have sought out concerts. *Music had to be brought to me. Radio did this.* Since good music could be had without effort or expense I began to listen to it. At first gradually, but then with growing interest.

A shoemaker born in Italy and the father of five children replies that radio *nursed* his interest.

I always liked music but being unable to hear much good music prevented my enjoyment of it. But then I began listening to the radio and now I am familiar with most of the great works. I never would enjoy it so much without the radio.

Interested in music before the radio, a middle-aged housewife checked *supplementary* and explained,

I was interested in music long before I began to listen to the radio, but the latter frequently was of help when I could not attend a concert. While I would miss the radio, I would still be very much interested in music.

Since our analysis to a large extent centered about the correct evaluation by the respondent of the role of the radio in his development, the answer to this question was checked against all other questions dealing with the respondent's musical development. The results of these checks are discussed in detail in Appendix IA. In addition to these internal checks, wherever a contradiction was found, the respondent was interviewed and the inconsistency cleared up. No case was considered complete until we could feel reasonably certain that the respondent had been correctly classified as either radio initiated, nursed or supplemented.

Personality of the New Music Listener

Assuming that the radio has created and developed new listeners, it becomes important to find out who these new listeners are. To what extent do they differ from the listeners who were interested previous to the radio? By mere force of their numbers they will undoubtedly influence existing musical activities. What can we infer about the direction of this influence from an analysis of their personal traits and predispositions? As a group directly influenced by the radio, they are also important for the light they can shed upon the entire problem of the diffusion of new interests through the radio.

Looking first at their external personal characteristics, we find that the music listener created by the radio does present a different picture on the whole than the music listener without this dependence upon the radio. The most striking difference relates to the ratio of men to women. Whereas among those respondents for whom radio was simply an additional source of music we have many more women than men, among the radio-initiated listeners we have more than twice as many men as women. Since it is generally assumed that in the United States women are more concerned with the arts, *it is significant to find the radio reaching the men more than the women.* In a society which stresses the importance of a cultural background for the future lady of the house, musical activity becomes a womanly grace. Also, concert attendance or instrumental playing, the two main pre-radio

sources of musical education, demand more effort and time than most men are willing to give. However, the easy accessibility and convenience of the radio serves to bring good music within the range of a man's leisure time activities.⁸

While large differences in the ages of our initiated, nursed and supplemented listeners exist, these differences are only temporary. It is to be expected that the radio would play its largest initiating role among the young people, who are in the process of developing their interest. This difference will probably disappear twenty-five years from now, when all age groups will have been equally open to the influence of the radio. Of greater significance is the number of people over 30 years of age who claim an initial interest in music due to the radio. As will be shown later, these listeners represent a group who, in pre-radio days, had very little likelihood of ever developing an interest in music. These sex and age differences are given in Table 2.⁹

In line with the thesis advanced by the educators and broadcasters, we should expect that the radio was bringing music to those underprivileged groups never before reached by the concert hall. A good measure of this would be the

⁸ An interesting parallel is found in *Radio and the Printed Page*, P. F. Lazarsfeld (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1940). In a study of the new type of radio news consumer, it was found that in this area women were more predominant than men. Radio evidently tends to even out sex differences. Where formerly mostly women were interested, as in music, radio tends to introduce the male; while when an interest was previously mostly confined to men, as in news, the radio now cultivates this interest among women.

⁹ All tables presented in this report have been tested for significance. Unless otherwise stated, all differences are significant on the .05 probability level.

TABLE 2.—SEX AND AGE OF THE LISTENER ACCORDING TO THE ROLE OF RADIO IN MUSICAL DEVELOPMENT ¹⁰

<i>Sex and age</i>	<i>Initiated</i>	<i>Nursed</i>	<i>Supple- mented</i>	<i>Total per cent</i>	<i>Total cases answering</i>
<i>Male</i>					
Under 30	28.3	45.4	26.3	100.0	223
30 and over	12.7	32.7	54.6	100.0	183
<i>Female</i>					
Under 30	11.7	50.7	37.6	100.0	136
30 and over	5.2	24.7	70.1	100.0	174

educational level of the new radio-music listener. Unfortunately we find that only 10 per cent of our respondents do not possess a high school education and so no distinctive educational comparisons can be made. This in itself, however, may be an indication that serious radio music is not yet reaching the millions of uneducated people claimed for it. Listening to good music, with or without the radio, evidently demands a certain seriousness of purpose in one's leisure pursuits, which is not yet present in the mass of uneducated listeners.

More enlightening information on the former social barriers to the development of an interest in music for our new radio-music listeners is afforded by an analysis of economic status. If we assume that possession of a car or a telephone

¹⁰ The total number of cases in each table will vary slightly, depending upon a small number of respondents not answering the particular question. In each instance we have tested the group not answering for any significant factors. We have given the explanation when this special analysis has shown factors other than chance operating to produce the no-answers. Whenever the number missing is insignificant, as in Table 2, no reference will be made and it can be assumed that these missing cases come equally from all groups of the population.

indicates high economic status and non-possession of both indicates low economic status, we find that our radio-initiated listeners do indeed come to a greater extent from the have-nots than from the haves. On the upper economic level, there are five times as many supplemented as initiated listeners, while among the lower economic group there are only twice as many.

If we take into account both economic status and education, we find this difference in economic status holds true for both our college and high school educated groups, as given by Table 3. It is interesting to note that the relatively largest group among the newly initiated listeners consists of the poor but educated listeners. Radio offers an opportunity to those listeners who cannot afford tickets to the concert hall, and the group which most quickly responds is seen already to possess a basic seriousness of intent evidenced by their education. It is with these underprivileged but educated listeners that radio-music can hope to achieve its greatest success.

TABLE 3.—EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE LISTENER ACCORDING TO THE ROLE OF RADIO IN MUSICAL DEVELOPMENT

<i>Education and economic status</i>	<i>Initiated</i>	<i>Nursed</i>	<i>Supple-mented</i>	<i>Total per cent</i>	<i>Total cases answering</i>
<i>Below college</i>					
Car, telephone or both	13.8	30.8	55.4	100.0	195
Neither	15.3	51.4	33.3	100.0	144
<i>College</i>					
Car, telephone or both	15.3	35.6	49.1	100.0	261
Neither	21.1	44.4	34.5	100.0	90

Men and Older Listeners

Two meaningful inferences can be made from this analysis of the personal characteristics of the new music listener. Radio appears to be opening the door to music listening for two significant groups, men and older listeners. We have seen that the radio affords many men an opportunity not present before to develop an interest in music. We have also pointed out the relatively large percentage of our radio-initiated listeners who are over 30 years of age. Further study of these two radio-influenced groups affords revealing insight into the problem of how radio selects the people it is going to influence. A great part of the answer to the question of what radio will do for society depends upon which groups of the population are most open to its influence.

Additional evidence of the increase in the number of men to become interested in recent times can be secured directly from an analysis of when our male and female respondents developed their interest. We find that almost twice as many men as women developed this interest in music within the past five years, while previous to 1925 and the radio more women than men became interested. Table 4 gives the distribution of the men and women according to the period during which their interest began.¹¹

¹¹ However, there is another interpretation possible. We cannot be certain from Table 4 whether the number of men interested in music has increased in recent years or whether a man who became interested 15 years ago is not so likely to retain this interest today. In order to overcome this difficulty it would be necessary to study those people who were interested in 1925 but are no longer interested today. Since we could not overcome this sampling difficulty in the present study, we shall have to admit the above inadequacy of the data.

TABLE 4.—SEX OF LISTENERS ACCORDING TO PERIOD DURING WHICH INTEREST IN MUSIC BEGAN

<i>Sex</i>	<i>Period during which interest began</i>			<i>Total per cent</i>	<i>Total cases answering</i>
	<i>Before 1925</i>	<i>From 1925-35</i>	<i>From 1935-40</i>		
Male	36.4	37.2	26.4	100.0	382
Female	49.2	35.4	15.4	100.0	277

Our hypothesis is that the increase in the number of male listeners is due to the radio. An estimate of just how important radio is for this increase of male listening is presented by Table 5. During the past five years, we find the radio to be more than three times as important for men as for women in initiating an interest in music.

TABLE 5.—SEX OF LISTENERS ACCORDING TO PERIOD DURING WHICH INTEREST BEGAN, SHOWING THE PERCENTAGE OF EACH GROUP ATTRIBUTING INTEREST TO RADIO ^a

<i>Sex</i>	<i>Per cent of each group initiated to music by the radio</i>		
	<i>Before 1925</i>	<i>1925-1935</i>	<i>1935-1940</i>
Male	3.6	26.2	38.6
Female	2.2	14.3	11.6

^a The total number of cases answering for each group is given in Appendix II, Table 5.

The appeal of the radio for the men seems to lie in its physical availability. The lack of effort involved in listening to music over the radio, its easy accessibility and convenience, combine to place serious music within the scope of a man's leisure time activities.

A young lawyer, recently married, practicing law and selling insurance at the same time explains:

My wife was always a music lover. But I just couldn't get myself to make the necessary effort and go to concerts with her. You don't feel like leaving the house after running around all day. As soon as we bought a radio though I didn't mind listening at all. *In fact it's the opposite of the concert hall—restful and relaxing.* I listen almost every evening now.

We have also concluded that today the radio is offering many older people the opportunity to develop an interest in good music. An interest in music, like most of one's interests, usually begins during adolescence. For our sample, the average age was 16.4 years. Before the radio, if the respondent had entered his twenties without developing an interest in serious music, there was very little likelihood of his ever doing so. The radio, however, presents a second chance to these older people and permits the development of a musical interest at a relatively late age. The importance of the radio for the development of an interest after one has passed his twentieth birthday can be seen from Table 6, which analyzes the role played by the radio according to the present age of the respondent and the age at which his interest in music began.

Radio plays its greatest role among those individuals who are above 30 years of age and whose interest in music did not begin until they were at least 21 years old. Very few of the listeners whose interest developed before they were 15 years of age attributed a significant role to the radio. The older one grows without forming an interest in music the more likely is it that, if an interest is to develop at all, radio

TABLE 6.—AGE AT WHICH INTEREST IN MUSIC BEGAN ACCORDING TO PRESENT AGE AND THE ROLE OF RADIO IN MUSICAL DEVELOPMENT

<i>Present age</i>	<i>Age interest began</i>	<i>Initiated</i>	<i>Nursed</i>	<i>Supple-mented</i>	<i>Total per cent</i>	<i>Total cases answering</i>
Below 30	Below 15 yrs. . . .	11.6	44.9	43.5	100.0	138
	From 15 to 20 ..	28.9	50.0	21.1	100.0	190
	Above 20	29.6	48.2	22.2	100.0	27
30 and above	Below 15 yrs. . . .	1.5	17.7	80.8	100.0	130
	From 15 to 20 ..	5.9	30.8	63.3	100.0	136
	Above 20	32.8	44.3	22.9	100.0	61
Average age of beginning interest		20.1 yrs. 17.5 yrs. 14.1 yrs.				

must enter the picture. The average respondent who became interested because of the radio did not develop this interest until he was 20 years old, while the listener for whom the radio is simply an additional source of music became interested when only 14 years of age.

Radio created an interest in music for every third listener over 30 years of age today whose interest did not develop until he was at least 21. Since this previously uninterested adult population represents the group most aimed at by radio educators, we devoted a number of our detailed case studies to investigating his development. As with the new male listeners, it was almost always the easy accessibility of the radio that accounted for its effectiveness. Other musical sources could have resulted in the same interest but these sources were psychologically or economically unavailable. Either the drive was too weak to lead to concert attendance, or economic conditions ruled out the concert hall.

The interviews revealed three different situations as most

often related to the use of radio by adult initiates. The first, most prevalent among listeners who became interested after middle age, involves *the use of radio as an escape*. For many of these older listeners, newly interested, radio-music appears to offer a compensation for the failure to rise economically, socially or intellectually. In these cases the interest is often described as coming about suddenly.

A grocery store proprietor, 46 years old, working 14 hours a day and barely earning a living, tells his story:

Three years ago my wife was in Florida for her health, and the first evening I was alone I went to the movies. The picture was "The Life and Loves of Beethoven." The music in that picture got under my skin. *The next morning when I was dressing, because I was lonesome I turned on the radio.* I just happened to get the Masterwork Hour. The music was so like that I had heard the night before that I listened and liked it. I have listened ever since.

This respondent prefers the radio to the concert hall because,

I can sit back in a soft chair, smoke a cigar and dream without being disturbed.

His listening is highly romantic. Radio affords him the opportunity to dream and thus escape the drudgery of his daily living.

Another such case would be Mr. E. R. He is 50 years old, his business is bad, he works until 10 at night and is getting nowhere. He was born in Russia and is keenly disappointed in America. He attributes his lack of success to foreign prejudice.

I bought a new radio and was fishing to find something I liked. I got WQXR for the first time. They were playing Rimsky-Korsakoff's "Bumblebee." *I was very glad to find this kind of music* and from that time on I tuned in to WQXR and became more and more anxious to find good music on the radio. Now I have it going all day only to WNYC and WQXR.

Music often becomes quite important to such a person.

Music is all I have now. The radio is more important to me than my business, which is bad. Sometimes when a customer comes in and I must wait on him I am annoyed.

A second type of situation for which the radio offers a satisfactory release emphasizes *the breakdown of an early antagonism toward music due to compulsion to listen*. As a child the respondent rebels at being forced into music and although he may be seriously inclined, this antagonism prevents the growth of an interest in music. Radio offers a voluntary choice of music and, as in the following case, results in overcoming this early antagonism. This type of situation occurs most frequently among young adults with cultured family backgrounds.

My mother and father would have social concerts once a week. I used to lock myself in my room even if they wouldn't give me supper. When I was 10, my mother dragged me to a young people's symphony in Detroit. *I hated every minute of it.* I wouldn't listen to any music until several years ago, at college, a group of my friends would meet every Sunday to listen. In order to be with them I listened, and soon found myself really interested.

Sometimes it is the freedom to turn off the radio that appears to be important. A newly married housewife states,

My mother took me to concerts with her when I was very young. *I would have to sit still and I would become very bored and unhappy.* When I grew older I refused to go and I didn't hear any classical music until several years ago when I tuned in the New York Philharmonic out of curiosity. I listened for a while, and then turned it off. However I listened again the following week and while I still don't listen regularly, I find that I am becoming more and more interested.

The third type of response centers around a *deliberate realization that serious music should be given a trial* since it is so convenient. Radio appears very important for this type of mature individual who deliberately decides to cultivate an interest in music.

A young architect says quite simply,

I became interested by listening to the radio when I was 21, *because that was the year I set out to learn about music.*

While a schoolteacher explains,

When I began to teach school I decided it would be a good idea for me to know about music if I had to teach it. *Otherwise I might not be in line for a raise.* Feeling that I was a child as far as music was concerned, when I read in the paper about the Schelling concerts I decided to listen to them. From that point I was able to proceed to an interest in other good music, at first only over the radio, later at concerts.

Two of the effects of the radio upon society as revealed by this analysis, then, will be to raise the proportion of men interested in music and to increase the age range during which an individual may develop this musical interest. For the present at least this latter fact means that older people

today will be given a second chance at the development of an interest in music, an opportunity which they may have missed or disregarded as children and which previous to the radio would not have been presented a second time.

The older age at which musical listening habits are acquired may in turn lead to a more sophisticated and rational method of teaching serious music. To teach a young adult of twenty, with a voluntary desire for music, what to look for in music should involve different techniques than the compulsory listening or playing to which a child of fourteen is subjected. However, while the possibility of the development of a more thorough understanding of music is present in this mature initiate, there is also the danger that the approach, prevalent in adult education today, of popularizing serious topics, employing "esthetic gushing" and "gossipy stories," will never develop the full potentialities of these new listeners.¹² While we state the problem here, we will reserve its implications until our discussion of the type of interest being developed in the new listeners.

¹² This problem has already been realized by one musical program director, Ralph Lawton of Station WOCB, who states of the musical appreciation classes being broadcast, ". . . the talk in such classes is mainly esthetic gushing about the grandeur and beauty of music, gossipy stories about composers and so on—all of which may be interesting and informative, even stimulating—but still does not get at the potential abilities of the listener himself and develop them."—From the April 1941 issue of the FREC Service Bulletin.

THE FUNCTION OF THE RADIO

Now that we have this picture of who has been influenced by the radio, it is extremely important to find out how this interest was created. One of educational radio's greatest problems concerns the all-important creation of an initial interest, as we have found it among those respondents who owe their musical interest to the radio. What can we conclude about the process of education over the air from an analysis of the musical development of these respondents?

Radio as a Source of Music

While the dynamics behind radio's influence could not be discerned for all cases, enough respondents did describe the process to offer us several enlightening comparisons. This information was gathered from the replies to the question, "Can you explain your answer to the above question in more detail?" referring to the respondent's self-classification as initiated, nursed, or supplemented. About half the respondents merely reiterated the classification or simply did not answer the question altogether. The remaining respondents, however, answered the question with additional information. From these answers some interesting observations could be made upon the differences between the three groups.¹³

Immediately noticeable is the different approach to the

¹³ Analysis of those respondents not answering or giving tautological answers shows them to be less educated and not as musically sophisticated as the respondents answering the question.

question. Where the interest in music had first to be aroused, as among the radio-initiated listeners, the answer is given in terms of the previous lack of listening and the growth or realization of a beginning interest. On the other hand, the developed and supplemented listeners, for whom this interest already existed, always speak in terms of the relative advantages of the radio over the concert hall, dwelling upon the different attributes of the radio. These attributes are important in accounting for the rapid acceptance of the radio as a source of music.

A simple count of the attributes showed four characteristic elements as most often mentioned: *accessibility*, *repetition*, *extended range*, and *commentated selections*. A majority of the nursed or supplemented listeners, in referring to the role played by the radio in their musical listening, would dwell upon the easy availability of the radio, the fact that it could be listened to at one's convenience. Others stressed the ability to hear a selection played many times until it could be recognized and appreciated, or in the case of compositions not heard before, the theoretically unlimited supply of recordings at the disposal of the broadcaster seemed most important. To some listeners, the presence of a commentator to explain and discuss the composition and the composer gives the radio its greatest effectiveness.

These four elements were found to be of varying importance, depending upon whether the radio was being used to develop one's interest or simply to supplement one's listening. Accessibility was relatively more important for the

supplemented type, while repetition was more important for the nursed type. While these elements were not weighed separately by each respondent, but rather represent a spontaneous evaluation of the important factor about the radio, we find that the results fit very well into our picture of the two types. The listeners developing an interest in music are relatively more impressed by the fact that the radio enables them to hear a selection over and over again; the listeners for whom radio means another source of music secure the most gratification from the radio because of its easy accessibility. Each of the elements mentioned and their relative frequency are shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7.—ROLE OF RADIO IN MUSICAL DEVELOPMENT ACCORDING TO IMPORTANT ELEMENTS OF RADIO MUSIC

<i>Element</i>	<i>Nursed</i>	<i>Supplemented</i>
Accessibility	53.3	63.7
Repetition	17.6	7.2
Extended range	23.4	23.9
Musical comments	5.7	5.2
Total per cent	100.0	100.0
Total cases discerned	188	193

How Does the Radio Work?

The radio-initiated listener, in explaining his self-classification, emphasizes the role of the radio as an *influence* toward a musical interest rather than as a *source* of music.¹⁴

¹⁴ It is important to keep in mind the distinction made between sources of music and influences toward music. By a source of music we mean the actual physical stimulus of the music itself. On the other hand, an influence toward music has nothing inherently musical about it, but represents a driving force which is followed up by turning to the actual source of music. This difference will become quite clear in the course of the following discussion.

This information is significant, since our initiated music listeners appear to be a group without any previous contacts with music; and while serious broadcasting can reach everybody, it is a well-established fact that listening is limited mainly to those who are already interested.

In spite of an apparently complete reliance upon radio for the creation of their musical interest, we find that radio-music does not actually reach a totally unprepared listener. Explanations of why no interest in music developed previously to the radio show that for about two-thirds of this initiated group radio represented the *opportunity* to listen. Some predisposition, either native or acquired, was already present, although the respondent chose to regard it as unimportant without the radio to animate it. For only one-third of the initiated listeners could we really say—and even here we cannot be certain—that radio developed both the interest and the listening. It is important to realize this need for some preliminary desire or frame of reference to precede the actual broadcasts in order for the radio to be effective as an educative tool.

An enlightening aspect of this predisposition toward music is seen in the large number of our initiated listeners who claim a *sudden* interest in music. More than a fourth of the newly created listeners appeared immediately to recognize music as satisfying some long-felt need, and their interest was an instantaneous consequence. It is under these conditions, where a basic desire is already present, that radio can hope to have its greatest measure of success.

In almost all of the "sudden" interest cases, the situation at the time that the interest was acquired was highly dramatic and psychologically open to the influence of radio-music. As has been shown in our examples of radio-music's appeal to older people, this function is often in the nature of an escape. The appearance of serious music at the *opportune moment* is a function of the ubiquitous radio, and without the radio the moment would pass before an interest could be initiated. For example, the following case is radio-initiated due to accessibility of the radio at the psychological moment.

Housewife, educated, 35 years old:

I am eternally grateful to the radio. Five years ago I had a serious eye operation which necessitated my being in the hospital for six-week periods at a time. *I had to lie still with my eyes bandaged.* If I had not discovered the good music programs on the radio I should have lost my mind.

Another example showing the existence of a need for music and the presence of the radio at the opportune moment, is that of a young doctor, discouraged at his lack of immediate success, and waiting in his office with little to do.

One afternoon *when I was particularly tired I turned my radio on* to see what I could get. I heard the "Scheherazade" for the first time. I thought it was very beautiful and wished I could hear it again. I began listening quite constantly and I have come to love and understand good music.

An interesting story of a recently created interest is told by a young mother.

I first heard music when I was 20 years old. I was in the house alone, putting the baby to sleep. I thought I would try to get some music on my crystal set. I found a Strauss waltz. I thought it was the most beautiful thing I had ever heard. I had been feeling very happy and cheerful because *I was starting a new life, and the music seemed to make the promise of better things.*

Radio as an Initiator

Can the radio directly create an interest in a topic without the support of other factors? There is reason to believe that the main force of radio does not lie in its direct effect upon people, but in its supplementary relationship to some extraneous influence. Just as the danger of broadcasts by a radio demagogue lies in the social factors which bring the listeners to him and not in the broadcasts themselves, so we might expect the value of broadcasts of serious music to lie not in their mere existence but in the radio's ability to enable external factors to become effective. The radio acts as an energizing agent for propagandistic forces quite detached from it. By a study of the influential factors preceding the radio, we hope to show the importance of these subsidiary non-radio elements.

Our concept of radio then is that of a vehicle or tool. Radio is a source of music. It supplies the stimulus, but in and of itself it does not create the interest. What are the important influences which make the radio effective? It was possible to single out for special analysis the first influence toward music for each respondent. This was taken from the "free answers" to the question, "Can you tell us how you

first became interested in serious music?" As in the analysis of the question dealing with the explanations of the respondent's self-classification, about half of the replies could not be used. Only about every other respondent ventured a reply containing a reference to the influence which lead the respondent to listen to music. Other answers dealt with the sources of music rather than the reasons why the respondent listened.¹⁵

TABLE 8.—ROLE OF RADIO IN MUSICAL DEVELOPMENT ACCORDING TO FIRST INFLUENCE TOWARD LISTENING TO MUSIC OTHER THAN MUSICAL SOURCE

<i>First influence</i>	<i>Initiated</i>	<i>Nursed</i>	<i>Supplemented</i>
Friends	43.5	33.5	26.0
Family background	28.3	30.0	55.2
Formal education	18.8	32.4	17.7
Others	9.4	4.1	2.1
Total per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total cases ascertainable . .	53	173	192

The results, as shown in Table 8, point to an important difference between our three radio groups. We already have reason to believe that the background influences of our radio-initiated type differ from those of our radio-supplemented listeners. The complete lack of any initiated listeners whose interest in music began during their childhood points toward a decrease in the family as an influence. If we study the role of the family for each of our respondents directly, we find this to be true. Whereas family background occurs relatively twice as often as friends among the supplemented group, we

¹⁵ This distinction between source and influence is explained fully in Footnote 14.

find friends much more important than family background for our radio-bred music listener.

Formal education as a factor in musical development plays its greatest role for the radio-nursed listeners. The explanation for this may lie in the inability of the school to follow through in the development of an interest in music. The teacher succeeds in planting the necessary seed, but does not have the opportunity to nourish it. The radio assumes this nursing function quite naturally and is often successful in keeping the interest alive, in many cases reviving an interest that is almost dead.

The decrease in the importance of the family's musical function in favor of friends reflects the growing trend away from the family as an educative force. Formal education today is almost completely a function of collective society. For the child today, the home is becoming less and less the place to acquire new interests. While musical education is still a strong parental function, it appears to be giving way to outside influences. Formal education, however, is still relatively unimportant, probably due to the fact that no additional stimulus towards listening outside the schools is provided. Potentially, however, the school, used in connection with the radio, can be a very efficient creator of musical interests. The use of the radio following the impetus supplied in the classroom can tremendously increase the ability of the classroom to create an interest in music.

The role played by friends as an influence and the radio as the source for musical listening among our new radio-

initiated listeners is very intimately related. This pattern of musical development appears time and time again in our detailed personal interviews. Some friend arouses the desire to listen to good music, and the radio is turned on to satisfy that desire. *Radio acts as the instrument for face-to-face influences.*

A skilled laborer of low economic status with a high school education traces his development.

I have a friend who is a druggist. He is a fine, educated man. I used to spend my free time at his store and he always had a good radio program on. Finally I got to thinking that *if he listens there must be something to it.* Gradually, after listening I saw his point, and now I listen all the time.

This pattern appears again. A high school student says:

Whenever my friends get together they discuss symphonic music. They had talked so much about enjoying it that when I happened to tune in to a classical music broadcast *I thought I would listen to see if there was anything to what they were saying.* I have listened ever since.

In many of our personal interviews with the new radio listeners the acquisition of an interest in music could clearly be associated with a desire to rise in the estimation of one's friends. While it was impractical in our mail questionnaires to study the use of good music as an aid in climbing the social ladder, this motivation appeared clearly in the personal interviews. Sometimes this *prestige motive* is readily admitted by the respondent.

A girl friend at college whom I greatly admired always had excellent music programs on the radio. I used to go down to her

room to study. *At first because she loved good music I pretended to, just to make a good impression on her.* After a while I was surprised to find I liked it. Now the more I hear the more I want to hear.

In other situations, it can easily be inferred, as in the case of the young cashier, whose favorite composer is Johann Strauss.

My father and my mother tease me about my love of highbrow music. *But they and my two brothers are really proud of me.* Most of the people I know do not appreciate fine music, but *they also respect me because I listen.*

In several cases an interest in music was found to have developed at the same time that the respondent felt himself to be rising in the social scheme.

A young physician starting in private practice states:

I've been nursing my musical listening along very conscientiously. *As a doctor I feel that I should be interested in the great music of the world.* Besides my practice is mostly with wealthy people and I must know something about music.

While these observations were not gathered systematically there can be little doubt as to the importance of the "prestige" motive for our new radio-music listener. A more systematic study should aim at securing the most complete picture possible of the person's pattern of social activities, status and estimate of himself at the time of the birth of the new interest. All information on other phases of the respondent's cultural life at present should be gathered. In addition, an important index would be the amount of follow-up

listening outside the radio that the respondent is doing.

Another interesting situation in which the radio served to make an outside influence effective was mentioned by several respondents who attributed their interest to the radio, but stated that they first heard serious music while attending the motion pictures. It is doubtful that these movie contacts with good music could be repeated frequently enough to have developed the interest by itself. It also does not appear probable that the interest initiated by the motion pictures was strong enough to have led to any follow-up other than with the radio.

The importance of this medium as an influence toward an interest in music, unfortunately, had not been foreseen in planning the study. Therefore no organized evaluation of this source is possible. However it was mentioned spontaneously by six of our radio-initiated respondents as preceding their actual development by means of the radio. In all cases the importance of the radio as the tool which made the movies effective is apparent.

As an example of this, we quote a young college girl of low economic status and no musical background.

When I saw "100 Men and a Girl," *I liked the way good music was played all through the picture.* After coming home I decided to get some just like it on the radio. At first I didn't like it on the radio because I couldn't see the way the musicians carried on like in the movies. After a while however I came to like the radio-music because it put me in a good mood.

The importance of the radio as a source of music, then, lies in its ability to make other influences effective. The

radio is seen to have its greatest success with those individuals who possess some basic predisposition toward listening. The main importance of the radio does not lie in its direct ability to create interests, but in its effectiveness as a follow-up for forces quite detached from it. This effectiveness we have found to be due to its simple and quick accessibility, the fact that it is available at the opportune moment.

THE RADIO LISTENER'S APPROACH TO MUSIC

We have drawn a rather detailed picture of the recent initiate into the ranks of serious music listeners. We have traced his development and analyzed his relationship to the radio. We have concluded that both in his personal characteristics and in his growth he differs quite decidedly from the established members of the musical society he is entering. Now we come to the important question, "What does this mean for our musical culture?" To answer this question calls for an evaluation of the new listener's musical tastes and behavior.

A thorough evaluation of the musical tastes of an individual would necessitate a complete account of his entire musical life. What we propose to do instead, therefore, is to measure, according to existing standards and on a very elementary level, the musical merit of the respondent's favorite composers. Of course a listener's favorite composers may not be a real test of understanding, probably represent-

ing a conglomeration of many vital factors. Fortunately, we shall also be able to illuminate our statistical results by frequent reference to our detailed personal interviews.

Musical Sophistication

Each respondent was asked to list his five favorite musical compositions. He was then classified as belonging to a "plus" or "minus" group, depending upon the composers he listed. In order to determine which composers should be called "plus" and which "minus," a strictly artificial division was made after a separate group of 25 musically interested persons with some musical education had grouped all composers mentioned according to these instructions, "Please check the following composers as to merit—not necessarily what you like, but what you think is their relative standing." Only where at least 75 per cent of the judges had agreed, was a composer labeled either plus (high) or minus (low). All other composers were called doubtful and not ranked.¹⁶

The results of this small experiment as given in Appendix IB, were extremely definite. Of the 38 composers listed, all 25 judges agreed unanimously on the rank of 20 as

¹⁶ The procedure used was one dictated by necessity. It is based upon a majority opinion rather than upon an analysis of the material itself. It is more a measure of the respondent's familiarity with "what is correct" than of any understanding of music. As such the index represents this familiarity with accepted values. A more adequate method, proposed by Dr. T. W. Adorno, proceeds as an analysis of the listener's inherent capacity for musical understanding without regard to the evaluation of given works of composers. What one could do is to confront the listeners with specific musical problems concerning the interconnection of musical events and the impacts of certain musical elements in order to find out how far he is capable of understanding them. However, to follow through this type of analysis would necessitate musical tests not applicable in this type of study.

either plus or minus. Nine composers received complete agreement by 23 or 24 of the judges, while six composers were judged as either plus or minus by 20 to 22 of the judges. In the case of only three of the 38 composers did we have less than 75 per cent agreement, and these composers we classified as doubtful. This surprising lack of disagreement and difficulty in ranking lends support to the statistical reliability of our groupings, despite its obvious superficiality. The empirical results which follow would also seem to justify this division of composers as practical.

To return to our comparison of the radio-initiated listener and the radio-supplemented type, we find that the radio-initiated listener does have a much lower level of musical taste than his fellow music listener without a similar reliance upon the radio. Almost half of the radio-initiated listeners mention as their favorite composers predominantly those composers graded as "minus" by our judges, while for our radio-supplemented group we find only one out of four listeners mentioning predominantly minus composers.¹⁷

¹⁷ In terms of actual composers named the following tabulation will serve to illustrate the difference in favorite composers among the three groups. For example, Bach (+) is mentioned by twice as many supplemented as initiated listeners, while Rachmaninoff (—) is mentioned by almost seven times as many initiated as supplemented listeners. An explanation for the higher ratings of the minus composers among the initiated listeners is given in Appendix IB.

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Grade</i>	<i>Per cent mentioning as favorite</i>		
		<i>Initiated</i>	<i>Nursed</i>	<i>Supplemented</i>
Bach	+	11.8	14.6	23.4
Brahms	+	27.8	32.2	38.1
Mozart	+	17.6	18.3	25.2
Rimsky-Korsakoff	—	16.2	10.0	7.4
Dvorak	—	10.2	9.1	4.5
Rachmaninoff	—	8.6	8.8	1.3

These differences are given in Table 9.¹⁸

TABLE 9.—LEVEL OF FAVORITE COMPOSER ACCORDING TO ROLE OF RADIO
IN MUSICAL DEVELOPMENT

<i>Level of composers</i>	<i>Initiated</i>	<i>Nursed</i>	<i>Supplemented</i>
Predominantly "plus"	53.1	67.7	72.5
Predominantly "minus"	46.9	32.3	27.5
Total per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total cases answering	92	220	234

Our detailed interviews with the radio-initiated listeners revealed in greater detail the relative lack of a serious approach toward understanding music.¹⁹ We might characterize their listening for the most part into three categories, *romance*, *excitement* and *entertainment*.²⁰

The romantic or emotional listener enters music to dream and forget, constructing a world of his own from all music,

¹⁸ An indirect indication of the difference in musical sophistication between the initiated and supplemented groups can be gathered from a simple count of the number of listeners in each group answering the question as to favorite composers. We find that almost half of the entire supplemented group did not answer this question at all, twice as many as among the initiated group. The reaction evidently was that the question was stupid and could not be answered. We cannot be certain, but it is logical to assume that the more sophisticated one is musically, the more one will rebel at listing five musical compositions as favorites. Altogether about 25 per cent of the respondents did not answer this question.

¹⁹ We find in speaking to the radio-initiated type that his reactions to music are much less specific than those of the radio-supplemented individual. His terminology is very often an exact duplicate of the radio announcer's. Most of his musical phraseology reflects the complete acceptance of music as interpreted by the broadcasters.

²⁰ These categories are taken from an elaborate typology drawn up by Dr. T. W. Adorno, on file at the Office of Radio Research, Columbia University. While we can secure valuable indications of the radio-initiated listener's approach to music, unfortunately we have no proof that these same attitudes do not also exist among the radio-supplemented listeners. Only a limited number of detailed interviews could be made, and it was felt that the newly initiated listeners offered the greatest amount of information.

even from fundamentally non-expressive music. Take the case of Mr. B., 52 years old, who owns a grocery store.

I couldn't live without music. I mean it—just as I need to eat to live. *I love more than anything else to close my eyes, sit back, and dream while listening to a great symphony.* Sometimes I smoke a good cigar.

The radio-initiated individual who listens to serious music for excitement is less passive, and the pleasure he gets from music is of a more sensual nature. A young girl, 29, formerly a typist, states:

I didn't pay much attention to music until the depression came and I lost my job. I was going crazy with nothing to do and I listened a lot to the radio. At first I didn't like good music, but gradually I found that it stimulated me. The other day I heard Tchaikowsky and *got so nervous I was actually shivering.*

The third type, also the one that seems to occur most frequently, is that of the listener who tunes in good music simply for entertainment. He differs from the previous type in that he doesn't throw any serious effects into music. It is just pleasant and he finds it an entertaining pastime. Such a case is that of a young Brooklyn College student whose favorite composer is Gershwin.

I like to listen while I do my homework. It makes me feel good and I am in a better mood to do it. Sometimes I even sit back and do nothing. *It sounds so pleasant.*

Very rarely do we find a radio-initiated listener who has developed a serious understanding and appreciation of music. This type of understanding listener "lives" the music,

realizes spontaneously all its relations, is able to recognize and judge reasonably well about the performance and the work, even though he may not be essentially conscious of musical terminology. He approaches music with an attempt at understanding, rather than for the emotional relief it can afford him.

Our conclusion then in regard to the radio-initiated music listener is that he possesses a less sophisticated and advanced approach toward serious music. We have inferred that this is due to a very large extent to the radio as the source of his musical listening. However, before we can be certain that this difference in musical sophistication stems from the radio, we must show that it is the radio and not the personality of the new listener that is responsible. For example we know that these radio-initiated listeners are younger and come to a large extent from among the men. These two factors, sex and age, together with education, are also related to level of musical taste and the question arises as to whether the difference in composers we observed is due to the presence of radio in the development or to the fact that the radio-initiated group possesses different personal characteristics. We can find the answer to this by dividing our sample according to these three personal characteristics and then determining for each sex, age and educational group whether there is still any difference in level of musical taste between our radio and non-radio groups. The results for these three test factors, together with newness of interest and age at which the musical interest began, are given in Appendix IC.

We find in all cases that quite independently of the factors investigated, those individuals for whom radio played an important developmental role have a lower level of musical taste than the group not dependent upon the radio.

Here then is our answer to the broadcaster and the music educator. There can be little doubt that the radio is creating new listeners. But there is reason to believe that all is not well. The evidence points toward the building up of a pseudo-interest in music by the radio. Signs of real understanding are lacking. Familiarity, without understanding, seems to be the result. Music is listened to for romantic relaxation or excitement, without any concern for the development or the relations of the music.

In other words the radio does not do the work of the educator. However, it does create a situation favorable to his efforts. We have attempted to indicate the direction, but the specific steps to be taken remain with the educator.

Reliance upon Radio

Although we have shown the radio-initiated listener to be less sophisticated in his musical listening, it is important to understand that this is no reflection upon the intensity or fervor of his interest. While his actual listening may be misdirected, we do find that in most cases his efforts at listening are quite sincere. The failure is not so much his own as that of the broadcaster and the educator.

Significantly enough we find this enthusiasm limited almost completely to the radio as the source of music. His

musical life is intensely linked up with broadcast music and in some cases we find this reliance upon radio developed to the exclusion of all other sources. One of our respondents, a housewife of Polish origin, 41 years of age, with a grown family of six children and nothing left to do tells us,

I am happy just with the music I get from the radio. Before I die I would like to see one opera. *Otherwise it is good to stay in the house and listen.*

First radio develops an interest in music and later radio maintains this interest. This reliance upon radio leads to several interesting differences which at first appear contradictory. These differences are intimately related to an attitude or approach to the radio as a source of music. To anticipate our results, we find that the initiated group is more concerned with radio-music than the supplemented group. While the supplemented listeners are more sophisticated and intelligent about music as a whole, they do not regard radio with the same intense interest. Their association with the radio is not completely linked up with their interest in music, as it is for the radio-initiated listener. Music to the initiate means the radio—and in this respect he has the religious fervor of a recent convert.

As a case in point we find that the radio-type has a much greater objection to advertising during a serious music program, preferring by a large margin "very good recordings without advertising."²¹ Similarly, we find that when they

²¹ The differences observed in the relationship to radio may possibly be due to our selected sample. As has been pointed out, the listener to Station WNYC is in many ways a non-conformist. The aversion to advertising found in this

do listen to the radio they are much more likely to listen to classical music programs only, whereas the supplemented type turns to the radio upon many other occasions. An additional indication is found in the stations they listen to regularly. The two stations in New York City broadcasting serious music almost exclusively are WNYC and WQXR, and we find many more of the initiated type listing these two stations as their favorites.²² If we consider all musical broadcasts, we see that the radio-type listens to more music programs over the radio altogether. These four factors are summarized in Table 10, showing the proportion of each group possessing the characteristic listed.

These four characteristics serve to define what we might call a measure of reliance upon the radio for serious music. If we combine them all into one index, and classify each of our respondents according to how many of the radio-affiliated traits (as listed in Table 10) he possesses, it is possible to arrive at an over-all picture of the respondent's alliance with radio-music.²³ We arbitrarily classify as highly related all respondents possessing three or four of the characteris-

study is probably a direct reflection of his distinguishing characteristics. These differences might be reversed in a study which would include the listeners to such programs as the Ford Sunday Evening Hour.

²² It would be very valuable if the results of this survey could be compared with a similar survey made with the listeners to Station WQXR, a commercial station servicing the metropolitan area almost continuously with serious music broadcasts. We would expect important differences in personal traits since WQXR has an "accepted" place among the society of music listeners, whereas WNYC has more of a newcomer's appeal. The actual broadcasts however are similar in detail and identical in structure.

²³ For an elaboration of this process, see "The Quantification of Case Studies," Lazarsfeld and Robinson, *Jnl. of Appl. Psychol.*, December 1940.

tics; as medium all respondents possessing two of the characteristics, and as low all respondents possessing only one or

TABLE 10.—ROLE OF RADIO IN MUSICAL DEVELOPMENT ACCORDING TO RADIO-MUSIC LISTENING HABITS

<i>Per cent of each group who:</i>	<i>Initiated</i>	<i>Nursed</i>	<i>Supplemented</i>
(a) Prefer records without advertisements	62.0	58.0	43.4
(b) Listen <i>only</i> to classical music	49.2	43.3	38.5
(c) Listen to <i>both</i> WNYC and WQXR regularly . .	51.6	41.6	38.2
(d) Listen to <i>4 or more</i> specific music broadcasts . .	51.7	48.5	36.0
Total per cent of each group = 100			
Total cases ^a	111	259	317

^a These four questions were omitted from the abbreviated questionnaire form sent out on the fourth follow-up wave to those respondents who had not answered. The percentages given above are therefore based upon the returns to the first three questionnaire waves, constituting 90.1 per cent of the sample.

none of the characteristics. The distribution of our three radio-types according to this index of reliance upon radio-music is given in Table 11.

TABLE 11.—ROLE OF RADIO IN MUSICAL DEVELOPMENT ACCORDING TO RELIANCE UPON RADIO-MUSIC

<i>Radio-music reliance</i>	<i>Initiated</i>	<i>Nursed</i>	<i>Supplemented</i>
High	35.2	29.9	19.7
Medium	33.4	30.3	31.0
Low	31.4	39.8	49.3
Total per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total cases	105	241	264

This index strengthens the results found for each measure separately. The zeal of the new radio-music listener is simi-

lar to that of the recent convert. No relationship exists between the sophistication of one's musical tastes and the intensity with which the radio is approached, due probably to the lesser dependency upon the radio and the more tolerant attitude toward radio-music of the sophisticated listener. If we consider both degree of musical sophistication and reliance upon radio-music, we find that the new radio-music listener is more than three times as frequent among the listeners with a low level of sophistication, but a high degree of radio-reliance than among the listeners with a high level of sophistication but a low degree of radio-reliance. This can be seen from Table 12.

TABLE 12.—RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RADIO AS AN INITIATOR OF MUSICAL INTEREST, LEVEL OF MUSICAL TASTE, AND ATTITUDE TOWARD RADIO-MUSIC ^a

Level of musical taste	Per cent of each group initiated by the radio		
	High	Medium	Low
Plus	17.0	15.8	9.4
Minus	30.2	21.7	20.9

^a For base figures, see Appendix II, Table 12.

To summarize the additional information we have on the serious music initiate, *we find that he has a lower level of musical sophistication. The reasons for his listening lie mainly in the romantic dreams and excitement it holds for him. He is also dependent a great deal upon the radio for his music. He limits his listening almost exclusively to serious music broadcasts and listens to many more radio-music programs than his predecessors. Radio is the heart of his musical being.*

Promoting Music Through the Radio

Much has been made of the ability of the radio to create new audiences for the concert hall. If this were true radio would indeed be fulfilling its most effective role—that of a stimulant for follow-up activity. However we have found that there is a strong tendency for the radio-initiated listener to rely completely upon the radio for his music. While this generalization tends to limit extra-radio listening, we do find instances of an increased listening to music supplied by sources other than the radio. For the most part, this increased activity is directed toward the phonograph, the least amount toward personal instrument playing.

A middle-aged housewife initiated to music by the radio attributes *increased* phonograph playing to the radio.

I have enjoyed the Masterwork Hour for a year now—and to prove that it has been helpful enjoyment *we bought an RCA radio-phonograph* combination and have many of the same records played on your program.

An interesting aspect of the increased concert attendance on the part of the radio-initiated music listeners was revealed in our detailed interviews. The reason for their concert attendance seems to center around the musicians rather than the music. The radio arouses their curiosity as to the men broadcasting the music.²⁴

²⁴ These comments are particularly interesting in view of the following quotation from J. T. Howard, "Better Days for Music," *Harper's Magazine*, April 1937.

"While radio may have encouraged many veteran concert goers to stay at home, it was also slowly producing thousands of new listeners who would sooner or later want to meet an orchestra or soloist in person."

A young girl of fifteen states:

I liked good music on the radio. I told my mother *I would like to see what musicians look like*, so she took me to a concert.

Another respondent explains:

I went to several concerts after I became interested through listening. *I was very much interested in the instruments and in watching how the musicians managed them.*

Many of the newly initiated listeners reported reading books as a result of listening to music over the radio. The books, however, almost always deal with the lives of composers rather than with music itself. A housewife, 39 years old, high school education, reports:

I read quite a lot about music now that the radio has shown me what it is like. I would say to my daughter: this composer must be a great man, he writes such great music. And she would get me a book from the library about him. *I love to read about their lives.*

Another, and perhaps more far-reaching aspect of the problem, however, is found in the *decreased* activity among our radio-supplemented music listeners. In many cases the radio appears to be replacing the more established sources of music among our advanced listeners. Concerts seem to be suffering most, with one out of every four radio-supplemented listeners reporting a decrease in their concert attendance.²⁵ We also find quite a number of listeners report-

²⁵ The reader must be careful not to draw any conclusions from these data about the effect of radio upon the number of concert-goers. This analysis indicates a change in the composition of audiences, but it is probable that audiences

ing decreases in their instrumental playing and in their devotion to the phonograph.

One listener explains his reasons for no longer playing the piano:

Radio has undoubtedly decreased my piano playing. Somehow I can no longer enjoy the music which I produce myself. *I think it is because I can see my own faults too clearly.* Besides, the radio makes one independent of one's own active interest, and playing oneself becomes unimportant.

While another respondent claims that he has *decreased* the amount of time he formerly spent listening to the phonograph.

Before I had the radio I thought I preferred the phonograph because I could get what I wanted when I wanted it. But now I find that by following the radio programs in the Times I can get more variety and a broader repertoire. *I would be foolish to tie myself down to the victrola again.*

The effect of radio then is seen to be conditional, depending upon the already existing musical habits of the listener. A well-established music listener already devotes a great deal of his spare time to music; therefore radio-music to be heard must take the place of some other medium. A newcomer to music has discovered a new interest and the radio can lead the listener toward an investigation of the other

as a whole have increased in numbers. For example, Grant and Hettinger maintained that, "although some people no doubt buy fewer records and attend fewer concerts because they can hear good symphonic music over the radio, the net result of radio has been to awaken much new and active interest in symphonic music which leads to increased record buying and concert attendance."—Grant, M., and Hettinger, H., *America's Symphony Orchestra*, New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1940.

musical sources. *It is this mixed blessing of increase among new listeners and decrease among old listeners that makes an evaluation of the situation difficult. On the one hand we find encouraging promises for the future, while on the other hand we can foresee dangers threatening.*

Our Changing Sources of Music

Along with the creation of the new music listener, we are also experiencing changes in the established musical institutions. These changes are important as a reflection of the decline in active musical participation in an age of mechanical enjoyments. While it was impossible in this study to analyze in detail the changes in the past 15 years in all musical sources, we can notice some very apparent trends.

The radio has become almost universally accepted as an important factor in the development of an interest in music among our respondents. Eighty per cent of those listeners whose interest developed in the past five years have turned to the radio as an important aid in their development, whereas in the ten years previous, sixty-five per cent attributed the same influence to the radio. Except for the phonograph, which remains fairly constant in importance, all other musical sources appear to be playing secondary roles. The concert hall and the playing of one's own instrument are hit the hardest. Among those respondents whose interest developed before the radio, almost every other listener attributes an important part to the concert hall, while more than one out of three listeners played their own instrument. Today, how-

ever, among the newly developed music listeners, less than one out of six listeners mention the concert hall or instrumental playing as taking an important place in their development. Similarly, as has already been discussed in detail, the family background as a factor assumes relatively less importance, while the influence of friends grows more important.

How much of the changes observed can be attributed to the radio and how much to other factors in modern life, is a problem. Radio itself is probably a reflection of the prevailing social forces. *The same social forces that have depreciated the individual initiative required by the violin and the piano, are also responsible for the rapid success of the radio.* Centralization, standardization, and the mass formation of likes and dislikes are movements in power today—the radio may facilitate these tendencies but even more so does it reflect them.

*RADIO AND THE PRESS AMONG
YOUNG PEOPLE*

by Frederick J. Meine

INTRODUCTION

AN age-old pastime of the elders of any generation is to deplore the new habits which are being inculcated into the youth of the time. There have always been valid grounds to suspect that each new age grows up in a changed environment from that which nurtured its elders, but probably never before have the changes been as rapid and as decisive as they have been in the machine age. The influence on youth of developments in transportation have long occupied moralists and educators, but with time the tumult has died down. Now a whole new wave of youngsters has grown up with a new medium of communication at their disposal—namely, the radio, and dire predictions have been made that the new generation will be one of listeners and that reading will become a lost art. Their elders grew up with a foundation of reading habits and for them the radio has been an added source of information and entertainment. It has been feared that people accepting radio as a part of their environment will never again place the same reliance on the printed

word. It has always been assumed that print offers certain advantages of elucidation and detail which cannot be replaced by oral media. There has been much speculation but little has been done toward an actual determination of whether radio displaces printed media with the children of the radio age.

With this lack of factual information on the problem in mind, a study has been made of the means by which a group of representative young Americans avail themselves of news sources, and of the factors affecting their consumption of the news. It is based on the responses of a group of 1,200 junior and senior high school students, and it attempts to delineate the development of interest in news through the formative years.¹ It was hoped that this investigation would throw some needed light on the place of radio with a group that has never experienced life without it. Their relative de-

¹ This report is condensed from a master's thesis submitted in September 1940, to the Faculty of the Graduate School of New York University. A description of the sample is given in Appendix A. The questionnaire used is shown in Appendix B.

The author is indebted to Mr. Paul Loser, Superintendent of Schools of Trenton, New Jersey; to Dr. P. R. Spencer, Principal of Central High School; and to Miss Grace Dunn, Principal of Junior High School No. 4, for permission to administer the schedule in the schools. He also wishes to thank Mr. Richard R. Robinson, Assistant Principal of the junior high school and the teachers of Central High School for assistance in the administration of the study. The author is also indebted to Mr. A. H. Richardson of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, to Professor Samuel A. Stouffer, and to Mrs. Hazel Gaudet of the Office of Radio Research for their suggestions and criticisms of the study. The author is glad of the opportunity to acknowledge the assistance given him by Dr. Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Director of the Office of Radio Research of Columbia University, who made the investigation possible and whose kindly criticism and real interest transforms research into adventure.

pendence on radio and printed media should constitute a gauge of what can be expected among future generations.

In the field of news dissemination, two basic findings were revealed. Although radio was found to be the most frequent source of information on current affairs among these young people, the newspaper was by no means eclipsed. As they grow older, they apparently turn to the newspaper in greater numbers until the two sources are practically equivalent in importance. Radio apparently introduces them to the news, but with maturation the newspaper increases in importance. The findings of this survey present the hopeful outlook that the use of newspapers is not disappearing at all. Although the scope of the study does not allow for any comparisons with other generations, it may be that radio has supplied an added source of information rather than has supplanted the previously existent sources. Radio may even have been an agent which has brought more news into the lives of young people and may have acted only to sharpen their interest in current affairs.

That this may be the case is demonstrated by the second major finding of the investigation. Those youngsters who were found to use both radio and newspaper for their news enlightenment, were markedly superior in their knowledge of the news to those with less broad habits of news consumption. The individuals who utilized the whole range of news media greatly excelled over other groups in their grasp of the news. The newspaper has apparently not waned in influence with the coming of the radio. Rather than being sup-

planted, it would seem that it is operating with radio to produce a wider offering of current information even to the generation which has had its choice of these two major media. The outlook for an informed public has never been brighter.

WHERE DO YOUNG PEOPLE GET MOST OF THEIR NEWS?

Radios were found to be available in 98 per cent of the homes studied. Newspaper circulation was almost as universal, although approximately 7 per cent of the youngsters reported that no newspapers entered their homes.² About 94 per cent of the youngsters in the sample said they usually discussed the news either with family, friends, or in school.

When the respondents were presented with a list of news media and asked, "From which of the following sources do you get most of your news?" a variety of sources were found to contribute to the news information of these young people, but radio and newspapers were checked most frequently. The frequency with which each of the listed sources was mentioned is shown in Table 1.

All other sources may be seen to be of minor importance in comparison with radio and newspaper. When conversations with both family and friends are combined, however, they make up 32 per cent of the total news sources mentioned. The family appears to be the chief agency of discussion of current events. When asked specifically whether they usually discussed the news with family, friends, and in school,

² Appendix III, Tables 1 and 2.

TABLE 1.—PROPORTION OF YOUNG PEOPLE USING EACH NEWS MEDIUM

<i>Medium</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Radio	71
Newspaper	58
Movie newsreels	26
School	21
Conversation with family	19
Magazines	14
Conversation with friends	13
Other	1
Total mentions per 100 respondents	223
Total respondents answering	1,177
Total respondents not answering	23
Total number of respondents	1,200

the following are the proportions who answered in the affirmative. (Table 2)

TABLE 2.—PROPORTION USUALLY DISCUSSING NEWS IN DIFFERENT GROUPS

<i>Discuss news:</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
With family	76
In school	61
With friends	59
Number equaling 100 per cent in each group	1,200

Although the figures in Table 1 show that young people are more likely to use the radio than the newspaper as a source of news, when these respondents were questioned on how often they read a daily paper and the frequency with which they listened to news bulletins over the radio, the results are quite different.³ Approximately 80 per cent said

³ The questions asked were: "How often do you read a daily newspaper?" and "How often do you listen to news bulletins over the radio?" The answers were recorded on identical check lists: "More than once a day, once a day, several times a week, occasionally, and hardly ever."

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they read the newspaper at least once a day as compared with 60 per cent who listen to news broadcasts daily. This difference may be explained by the fact that the two questions are not strictly comparable for the two media. In other words, the question was asked generally for all features of the daily paper, but was asked specifically for *news* listening on the radio. That reading a newspaper may not mean reading the *news* for young people is demonstrated in Table 3, which shows the features of the newspaper read regularly by these students.

TABLE 3.—FEATURES OF THE NEWSPAPER READ REGULARLY BY YOUNG PEOPLE

(Proportion of Respondents Mentioning)

<i>Newspaper feature</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Comics	84
Sports	61
* Foreign news	61
Movies	56
Pictures	43
Crime news	36
Advertisements	27
* Local and state political events	22
* Editorials	21
* National politics	18
Society	17
Continued stories	13
* Columnists	9
* Book reviews	8
Total mentions per 100 respondents	476
Total respondents not answering	12
Total respondents answering	1,188
Total number of respondents	1,200

* Newspaper features which may be considered of a serious nature.

It can be seen that youngsters read regularly an average of almost five of these newspaper features apiece, but that relatively few youngsters mentioned reading "serious items" as a regular habit. Of the serious features listed in Table 3, only foreign news was mentioned by more than half of the youngsters. Only about a fifth mentioned local and state political events, national politics and editorials. Columnists and book reviews were even less popular. Totaling the serious features in the list (those marked with an asterisk), it can be seen that there were only 139 mentions of these as compared with 337 mentions of the features of less serious content. In other words, less than 30 per cent of the newspaper reading of these young people can be considered comparable to the more serious content which they receive in news broadcasts. It would seem, therefore, that the different meaning of "radio news listening" and "newspaper reading" would account for the differences found in frequency of exposure.

Relation of News Listening and Reading

In order to analyze the relation of news listening and actual news reading in the paper, the youngsters were classified into four groups, devised from the following two-fold radio-newspaper classification. No distinction was made between various news broadcasts heard since they are all obviously concerned with news events. Newspaper reading, however, as has been seen, is not necessarily serious, therefore the division was made *both* on the basis of *amount* of newspaper reading and the reading of *serious* items. The "N" group is

RADIO-NEWSPAPER CONSUMPTION GROUPS

<i>Frequency and type of newspaper reading</i>	<i>Frequency of radio news listening</i>	
	<i>Listen at least once a day (R)</i>	<i>Listen less than once a day (r)</i>
Read newspaper at least once a day and read "serious" items (N)	RN	rN
Read newspaper less than once a day and/or read no "serious" items (n)	Rn	rn

composed only of those individuals who read a newspaper frequently and read at least one serious feature. Individuals were placed in the "n" group both if they read the newspaper less than once a day and if they read it more often *but read no serious items*. The four groups constitute a hierarchy of news consumption habits, ranging from good news habits in the RN group to poor habits in the rn group. Good habits mean regular news listening plus regular reading of serious items, and poor habits mean irregular news listening plus either irregular or non-serious news reading. These categories will be referred to repeatedly in the ensuing analysis and will henceforth be designated by these descriptive symbols.

That there is a relationship between news listening and serious newspaper reading may be seen by substituting the number of individuals in each of the four groups in the above scheme. This is shown in Table 4.

Over 70 per cent of those who are "good" newspaper readers (N), also listen to the radio news at least once a day. Almost the same proportion of frequent news listeners (R)

also are frequent and serious newspaper readers. Conversely, only about 45 per cent of the youngsters who have either poor radio or newspaper habits (n or r) are good news consumers in the other medium. In other words, individuals who follow the news through one source tend also to follow it through the other; and persons who follow the news infre-

TABLE 4.—RELATIONSHIP OF NEWS LISTENING AND SERIOUS NEWSPAPER READING ^a

<i>Frequency and type of newspaper reading</i>	<i>Frequency of radio news listening</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>Listen at least once a day (R)</i>	<i>Listen less than once a day (r)</i>	
Read newspaper at least once a day and read "serious" items (N)	RN = 496	rN = 208	704
Read newspaper less than once a day and/or read no "serious" items (n)	Rn = 219	rn = 277	496
Total	715	485	1,200

^a The "r" group contains 22 individuals who did not answer how often they listened, and there were 29 in the "n" group who did not say how often they read the newspaper. Analysis of the responses made by these individuals to related questions indicated that they did little reading and/or listening.

quently through one source, tend also to be disinterested in securing news through the other avenue.⁴

Further evidence on the relation of radio news listening to newspaper reading is obtained in answer to the direct ques-

⁴ In view of the high correlation between newspaper and radio habits, it is somewhat surprising that as many as 208 individuals would be serious newspaper readers and still not listen to radio news daily (rN). The answer seems to be that they read fewer serious items in the paper than do the serious newspaper readers who also listen to radio news daily (RN). The rN group mentioned 1.8 serious items per person and the RN group 2.1 serious items usually read. In other words, "serious newspaper reading" means slightly different degrees of seriousness for the two groups.

tion, "Where do you prefer to get your news, from the radio or the newspapers?" Almost three to one said they *preferred* to get their news over the radio. Strangely enough, even when the respondents are divided into the four different radio-newspaper consumption groups, the preference for radio is still marked in each group. The proportion preferring radio in each radio-newspaper group is shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5.—PROPORTION PREFERRING RADIO AS A SOURCE OF NEWS IN THE VARIOUS RADIO-NEWSPAPER CONSUMPTION GROUPS ^a

<i>Frequency and type of newspaper reading</i>	<i>Frequency of radio news listening</i>	
	<i>Listen at least once a day (R)</i>	<i>Listen less than once a day (r)</i>
Read newspaper at least once a day and read "serious" items (N)	75 per cent of RN	63 per cent of rN
Read newspaper less than once a day and/or read no "serious" items (n)	82 per cent of Rn	66 per cent of rn

^a The total number on which each percentage is based may be seen in the corresponding position in Table 4.

The order of preference among the four groups is that which might have been expected, the predominantly radio group (Rn) being highest and the predominantly newspaper group (rN) being lowest in preference for radio. Even so, it is an anomalous situation to find such a large proportion as 63 per cent of the rN group preferring radio in spite of their frequent, serious newspaper reading and their infrequent radio news listening. The preference figures show the same trend as the behavior figures, but radio is still the preferred me-

dium of all groups. There are several possible explanations. One is that the respondents may really listen more than it appears here because of the different wording of the questions for radio news listening and general newspaper reading. There may be a greater tendency to exaggerate amount of newspaper reading than there is to exaggerate frequency of listening to newscasts. It may be that the crude measure of listening or reading "once a day" may pertain more precisely to radio news than to newspaper reading. In other words, if a person says he listens to a news broadcast once a day, he may mean that he listens and hears *most* of it. Reading a newspaper once a day may mean a greater variation in performance—it may not allow for a sufficiently fine distinction between thorough reading of the news and a casual perusal of the headlines. Both would be considered "daily reading."

The other explanations of the preference for radio are even more simple. It is perfectly possible that there *is* a difference between preference and behavior, and that even newspaper readers prefer radio listening. For one thing the time factor involved in listening to newscasts at scheduled times may cause part of the difference. Other activities may interfere with regular radio programs, making a person miss listening against his will. The newspaper, on the other hand, can lie waiting for the convenience of the reader, hence making daily reading easier to maintain than a schedule of daily listening.

Finally, it may be that listening is for young people psychologically easier than reading. Radio news items are sum-

marized and succinct, and the story told in a nutshell. The news is neatly grouped into homogeneous units in the broadcasts, whereas serious newspaper items must be sought and chosen by each individual reader. The entire process of news listening may require less effort than does newspaper reading.

Although it is difficult to account for over half the newspaper readers preferring the radio to the newspaper as a source of news even by such speculations, nevertheless the fact that the four consumption groups differ in their radio preferences in the expected order, lends credence to the finding. The relation between radio and newspaper as news sources is obviously a complex one, but all the results point to radio as the primary source of news for these young people.

In order to determine whether good radio-newspaper habits were also related to discussion of the news, a scoring system was devised whereby these youngsters were classified on the basis of their news discussion habits. Respondents were asked whether they usually discussed the news, as well as whether they had discussed it "yesterday."⁵ Eliminating schoolroom discussions from this measure, there was a possibility of four affirmative answers and a one-point score was given for each: (1) with family usually, (2) with family yesterday, (3) with friends usually, and (4) with friends yesterday. The average discussion score points for each of the four radio-newspaper groups are shown in Table 6.

⁵ The questionnaire may be seen in Appendix II.

TABLE 6.—AVERAGE DISCUSSION SCORES FOR THE RADIO-NEWSPAPER CONSUMPTION GROUPS

<i>Radio-newspaper consumption groups</i>	<i>Average discussion score^a</i>
Radio and newspaper (RN)	2.5
Predominantly newspaper (rN)	1.9
Predominantly radio (Rn)	2.0
Poor in both sources (rn)	1.6

^a The number of persons on whom each average score was based is given in Table 4.

The consistent decrease in amount of news discussion from the best radio-newspaper consumption group (RN) to the poorest (rn) shows that excellence of news habits are related in all three spheres. There is no indication that there are many individuals interested in the news who get their information from only one source. Those youngsters who have good news habits in one sphere also tend to be superior in their news consumption in other respects. Apparently those most interested in the news, get their information from all the major media of communication.

WHAT ARE THE FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE NEWS
CONSUMPTION?

The Relationship Between Age and News Consumption Habits

Thus far this discussion has concerned the news habits of the entire group of young people. These youngsters are, however, in a continuous stage of development, so it should

be pertinent to examine the variations in news habits with age to ascertain whether there is improvement with increase in years. One of the most outstanding variations in news consumption habits which occurs with increasing age lies in the mention of more sources of news as they grow older. That the increase in number of mentions occurs for every source of news information is demonstrated in Table 7, where age is roughly measured by grade in school.

TABLE 7.—PROPORTION USING VARIOUS NEWS MEDIA ON DIFFERENT GRADE LEVELS

(Proportion of Respondents Mentioning)

<i>Medium</i> ^a	<i>Grade groups (per cent)</i>		
	<i>7 and 8</i>	<i>9 and 10</i>	<i>11 and 12</i>
Radio	66	69	78
Newspaper	50	54	70
Movie newsreels	15	27	36
School	10	17	34
Conversations with family	14	21	22
Magazines	5	11	26
Conversations with friends	7	14	19
Other	1	1	1
Total mentions per 100 respondents . . .	168	214	286
Total respondents answering	389	394	394
Total respondents not answering	11	6	6
Total number of respondents	400	400	400

^a The media are arranged in the same order as in Table 1.

It can be seen that the upper classmen in high school mentioned 286 sources per 100 respondents as compared with only 168 mentions among the lower classes, or 1.7 times as many sources. This naturally accounts for the fact that the

mentions of each medium of communication rises from lower to upper grades. When the data are examined more minutely, however, it can be seen that the *rank order* of some of the media have actually changed with increase in grade in school. For instance, the school and magazines are relatively more important in the upper grades than they are in the lower grades, while conversations with both the family and friends seem to be of relatively more importance to those in the lower grades. The proportions usually discussing news with family, friends and in school on the different grade levels are shown in Table 8.

TABLE 8.—PROPORTION USUALLY DISCUSSING NEWS WITH FAMILY, FRIENDS OR IN SCHOOL ON DIFFERENT GRADE LEVELS ^a

	Grade groups (per cent)		
	7 and 8	9 and 10	11 and 12
Usually discuss news:			
With family	77	81	72
With friends	55	57	66
In school	51	58	75

^a Number upon which each percentage is based is 400.

As was seen before, the family was the chief agency for such discussions. Discussion of the news in the family group apparently does not vary with age. This is probably a reflection of the fact that the discussion is initiated by other family members; and is therefore not a function of the increasing age of the respondent. On the other hand, news discussion with friends and in the classroom seems actually to become more important with age, probably both because of the growing interest of the youngsters in news and the in-

creasing emphasis on current affairs in the upper classes. News discussion with the family is the most frequent in the lower grades, but discussions in the classroom and with friends become increasingly important with age until they finally equal family discussion in importance.

Although Table 7 shows that radio and newspaper are both mentioned more frequently with each progression in school grade, and while radio still leads newspaper as a source of news on each grade level, the size of the gap between the two tends to become smaller in the upper grades. In other words, newspaper seems to become relatively more important in the higher grades. The ratio of newspaper to radio on the three grade levels is as follows:

TABLE 9.—RATIO OF NEWSPAPER TO RADIO ON DIFFERENT GRADE LEVELS

<i>Grades</i>	<i>Per cent mentioning</i>		<i>Newspaper/radio ratio</i>
	<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Radio</i>	
7 and 8	50	66	.76
9 and 10	54	69	.78
11 and 12	70	78	.90

While the relative differences are small, they are sufficient to suggest the obvious conclusion that with increasing age the newspaper gradually gains on the radio in relative importance as a source of news.

Similarly it would be expected that the number of features read in the newspaper also would increase with age or grade in school. In Table 10 the sections read regularly in the newspaper are shown for the three grade levels, with the

number of features mentioned per 100 respondents given at the bottom.

TABLE 10.—FEATURES READ REGULARLY IN THE NEWSPAPER ON DIFFERENT GRADE LEVELS

<i>Newspaper feature</i>	<i>Grade groups (per cent)</i>		
	<i>7 and 8</i>	<i>9 and 10</i>	<i>11 and 12</i>
Comics	74	87	93
Sports	46	61	76
* Foreign news	47	63	71
Movies	43	57	67
Pictures	31	39	58
Crime news	30	35	40
Advertisements	16	26	39
* Local and state political events	8	22	36
* Editorials	7	20	37
* National politics	7	17	29
Society	6	16	30
Continued stories	11	13	14
* Columnists	2	11	15
* Book reviews	5	6	13
Total mentions per 100 respondents	333	473	618
Total respondents answering	392	398	398
Total respondents not answering	8	2	2
Total number of respondents	400	400	400

* Newspaper features which are classified as "serious" items.

As they go through the grades, while they continue to read the less serious items in the newspaper, young people seem more likely to read the serious items also (as marked by asterisks in Table 10). When the ratio of the oldest to the youngest groups is examined for each newspaper feature, the items where the greatest relative differences are found are nearly all serious features. The greatest proportionate in-

creases are found in the following order: columnists, editorials, society, local and state political events, national politics, and book reviews—only one item of which (society news) may not be considered serious news. That the increase in the number reading serious items is rapid from grade to grade may be seen when the proportion in each grade which reads serious items in the newspaper is calculated. The total reading foreign news, politics, editorials, columnists and book reviews in each grade level is seen in Table 11.

TABLE 11.—PROPORTION READING SERIOUS NEWSPAPER ITEMS
ON DIFFERENT GRADE LEVELS

<i>Grade</i>	<i>Per cent reading</i>	<i>Total number</i>
7 and 8	53	400
9 and 10	71	400
11 and 12	82	400

It can be seen that the increase in the reading of serious newspaper features is especially great between the lowest grade level and the middle grades, but that there is a substantial increase in each instance.

Since it has already been shown that the number of news sources increases with age, it might also be expected that the frequency of exposure to the various sources also increases. This is found to be the case with newspaper reading, but radio news listening is relatively constant. The proportion who are exposed daily to radio news and the newspaper may be seen in Table 12.

The greater rise in newspaper reading is further corroboration of the previous finding that dependence on the news-

paper as a source of news increases proportionately more with age than does dependence on radio.

There is a possibility that there is another factor involved in the explanation of why newspaper reading apparently increases with age, whereas radio news listening does not. It may be that the former is more directly dependent on the initiative and maturation of the individual youngster, whereas

TABLE 12.—PROPORTION OF DAILY NEWS LISTENING AND NEWSPAPER READING COMPARED FOR DIFFERENT GRADE LEVELS ^a

<i>Grade</i>	<i>Listen to news at least daily (per cent)</i>	<i>Read newspaper at least daily (per cent)</i>
7 and 8	55	72
9 and 10	64	81
11 and 12	62	85

^a The number upon which each percentage is based is 400.

news listening may be a family habit. That family listening is widespread is demonstrated by the fact that 92 per cent of the youngsters said their parents regularly listen to news-casts. Of this group, 67 per cent of the youngsters listen at least once a day, whereas among the small group whose parents do not listen, only 25 per cent of the youngsters listen as regularly.

Thus far it has been demonstrated that there is a marked increase in the consumption of news during the formative years of these young people. The increasingly serious focus of their attention has also been shown. Finally, more light can be thrown on the development of news habits when the proportions of young people falling into the four previously

mentioned radio-newspaper consumption groups are examined for the different grade levels.⁶ These categories which yield a combined measure of frequency and seriousness of exposure are presented in Table 13.

TABLE 13.—PROPORTIONS IN THE RADIO-NEWSPAPER CONSUMPTION GROUPS ON DIFFERENT GRADE LEVELS

<i>Radio-newspaper consumption groups</i>	<i>Grade groups (per cent)</i>		
	<i>7 and 8</i>	<i>9 and 10</i>	<i>11 and 12</i>
Radio and newspaper (RN)	29	43	52
Predominantly newspaper (rN)	12	17	23
Predominantly radio (Rn)	26	19	10
Poor in both sources (rn)	33	21	15
Total per cent	100	100	100
Total number	400	400	400

The outstanding feature of these figures is that those on the first two lines, which include all the serious newspaper readers, increase with age, whereas those on the last two lines, non-serious newspaper readers, proceed in the opposite direction. The number of "poor" readers and listeners (rn) decreases as grade increases, while the number of "good" readers and listeners (RN) grows larger on the higher grade levels. The middle two groups are apparently the key to the problem; the number of predominant listeners (Rn) decreases with increasing grade, while the number of predominant readers (rN) increases, again demonstrating the growth of dependence on the newspaper among the older students.

⁶ For a description of the four radio-newspaper consumption groups, see page 196.

*The Relationship Between Intelligence and News-Consumption Habits*⁷

It has been observed that news-consumption habits are related to age, and that as youngsters go through the grades, they make more and more use of news sources and develop an interest in serious newspaper items. In the foregoing discussion the role of intelligence has been ignored since, as may be seen in Appendix A, in the discussion of the dispersion of intelligence scores, a similarity of distribution of intelligence scores existed in each grade group of the sample. This fact precluded the possibility of introducing intelligence into the discussion of age as a spurious or hidden factor.

Intelligence, however, independent of age, does play an important role in the development of news-consumption habits. Its role is similar to that of age. The more intelligent youngsters in each grade tend to have more mature news habits than the less intelligent youngsters.

The influence of intelligence was observed by dividing each grade group into two numerically equal intelligence groups, the HIGH intelligence group consists of those above the median intelligence score and the LOW group consists of those below the median score. Each grade-intelligence group was then further subdivided in terms of newspaper reading and news listening habits.

Grade comparisons in Table 14, holding intelligence constant, show that the relationships between age and news-con-

⁷ Methods of determining intelligence are described in Appendix A.

sumption, as observed in Table 13, are independent of intelligence. Serious reading in the newspaper, as displayed by the first two groups (RN and rN) tends to increase with grade on both intelligence levels, while non-serious newspaper reading, even when combined with radio news listening every day (Rn), decreases with advance in grade.

TABLE 14.—PROPORTION IN RADIO-NEWSPAPER CONSUMPTION GROUPS ON DIFFERENT GRADE AND INTELLIGENCE LEVELS

<i>Radio-newspaper consumption groups</i>	<i>Grades 7 and 8</i>		<i>Grades 9 and 10</i>		<i>Grades 11 and 12</i>	
	<i>Intelligence</i>		<i>Intelligence</i>		<i>Intelligence</i>	
	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>
	<i>(per cent)</i>		<i>(per cent)</i>		<i>(per cent)</i>	
Radio and newspaper (RN) . . .	39	20	49	37	56	47
Predominantly newspaper (rN) . . .	17	8	16	17	23	23
Predominantly radio (Rn) . . .	23	28	17	21	7	14
Poor in both sources (rn) . . .	21	44	18	25	14	16
Total per cent	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total number	200	200	200	200	200	200

It will be seen in comparing the HIGH with the LOW intelligence group in each grade that the more intelligent have better news-consumption habits than have the less intelligent. Intelligent youngsters in the lowest grade groups have habits similar to those of dull youngsters in the middle grade group indicating that maturation and intelligence have similar effects on the formation of news-consumption habits.

The most startling finding in Table 14 was the fact that differences due to intelligence become smaller as age increases. There are almost twice as many superior news consumers (RN) in the 7th and 8th grades on the high mentality level as there are among those of low intelligence. Conversely, the poor consumers (rn) of low intelligence

outnumber the poor consumers of high intelligence more than two to one. When the same relationships are examined in the highest grade level, the rule of intelligence in news-consumption has been largely dissipated. A possible explanation is that as these youngsters approach the optimum maturation levels of news consumption, age operates jointly with intelligence to narrow the gap. In other words, the brighter students early acquired good news-consumption habits. With increasing age, however, the slower students may tend to mature at a relatively more rapid rate. The differences in news habits grow smaller, but the less intelligent will never attain the heights of the more intelligent. Whatever the explanation of the decreasing increment between the two groups, however, it would seem from these data that age and intelligence operate jointly as two phases of maturation in news-consumption habits.

Thus far the general procedure in each section of the discussion after the sources of information and the seriousness of their content have been discussed, has been to introduce the concept of discussion of the news. In an effort to study the relation of talking about the news to intelligence, the average discussion scores were calculated for each of the four radio-newspaper groups on the different intelligence and grade levels.⁸ It was seen in Table 6 that there was considerable relationship between radio-newspaper habits and discussion of the news. The same data broken down for grade and intelligence level are shown in Table 15.

⁸ The method of calculating the discussion score was described on page 12.

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TABLE 15.—AVERAGE DISCUSSION SCORE OF THE RADIO-NEWSPAPER CONSUMPTION GROUPS ON DIFFERENT GRADES AND INTELLIGENCE LEVELS ^a

<i>Radio-newspaper consumption groups</i>	<i>Grades 7 and 8</i>		<i>Grades 9 and 10</i>		<i>Grades 11 and 12</i>	
	<i>Intelligence</i>		<i>Intelligence</i>		<i>Intelligence</i>	
	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>
Radio and newspaper (RN)	2.5	2.2	2.7	2.5	2.6	2.6
Predominantly newspaper (rN)	2.0	1.6	2.1	1.9	1.7	1.9
Predominantly radio (Rn)	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.9	2.0	1.8
Poor in both sources (rn)	1.6	1.6	1.3	1.8	1.6	1.8

^a Total number of persons on which each average score is based is given in Appendix III, Table 3.

There is a tendency, at least in the three top news-consumption groups, for the intelligent to discuss the news slightly more than those of lower mentality. Analysis of these discussion scores reveals no consistent differences from one grade level to another. The chief finding seems to be the same as that seen previously (Table 6), that discussion of the news is related to other news-consumption habits, and Table 15 indicates that this relationship exists regardless of grade in school or intelligence. The superior radio-newspaper group (RN) invariably discusses the news more than the two middle consumption groups (rN and Rn), and they in turn tend to have higher discussion scores than the poorest news-consumption group (rn). In other words, those who both listen to the news frequently and read serious news items, are also the most prone to discuss the news with their families and friends. Since there are no such consistent differences from one grade or intelligence group to another, it would appear that good news habits in radio and newspaper

also indicate good news habits in discussion of news, regardless of age or intelligence. Conversely, if poor news consumption habits are present, even in an individual in an upper grade with high intelligence, he will probably not discuss the news with the frequency of other individuals on his own level of maturation. The common factor which stimulated the radio-newspaper habits of an individual are probably also operative in causing him to discuss the news regardless of the age or intelligence level to which he belongs.

The Relationship of the Sex Factor to News Consumption Habits

As might be expected, girls are markedly less interested in news than are boys. Every tabulation where sex was controlled showed the boys having better news-consumption habits than girls. This was true on all grade and intelligence levels. It is also borne out when the proportions of boys and girls falling into the four radio-newspaper groups are examined. This is shown in Table 16.

TABLE 16.—PROPORTION OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN THE DIFFERENT RADIO-NEWSPAPER GROUPS

<i>Radio-newspaper consumption groups</i>	<i>Boys (per cent)</i>	<i>Girls</i>
Radio and newspaper (RN)	45	39
Predominantly newspaper (rN)	17	18
Predominantly radio (Rn)	18	18
Poor in both sources (rn)	20	25
Total per cent	100	100
Total number	600	600

While the two middle groups are identical for the two sexes, there are more boys in the superior group (RN), and more girls among those who listen to news infrequently as well as read no serious newspaper items (rn). All other calculations comparing the two sexes lead to such similar conclusions that their presentation is superfluous, except for one table on discussion of news. When the results from the question, "Did you discuss any item of news with your family yesterday?" and the same question on discussion of news with friends, were compared for boys and girls of different grade levels the results were interesting. They are presented in Table 17.

TABLE 17.—PROPORTION OF BOYS AND GIRLS ON DIFFERENT GRADE LEVELS WHO DISCUSSED NEWS "YESTERDAY" WITH FAMILY AND FRIENDS ^a

Grade group	<u>Discussed with family</u>		<u>Discussed with friends</u>	
	Boys (per cent)	Girls	Boys (per cent)	Girls
7 and 8	44	34	34	19
9 and 10	54	43	40	23
11 and 12	46	48	55	19

^a The number of persons on which each percentage was based is 200.

First of all, the superiority of the boys to the girls in regard to news discussion is evident for both situations and on almost all grade levels. Secondly, it is interesting to note the differences between the sexes from one grade level to another. The boys do not seem to increase in family discussions with age, whereas the girls do. On the other hand, the girls do not discuss news with friends more on the older levels, whereas discussion among boys increases markedly. It would seem that sex differences in amount of news discussion are

more pronounced in the uncontrolled situations, that is, in discussions with friends. In other words, where there is a certain amount of their own volition involved in the situation, as with their friends, boys tend to discuss news increasingly in the older groups, whereas discussion among girls remains at a consistently low level. This seems to be the most telling evidence of a lack of news interest among the girls on all age levels.

WHAT ARE THE FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE KNOWLEDGE OF THE NEWS?

It has been shown that as youngsters advance through the school grades, they become more exposed to news, they display an interest in more serious news, and they discuss news more frequently. It was similarly shown that individuals of higher intelligence excelled in both news interest and exposure, and that boys were markedly superior to girls in their news-consumption habits. It might be expected, therefore, that these same relationships would carry over to knowledge of current events. For this purpose a test of news knowledge was included in the questionnaire administered to these students,⁹ consisting of 24 completion-type questions. One score point was given for each question answered correctly. The

⁹ For the complete test, see the questionnaire in Appendix II. Distributions of individual quiz scores by sex and grade are shown in Appendix III, Table 5. The table is included to show the wide dispersion of test scores secured by this text.

questions concerned chiefly foreign and national news current at the time of the test. Examples of the questions are:

Hore-Belisha, who recently resigned from the British Cabinet, was the: A. Chancellor of the Exchequer; B. Prime Minister; C. War Secretary; D. First Lord of the Admiralty.

The United States' note protesting the removal of American mail from American and other neutral ships was addressed to what warring power? A. Germany; B. Great Britain; C. France; D. Japan.

A store of arms was recently discovered to be in the illegal possession of Brooklyn members of which of the following organizations? A. Communist Party; B. Christian Front; C. Civil Liberties Union; D. Socialist Party.

The average information quiz scores for boys and girls of high and low intelligence for the three different age levels were calculated separately and are presented in Table 18.

TABLE 18.—AVERAGE NEWS INFORMATION SCORES FOR BOYS AND GIRLS ON DIFFERENT GRADE AND INTELLIGENCE LEVELS ^a

	<i>High intelligence</i>			<i>Low intelligence</i>		
	<i>7 and 8</i>	<i>9 and 10</i>	<i>11 and 12</i>	<i>7 and 8</i>	<i>9 and 10</i>	<i>11 and 12</i>
Boys	11.4	15.4	17.7	8.7	13.6	15.5
Girls	8.5	12.9	15.0	5.9	10.9	13.7

^a Each average score was calculated on 100 individuals.

In each instance it can be seen that knowledge of news increases with grade level, that individuals of high intelligence are superior in news knowledge, and that boys score consistently higher than girls. These are the same relationships that were discovered between these same factors and news-consumption habits. It would indicate that news habits and

news knowledge may be correlated. The relationship between these two factors will be examined later.

It is always a problem in any study involving intelligence whether this factor is operating alone, or whether it is a correlate of social status and the accompanying environmental differences. That this should be considered can easily be demonstrated by showing the high degree of relationship between mental and social level.¹⁰ In order to examine this relationship, average information scores were calculated for the different intelligence levels divided by social status. The figures are presented separately for two grade levels instead of the three which have formerly been used, in order to simplify the presentation and to keep the numbers as large as possible in each group. The three lower grades were classed together for the younger group, and grades 10, 11 and 12 for the older. The results are shown in Table 19.

The consistent decrease in news knowledge with lowering intelligence can be seen plainly in each column. Just as was seen in Table 18, the higher the intelligence, the higher the news information score on each grade level. Significant differences in the scores can also be seen between the two grade levels, with the senior high school students scoring significantly higher than the junior high school students on each different economic and intelligence level. Surprisingly

¹⁰ The high relation of social status and intelligence is shown in Appendix III, Table 6. Social status or economic level was measured in this study on the basis of family ownership of automobiles, mechanical refrigerators, and telephones. High economic level consisted of those students whose families possessed two or three of these conveniences; low economic level consisted of those who had only one or none of the three facilities in the home.

TABLE 19.—AVERAGE NEWS INFORMATION SCORES FOR JUNIOR AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS ON DIFFERENT ECONOMIC AND INTELLIGENCE LEVELS ^a

<i>Intelligence quartiles</i>	<i>Junior high school</i>		<i>Senior high school</i>	
	<i>Social status</i>		<i>Social status</i>	
	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>
High	12.0	11.5	15.9	16.4
Upper middle . . .	10.5	10.6	15.3	16.0
Lower middle . . .	10.0	9.6	14.2	14.1
Low	8.6	7.1	14.0	13.6

^a The number of students on whom each of these averages is based is given in Appendix III, Table 6.

enough, the influence of economic level on the scores is not so clear. Differences in the scores from high to low social status do not exist in every instance, and where they are present, they are small. It would seem, however, that in the younger group, economic status has more influence on news knowledge than in the older group, and that on the lower intelligence levels economic status exerts a greater influence than on the upper intelligence levels. On the whole, however, when intelligence and age are controlled, social status does not seem to exert a very great effect on knowledge of news.

The Relationship Between News Consumption Habits and News Knowledge

All of the evidence thus far presented points to the fact that the relationships found between the factors age, sex, and intelligence and news-consumption habits, exist when they are studied in relation to news knowledge. It has been seen that the older groups have better news habits as well as

more knowledge of the news. Boys were invariably found to be superior in their news-consumption, and were likewise seen to know more about the news. Intelligence was also seen to be positively related to good news habits as well as to high scores in the news information test. All of these associations point to a high degree of relationship between superior news habits and knowledge of current events. Verification of these speculations is presented in Table 20, in which the average news information scores are given for the four radio-newspaper news-consumption groups.

TABLE 20.—AVERAGE NEWS INFORMATION SCORE FOR THE RADIO-NEWSPAPER CONSUMPTION GROUPS ^a

<i>Radio-newspaper consumption groups</i>	<i>Average news information score</i>
Radio and newspaper (RN)	14.2
Predominantly newspaper (rN)	13.1
Predominantly radio (Rn)	11.2
Poor in both sources (rn)	9.7

^a Number of persons in each group was shown in Table 4 of the foregoing text.

It can be seen that there is a positive relationship between quality of news habits and information scores; that those with the most regular and most serious news habits scored the highest, and those least exposed to serious news had the lowest score in knowledge.

Offhand, this might seem to indicate that there is a simple cause-and-effect relationship between news consumption habits and knowledge of the news. Such a conclusion is fraught with spurious factors, however, and must be exam-

ined with caution. It has already been seen that these two variables are each independently related to the same factors, namely, sex, age and intelligence. It is perfectly possible that the fact that they are influenced by the same set of factors may cause a spurious relation to appear between them.

In order to examine the relationship presented in Table 20, therefore, it is necessary to hold constant all these factors which have thus far been found to be important in determining news consumption and news knowledge. With this goal in mind, average news information scores were calculated for boys and girls separately, on different grade and intelligence levels for each of the four radio-newspaper groups which have been used before as a measure of news-consumption habits. With sex, age and intelligence held constant it is possible to determine whether there is still any real relationship between knowledge of the news and news consumption. If a relationship is still found to be present in both sex groups, and on all age and mentality levels, then it may be concluded that consumption and knowledge are truly related. The average news scores for the four news-consumption groups may be seen in Table 21, calculated for boys and girls, and the different grade and intelligence levels separately.

It will be seen that the same relationships which have been observed separately before are still extant in these figures. The news scores of the boys can be seen to be superior to those of the girls; the scores progress upward with grade in each instance; and students of high intelligence invariably

excel those of low intelligence in information scores. When these three factors are ruled out, there is still a definite trend of news scores with quality of news-consumption habits.

TABLE 21.—AVERAGE NEWS INFORMATION SCORES FOR THE RADIO-NEWS-PAPER GROUPS WITH SEX, GRADE AND INTELLIGENCE HELD CONSTANT ^a

<i>Radio-newspaper consumption groups</i>	<i>Grades 7 and 8</i>		<i>Grades 9 and 10</i>		<i>Grades 11 and 12</i>	
	<i>Intelligence</i>		<i>Intelligence</i>		<i>Intelligence</i>	
	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>
<i>Boys:</i>						
Radio and newspaper (RN) . . .	12.1	10.6	14.9	14.6	18.1	16.6
Predominantly newspaper (rN) . . .	10.6	9.5	16.2	12.3	17.3	16.6
Predominantly radio (Rn) . . .	11.2	8.5	15.4	14.8	16.8	13.7
Poor in both sources (rn)	10.6	7.7	12.8	12.0	16.5	13.0
<i>Girls:</i>						
Radio and newspaper (RN) . . .	9.4	6.1	14.5	11.7	16.0	14.3
Predominantly newspaper (rN) . . .	7.8	6.3	12.6	12.1	14.8	13.3
Predominantly radio (Rn) . . .	9.5	5.3	13.4	10.9	11.6	13.8
Poor in both sources (rn)	7.1	6.0	9.8	9.2	14.2	11.9

^a Number of persons on whom each average score was based is given in Appendix III, Table 4.

Those with the best radio-newspaper habits (RN) are invariably higher than those with poor news habits (rn) in every age, sex and intelligence group. While the two middle radio-newspaper consumption groups (rN and Rn) sometimes vary from the trend, in each instance those who listen to radio news frequently as well as read serious newspaper items are superior in news knowledge to the infrequent and non-serious news consumer. In spite of the chance that several spurious factors might have operated to cause this apparent relationship, the findings of Table 21 demonstrate that when they are taken into account, it is still true that young

people with superior habits of following the news are more likely to be informed on current affairs.

SUMMARY

Although radio was found to be the most important and the preferred source of news for these young people, listening to news has by no means supplanted reading of the news in this radio generation. As the youngsters grew older, their interest in serious news and their newspaper reading both increased in volume. There is every evidence to indicate that the two sources supplement one another, and that radio has only supplied an additional source of information. The older groups were apparently more exposed to all sources of news, whether printed or oral.

In addition to being associated with increasing age, superior news habits were also found to be related to intelligence. Apparently intelligence and age are two facets of maturation which operate jointly in the development of news-consumption habits. Sex differences were also found to be marked, boys invariably displaying more interest in current affairs and developing superior habits of news consumption.

Knowledge of the news was found to be related to the same factors as was news consumption. The older and more intelligent excelled in factual knowledge of current affairs, and the boys were superior to the girls. The possibility that

these relationships might cause a spurious relationship between news-consumption habits and news knowledge was discussed, but it was demonstrated that the two were related in spite of other factors. To sum up, the establishment of superior habits of following the news in young people of either sex and on any level of maturation, is likely to improve their knowledge of current affairs.

RADIO COMES TO THE FARMER

by William S. Robinson

INTRODUCTION

THIS is a study of what happened to the interests, attitudes and habits of some Illinois and Nebraska farm families when they bought radios.¹ As such it is a study in rural sociology.

¹ This study was made under the general direction of Dr. Frank N. Stanton, of the Columbia Broadcasting System, who conceived the idea and to whom I am greatly indebted for guidance and assistance. I am also indebted to Professor Robert S. Lynd, of Columbia University, for his valuable advice in the organization of the study. Finally, Professor Paul F. Lazarsfeld, of Columbia University, was extremely helpful in connection with the field work and the analysis of returns.

Most studies dealing with the effects of radio listening have concerned themselves exclusively with the urban radio audience. Most of our information at present as to the radio's effects upon country people is still drawn by analogy from urban studies. The following short list gives the more important sources dealing with the rural audience at the time this study was begun:

Edmund deS. Brunner, *Radio and the Farmer*, Radio Institute of the Audible Arts, New York, no date.

Arthur Capper, "What Radio Can Do for the Farmer," in *Radio and Education*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1932, 223-240.

A. N. Goldsmith and A. C. Lescarbours, "Radio and the Farmer," in *This Thing Called Broadcasting*, Henry Holt, New York, 1930, Ch. XVII.

Margaret Harrison, "Teachers College Experiment on Radio in Rural Schools," in *Education on the Air*, First Yearbook, Ohio State University, Columbus, 1930.

George F. Johnson, *How Farmers Regard the Radio and Radio Programs*, Bulletin of the Pennsylvania Department of Agriculture, 1928.

J. H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, "Rural Life," in *Recent Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1934, 497-552.

Yet what the radio did to these rural Americans is a clue to the effect of international broadcasting on the peoples of large and relatively undeveloped areas of the world.

Until recently the farm people discussed here were isolated from urban centers of conflict and propaganda. Similarly isolated are millions of rural people in Latin America, people whose loyalties are the prize in a world-wide struggle for control.

While cultural differences are naturally important in determining reactions to bias, persuasion, and propaganda, both Latin Americans and Illinois farmers are still *Homo sapiens*. Both respond to undiscovered fabrication or suppression of news in the same way. Both are at the mercy of undetected one-sidedness in persuasion and propaganda. Among both are special interests and traditional loyalties which may be manipulated.

So because the Middle Western farmers of this report and isolated people throughout the Americas are similarly handicapped by their isolation, this report helps in forecast-

J. H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*, Houghton Mifflin, New York, 1935, 455, 470-471.

Morse Salisbury, "Radio and the Farmer," in *Radio, the Fifth Estate*, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January 1935.

V. R. Sill and C. E. Lively, *How Many Farm Night Listeners?*, Station WOSU, College of Agriculture, Ohio State University, Columbus, 1932.

Wayne Soper, "Radio in the Rural Schools," *Education by Radio*, 2 (1932), Number 11.

C. C. Taylor, *Rural Sociology*, Harper's, New York, 1933, 225-227.

Charles Morrow Wilson, *Money at the Crossroads*, National Broadcasting Company, New York, 1931.

Particularly helpful throughout this study were the year-to-year studies by Professor H. B. Summers of Middle Western radio audiences.

ing and understanding what will happen when these people get radios.

To take an example. In this study² it was found that the more isolated members of an Illinois county were easily converted to New Deal sympathies by radio propaganda of an extremely innocuous form in comparison with the efficient persuasion from the German Reich. These Illinois people were immersed in a democratic environment in which free discussion prevailed. They were exposed to competing political viewpoints to at least some extent; for while few of them read daily newspapers they all read at least one weekly newspaper and undoubtedly came into contact with conflicting opinions from their acquaintances. But being in the periphery of discussion was not enough to make the issues real to them.

When they bought radios, however, their main source of information as to agricultural policy became the *National Farm and Home Hour* with its pro-New Deal sympathies. Here was a continuing stimulus aimed in a particular direction. It is not strange that the attitudes of these people were turned, or rather formed, in this direction.

In this instance the *National Farm and Home Hour* had an effective monopoly of opinion control similar to the relative monopoly in international broadcasting to Latin America enjoyed by the Axis powers until recently. The influence of this broadcasting was accentuated not only by the fact that it was a monopoly, but also because it was the first efficient persuasion which this public had experienced and because the

² Pp. 235-237.

attitudes of this public on the given issue had not yet been crystallized. Similar results would probably follow in Latin America because of the similar situation.

The struggle for opinion control in Latin America is not yet over. Persuasion by radio has undoubtedly influenced a proportion of the Latin-American radio-listening public. But this public is not yet large. In the United States in 1938 there were about 204 radio sets per 1,000 inhabitants. In Great Britain there were about 184 per 1,000 persons, in Germany about 134, and in France about 99.³ Only one Latin-American country reaches the lowest of these figures, this being Argentina with about 99 radio sets per 1,000 inhabitants. Panama has 30 sets per 1,000 persons, Cuba 25, Venezuela 21, Mexico 21, Brazil 11, Paraguay 6, Guatemala 4, and Ecuador 2.

In all Latin America there are slightly less than 26 radios per 1,000 persons, this being about one-eighth of the figure for the United States in 1938. The real prize in the struggle for Latin-American opinion control is control over the attitudes of the great majority of the population not yet owning radios. This struggle is only beginning and will continue so long as a large majority remains without radios. The effects of the newly introduced radio upon American farming people thus are distinctly relevant to understanding the details of the continuing struggle in Latin America, particularly so

³ These and the following figures are from Thomas Grandin, *The Political Use of the Radio*, Geneva Research Centre, Geneva, Switzerland, 1939, who quotes them from the Union Internationale de Radiodiffusion, *Development de la Radiodiffusion*, May 1938.

because such effects have nowhere been adequately studied.

This is not an isolated example. The influence of the radio upon interest in national and international affairs and newspaper reading is also discussed in this report.⁴ The efficiency of radio as an instrument for both practical instruction and cultural education is evaluated.⁵ The efficiency of the radio in *changing* opinions is shown to be much lower than its efficiency in *forming* opinions for the group of persons studied.⁶ The effect of the radio upon actions, buying indicated brands of commodities in particular, is investigated.⁷

Of more general interest is the isolation of some effects of the radio upon social contact within the family and between families,⁸ and upon organized social intercourse such as participation in the meetings of organized groups.⁹

This study has a wider applicability than its subject indicates for a second reason also. The systematic study of social processes, of the "effects" of various kinds of social stimuli, is carried on in two very different ways generally thought to be antagonistic to one another. One method consists in making statistical or experimental comparisons analogous to those made in the physical sciences. To determine whether the radio has had an "effect" upon its listeners, one compares listeners with non-listeners, and if the two groups are found to differ in some measurable way infers that it is radio listening which causes the one group to differ from the other. This method has the obvious advantage of objectivity, but

⁴ Pp. 238-242.

⁵ Pp. 242-250.

⁶ Pp. 257-268.

⁷ Pp. 268-273.

⁸ Pp. 274-280.

⁹ Pp. 280-284.

it often fails to convince because it does not isolate the reason or reasons for the difference between listening and non-listening groups.

The second method gives up the approach traditional to the natural sciences and relies upon an intensive study of persons who have been exposed to the radio, hoping to determine whether the radio has influenced them by studying their subjective reactions in detailed and intensive interviews. Only thus, say proponents of this second view, can one understand how and why the radio has had an effect, and until one knows how and why the effect has occurred one cannot validly ascribe it to the radio.

This study has used both methods, and the results very clearly indicate that the worth of conclusions can be considerably enhanced by doing so. Statistical comparisons to determine the magnitude and reliability of a suspected "effect" are first made, and then the validity of the statistical comparison is checked by intensive interviewing dealing with the psychological processes involved. In this way not only is the validity of the conclusion increased, but new and important information as to the exact function of the radio in the situation is gained.¹⁰

The Area Studied

When originally conceived, this study was to be a semi-experimental inquiry. In the spring of 1937 the electrification program of the Rural Electrification Administration was

¹⁰ See pp. 235-237.

well under way. It is well known that when a rural county is electrified many families purchase radios almost at once.¹¹ This suggested that an experiment to determine the effects of the radio might be performed. The plan was to study one or two rural counties before electrification, and then to return and re-study the same counties after electrification. The first study was to be performed in the summer of 1937, and the re-study was to be made in the summer of 1938, following electrification of the counties in the autumn of 1937. Unfortunately the plan did not work because the electrification did not proceed according to schedule, but the original purpose of the study had a great deal to do with the selection of an area for study.

In selecting a county to be studied in detail, several criteria were employed:

(1) Radio ownership in the county should be low, so that sufficient farm people without radios could be found. Otherwise few people would buy radios when the county was electrified.

(2) The county should be one to be electrified by the R.E.A. in the autumn of 1937.

(3) The county should be as representative of the Middle Western farming area as possible. Average income should be neither very high nor very low, different types of farming should be well represented, and the population should consist mainly of second or third generation Americans at least.

¹¹ S. P. Langhoff, Jr., "How Power Serves Farmers on 46 R.E.A. Projects," *Rural Electrification News*, 3 (1938), No. 11, 3-10.

These criteria were naturally conflicting in some respects, but after inspection of Census figures and consultation with officials of the Rural Electrification Administration and the U. S. Department of Agriculture two counties were selected. These were Pike County, Illinois, and Burt County, Nebraska. Burt County was subsequently dropped from consideration after a partial field investigation had been completed, mainly because about 90 per cent of Burt County families owned radios despite the absence of electrification by the R.E.A. Nine-tenths of the field work discussed in this report, therefore, was performed in Pike County.

Pike County is a rather typical Middle Western farming area. The county seat, Pittsfield, has the traditional town square about the local courthouse. All the traditional, single-story, stone- or wood-fronted shops and offices are in evidence: auto agencies and garages combined, feed stores, hardware stores, a local home furnishers, a fried-foods café with oilcloth tables and thick crockery cups, a Ben Franklin ten-cent store, a local "fifty cents and up" dress shop, a couple of chain groceries, two barbershops, and the remaining commercial institutions of a small Middle Western town, including a movie palace.

The dry statistical data are rather typical too. According to the 1930 Census Pike County is entirely rural, though the population of Pittsfield was given in 1938 by the local Rotary Club as about 3,000. In 1930, according to the Census, about 31 per cent of all families in the county owned

radios, and the writer's sample indicated that the figure for 1938 was about 60 per cent.

Some of the statistics and the physical appearance of the county, however, indicate that the county income is rather low. In 1930 only 72 per cent of Pike County farms reported an automobile, and the average cash income was only \$1,960 per farm.

Farming is well diversified, however. About a quarter of the farms are devoted to general farming. Nearly half of the farmers devote themselves to animal-specialty farming, raising and fattening hogs for the large markets. Rather few farms, however, are devoted to the raising of cash-grains such as wheat.

Pike County lies between the Mississippi and the Illinois Rivers directly across the former from Hannibal, Missouri, the fictional home of Tom Sawyer. As a cultural area, in fact, it seems to have more in common with the isolated, sleepy, rural days of Mark Twain than with the confused, articulate problem-world of the present. Pike County people on the whole are less interested in national and international affairs than ordinary Midwestern people. The present world has been tardy in penetrating Pike County, and even medical and social superstitions tend to be more prevalent there than elsewhere. The social and political development of most of the people seems to be a little more behind the times than is usual in similar areas. Only in this respect does Pike County seem atypical to an important extent.

The apparent backwardness of Pike County, however, has

an explanation. The Illinois River to the east and the Mississippi to the west impeded travel through the area until recently. The junction of these two rivers, moreover, forms a natural barrier to the south of the county, so that until recently the only easy way of entrance or egress from the area was by way of the north.

The Illinois and the Mississippi were not bridged until a little over ten years ago, and the highway which now divides the county into a northern and southern part was not paved until ten years ago. Many local roads within the county, moreover, were not graveled until recently, so that local communities were often isolated during the winter.

This inadequate physical communication retarded progress within the county by ten years or so. Without having made precise observations, the writer is nevertheless convinced that many newer ways of thinking and acting have not yet found their way into the county.

The findings of this study should be interpreted in the light of this fact. In Pike County much of the groundwork preceding the coming of the radio into other Middle Western rural areas was lacking. The radio thus appeared at a time when it was likely to have a pronounced effect. It may be that the effects of the radio in this county are greater than they would have been in most other Middle Western farming areas.

Material gathered from Burt County, Nebraska, appears in a few places in this report. Burt County differs markedly from Pike. It is a wealthy county, characterized by up-to-

date farming practices and considerable co-operative buying and selling. Many more instructional, broadly educational, and organized social groups were found in Burt County than in Pike. A large proportion of the population, moreover, consisted of second or third generation Americans mainly from the Scandinavian countries.

Sampling

The findings of this report are based upon very carefully selected samples. This sampling was simplified by the existence of excellent maps of recent date.

The method of sampling was as follows: On a detailed map of Pike County, showing all houses as of less than a year previously, a route was laid off traversing every road. Beginning at a randomly selected point, this route was traced and every n th house was marked for interviewing. Only nine cases were encountered in which the house was vacant or a determined refusal was received, and in these cases the next house was chosen. This procedure resulted in a geographically stratified sample, probably slightly more accurate than a purely random sample.

When additional samples of specific types of families were desired (e.g., non-radio families), these were selected by starting from a different house and including every p th house on the route, p being chosen to give about the number of families desired in light of the proportion of this type of family in the first sample. Unless statements to the contrary

are made at specific points in the following chapters, the samples discussed were selected in the manner described.

RADIO AND THE RURAL INDIVIDUAL ¹²

WAYS OF STUDYING INDIVIDUAL EFFECTS

There are two essentially different ways of finding what the radio does to people. One approach, known as the quantitative or comparative method, is to compare a group of persons who have been exposed to the radio with another group who have not, and to infer that a difference between the two groups is caused by radio listening. The other approach, known as the case-study or interview method, is to interview selected subjects and judge from their reported experiences whether or not the radio has influenced them.

These two techniques are generally thought to be opposed to one another in principle. However, they can be used together to give better results than could be got by the use of either approach separately. In this study the two methods were used together wherever possible. As an example of the way in which they supplement each other, the rather unimportant topic of the radio's effect upon sleeping habits in Pike and Burt Counties will be discussed.

¹² The findings discussed in this report are based on about one-quarter of the data collected. There was in this study, because of the newness of the field, considerable research wastage in the form of inconclusive or uninterpretable results which are not discussed here.

Using the quantitative-comparative technique, the interviewer compared the bedtimes of a group of persons who had radios with the bedtimes of another group who did not have radios. The results of this comparison are given in Table I.

TABLE I.—AVERAGE TIMES OF RETIRING IN SUMMER AND WINTER FOR OWNERS AND NON-OWNERS OF RADIOS, PIKE COUNTY, ILLINOIS, AND BURT COUNTY, NEBRASKA

	<i>Summer</i>		<i>Winter</i>	
	<i>Pike Co.</i> (118 cases)	<i>Burt Co.</i> (74 cases)	<i>Pike Co.</i> (118 cases)	<i>Burt Co.</i> (74 cases)
Radio owners	9:12	9:28	9:17	9:45
Non-owners	9:02	9:18	9:03	9:24
Difference (in minutes) . . .	+ :10	+ :10	+ :14	+ :21

The bedtimes of radio families are later than the bedtimes of non-radio families, as can be seen, and the differences are statistically significant.

The data of Table I, however, while suggestive of the radio's influence, are not conclusive. Radio owners are generally of higher economic status than non-owners. It is possible, therefore, that the differences found are due to an economic (or other) factor rather than to radio listening.

Accordingly, a sample of new-radio persons¹³ from Pike

¹³ Three kinds of groups are discussed again and again in the following pages. *Non-radio persons* are people who never have had a radio in the home. *Radio persons* are people who have had a radio in the home for at least two years. Comparisons of various characteristics of radio and non-radio people are valuable in indicating possible effects of the radio, as in the illustration above. The usefulness of radio and non-radio comparisons, however, is impaired by the fact that radio and non-radio people differ in important respects other than radio ownership, so that finding a significant difference be-

County was interviewed. Of 94 new-radio men, 36 could remember staying up to listen to the radio at least once, for example, when they happened to be listening to an especially interesting program; and of 97 new-radio women, 31 could remember having done so at least once.

The interview or case-study method, in other words, corroborated the findings from the comparative or quantitative approach and increased the likelihood that the effects noted were not entirely due to some factor other than the radio. In addition, these interviews supplied information as to how staying up late on the part of radio families usually comes about. Most of the respondents said that they did not customarily stay up to hear scheduled programs, but rather that they occasionally found themselves too interested in a program to leave it at bedtime.

In this example, as elsewhere in the study of effects, comparative and case methods go hand in hand to supplement each other and increase the likelihood of conclusions. Research into the radio's influences might often be more fruitful if these methods were jointly used.

tween radio and non-radio bedtimes, for example, is not conclusive evidence that the radio caused the difference.

This failing of radio and non-radio comparisons is circumvented to some extent by the study of *new-radio persons*, people who have had radios in the home for less than nine months. New-radio persons should be relatively more sensitive to the influences of the radio, because the radio is new to them and they pay more attention to it. They should also be more likely to notice what effects the radio has, because the time when they did not have the radio is still close enough so that a fair amount of recollection is possible. For these reasons, interviews with new-radio people have been used to supplement the statistical findings derived from radio and non-radio comparisons, and in particular to get at the psychological processes involved in some instances of the radio's influence.

INTEREST IN NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
AND NEWS

National Affairs

It is generally supposed that the radio widens the interests of people, and of rural people in particular. In order to test this supposition precisely, the interviewer tried to determine whether people in Pike County became more interested in national and international affairs as a result of buying radios.

To determine whether the radio influenced interest in national affairs, the writer interviewed a sample of new-radio people in Pike County. Of 99 men, 48 reported that they were more interested in national affairs as a result of listening to the radio, while the remaining 51 reported no influence. Of 93 women, 39 reported increased interest, and 54 reported no influence. No negative influences were reported. Relatively more men than women reported an increase in interest, but this difference is not statistically significant.

A bias in favor of agricultural interests appeared in the examples of new interests which the respondents gave. About four out of ten of the new interests reported by men concerned only agricultural aspects of national affairs, while only about three out of ten of the women's new interests were wholly agricultural. This agricultural bias, of course, is to be expected, but the presidential "purge," the Supreme Court packing controversy, and talk of a presidential third-term also appeared on the list.

This bias would probably appear more forcibly with interest in paucity prices, farm bloc, etc. coming into the picture.

Getting a radio thus apparently does cause an increased interest in national affairs. These figures, however, are based entirely on the statements of the respondents, and it is necessary to check their validity.

In another connection and at another point in the interview, the members of the new-radio sample were questioned as to whether acquiring a radio caused them to read the daily newspaper more, or less, or exerted no influence. The answers to this question were used to check the above results. On the reasonable assumption that a genuinely increased interest in national affairs should result in more newspaper reading instead of less, there should be a positive correlation between increased interest in national affairs and increased newspaper reading.

That such a positive correlation does in fact exist is shown in Table 2, which gives the results for the 60 new-radio men who read daily newspapers.

TABLE 2.—CORRELATION OF CHANGES IN INTEREST IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS WITH CHANGES IN AMOUNT OF NEWSPAPER READING FOR 60 NEW-RADIO MEN, PIKE COUNTY

	<i>Read the newspaper</i>		
	<i>Less</i>	<i>The same</i>	<i>More</i>
More interested in national affairs	3	26	12
Not more interested	8	9	2

The distribution of frequencies shows a positive correlation which is highly significant statistically. The correlation exhibited by the women's replies is similar and also significant.

International Affairs

The results from interviewing on foreign affairs were similar. Of 99 men, 36 reported that they had a greater interest in foreign affairs because of the radio, while the remaining 63 had noticed no influence. Of 93 women, 25 reported an increased interest, and the remaining 68 no change. No decreases of interest were reported either by men or by women.

Here again relatively more men than women reported changes in interest, but the sex difference in frequency is not significant statistically. No particular bias in favor of wholly agricultural interests was apparent, probably because news of international agricultural affairs via radio is rather sparse. Typical new interests were the following: the Sino-Japanese war, the war in Spain, Hitler's plans for Europe, and agricultural imports and exports.

Replies to the question on interest in foreign affairs also correlated significantly with replies concerning the influence of radio upon newspaper reading, again providing a rough check on the validity of the results. The correlation between individual replies on national and international affairs was very high, as was to be expected.

The remarks of the respondents¹⁴ show how the radio-induced news interest may have come about. The wife of a young farmer told the interviewer:

¹⁴ All quotations in this report were taken down in shorthand at the time of the interview.

This almost certainly would show a higher percent since the U.S. has entered the war and since many farm boys have gone into the service.

When the news began to come in every day—every hour even—I was much more taken by it than in the paper. We never get the morning paper till afternoon. Usually we don't have a chance to read it till night. There's so much work in the summer that we're pretty tired to read it then. The radio news comes in only a little while after the things happen. So much of it came over the radio that I got to following it up and waiting to see what would happen next. When the elections were going I even took to listening to political news [speeches]. When I got interested in what went on in Washington, of course I began to learn about things in other countries and so I got interested in them too. So now when I get time I read the Washington column and editorials in the paper too, though I didn't read them before. I read about foreign things too, but not so much as national affairs. I think we ought to stay to home and keep our nose out of Europe's business and out of China and Japan too.

A young farm laborer said:

The radio news was always short, so when I heard something interesting I looked it up in the paper the next day and read more about it.

News

There is no indication of the extent of news interest in the above results. However, the respondents were also asked the following two questions: (1) "Do you listen to news bulletins over the radio regularly, occasionally, or never?" and (2) "Do you listen to news commentators regularly, occasionally, or never?" The replies to these questions are shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3.—FREQUENCY OF LISTENING TO NEWS BULLETINS AND COMMENTATORS, 99 PIKE COUNTY MEN AND 93 PIKE COUNTY WOMEN (NEW-RADIO PERSONS)

Frequency	Bulletins		Commentators	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Regularly	75	65	36	38
Occasionally	24	28	35	31
Never			28	24
Total	99	93	99	93

News bulletins are considerably more popular than commentators.

This finding roughly indicates the intensity of news interest in this rural area. A person with a well-established interest in the news would probably want to hear opinions and comment. The rural listener, however, is apparently not of this type. He will apparently listen to news bulletins because this is easier than reading, but in general he does not care sufficiently about the news to put himself out to get more information or interpretive comment.¹⁵

RADIO AS AN EDUCATIONAL INSTRUMENT

Radio as an Instrument for Practical Instruction

A sizeable amount of program material which may loosely be termed educational is now broadcast daily to rural areas. Most of this material is supplied by universities and agricultural colleges. These educational programs seek

¹⁵ The figures of Table 3 have been interpreted in terms of a hypothesis discussed at length in Chapter V of Paul F. Lazarsfeld's *Radio and the Printed Page*, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York, 1940.

I question this in the light
 of recent developments. Would
 not Katten be tend to disprove
 this?
 Interesting
 comment
 and probably
 valid.

either to assist the farmer or his wife in specific practical matters, or to provide a more general kind of mental or cultural stimulation. This section reports on the first of these two aspects of educational broadcasting to rural people, while the broader cultural effects of education by radio are discussed in the following section.

In attempting to determine the influence of educational broadcasting on practical matters, the interviewer asked each subject if he could remember any new practical ideas that he had actually tried to apply in the preceding year and where these ideas came from. The interviewing was performed in both Pike and Burt Counties and had as subjects both new-radio and old-radio people. All new ideas actually applied came from one or more of the following sources: friends and neighbors, magazines, the County Agricultural Agent, farm bulletins, radio, books, school, the Home Demonstration Agent, and newspapers.

In Pike County, new-radio men ranked radio second in importance in the list of sources for new ideas; the County Agricultural Agent accounted for about half of all applied new ideas, whereas the radio accounted for only about 16 per cent. Old-radio men in Pike County ranked the radio fifth in importance, getting only 6 per cent of their new ideas from it. New-radio women in Pike County ranked the radio first, reporting that 49 per cent of their new ideas were suggested by it, and old-radio women ranked it third, ascribing 20 per cent of their new ideas to it. In Burt County, both

old-radio men and women ranked the radio fourth, ascribing respectively 3 and 9 per cent of their new ideas to it.¹⁶

Practically all of the new ideas reported by men came under the heading of farming, and nearly all the new ideas reported by women under the heading of cooking. Important topics such as family health, child-training, and budgeting received little or no mention.

Taking into consideration the extent of agricultural broadcasting, and the fact that these people regularly listened to several chain stations and at least one or two local stations with a distinct agricultural emphasis, the influence of the radio in practical education appears to be small. Furthermore, radio seems most important in the replies of new-radio persons. This probably means that a part of the observed effect is due solely to the temporary newness of the radio.

In addition, nearly all the new ideas reported were trivial. The new ideas in "farming" dealt mainly with how to repair a gate or to keep a fence from sagging. New ideas in cooking consisted chiefly of recipes, though more important topics such as pressure cookery occasionally appeared.

The facts present a strong case against radio as a means of communicating specific practical ideas. The radio is probably inefficient here because these matters require a type of

¹⁶ The percentages above are based upon the following numbers of new ideas: Pike County: new-radio men, 82; new-radio women, 93; old-radio men, 69; old-radio women, 81. Burt County: old-radio men, 47; old-radio women, 37.

explanation that radio cannot give.¹⁷ Technical instruction usually involves question and answer, pictorialization, and reference to particular conditions. Radio fails here because it cannot make things clear without these helps.

This limitation of radio has recently been recognized. The United States Department of Agriculture, for example, makes little effort to broadcast detailed instruction on technical matters. However, it does find the radio useful in stimulating application to competent local advisers.

Radio as a Medium for Cultural Education

Rural listeners are also exposed to programs with a wider educational purpose than practical instruction. In order to determine the influence of radio in the wider field of "cultural" education, an attempt was made to determine why people listen to serious or culturally aimed programs. A serious listener was defined as one who listened with considerable regularity to one or more programs on a list of available educational or informative programs,¹⁸ or who regularly

¹⁷ This conclusion was reached independently by the U. S. Department of Agriculture and was announced in a mimeographed (undated) release, a copy of which is in the writer's possession.

¹⁸ The following is a partial list: Europe Calling (comments on European affairs), The World is Yours (scientific dramatizations), Interesting Neighbors (Jerry Belcher's interviews), University of Chicago Round Table Discussion, Headlines and By-Lines (Bob Trout, H. V. Kaltenborn), New Horizons, True or False Quiz Program, National Radio Forum (current topics), Information Please, Highways to Health, Current Questions Before the House, Exploring Space (scientific dramatizations), Current Questions Before the Senate, Science on the March, Cavalcade of America (historical dramatizations), Americans at Work, March of Time, Adventures in Science, Professor Quiz, Uncle Jim's Question Bee, Religion in the News.

followed a serious type of program such as classical music. A non-serious listener was one who did not have the mentioned characteristics.

The theory which the writer wished to test is that some form of psychological preparedness is a prerequisite to serious listening. This preparedness was measured in three ways, in terms of three kinds of factors which might facilitate serious listening:

(1) *General background.* Here the assumption is that a person is more apt to be a serious listener if his background and environment provide some kind of mental stimulation wholly apart from the radio. Education was taken as a rough index of this facilitating factor. Persons who had completed the twelfth grade or higher were considered to have educational backgrounds favorable to serious listening.

(2) *Membership in social groups.* Clubs or groups organized around a serious purpose should be composed of persons with serious interests to begin with, and should in addition try to stimulate interest in serious things. A person was therefore assumed to have been conditioned toward serious listening if he had attended two or more meetings of such groups in the month preceding the interview. The organizations considered were Home Bureau discussion groups, book review and reading clubs, "culture" clubs, and miscellaneous organized extension groups.

(3) *Special personal interests.* Some persons have special interests related neither to educational background nor to membership in social groups. Such special interests, when

of a serious nature, should tend to foster serious listening. Typical special interests which the respondents reported were in foreign affairs, reading, and agricultural topics. All the interests reported here were alleged by the respondents under detailed questioning to antedate the buying of the radio and therefore probably were not caused by radio listening.

In order to see whether these three factors influenced serious listening, the writer interviewed 69 radio women in Burt County.¹⁹ About half of these women had completed the twelfth grade or higher. Similarly, about half had been to at least two "serious" club meetings during the month preceding the interview. Ten women had pre-radio special interests. The distribution of factors favorable and unfavorable to serious listening is diagrammed below, where a plus indicates "favorable to serious listening" and a minus indicates "unfavorable."

TABLE 4.—DISTRIBUTION OF FACTORS FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE TO SERIOUS LISTENING—69 WOMEN FROM BURT COUNTY

	—		+					
<i>School grade completed</i>	(0-11)		(12 and over)					
	—	+	—		+			
<i>Club attendance</i>	(0-1)	(2 and over)	(0-1)		(2 and over)			
<i>Special interests</i>	—	+	—	+	—	+		
<i>Number of persons</i>	23	1	9	3	13	2	14	4

On these three criteria each woman could receive 0, 1, 2, or 3 plusses. If she had two or more plusses she was classi-

¹⁹ This work was done in Burt County because there were too few social groups in Pike County to allow the testing of the theory.

fied as having a background favorable to serious listening. If she had one plus or less, her background was considered unfavorable.

This puts us in a position to say which women *should be* serious listeners on our assumptions. In addition there was also a record as to whether these women actually *were* serious listeners. The relation between these two classifications is given in Table 5.

TABLE 5.—CORRELATION OF SERIOUS LISTENING WITH FAVORABLENESS OR UNFAVORABLENESS OF THE BACKGROUND FACTORS EDUCATION, CLUB ATTENDANCE, AND SPECIAL INTERESTS (69 RADIO WOMEN, BURT COUNTY)

<i>Listening</i>	<i>Background</i>	
	<i>Unfavorable</i>	<i>Favorable</i>
Serious	11	20
Not serious	33	5

($r = +.76$)

The correlation coefficient for Table 5 is $+0.76$, indicating a remarkably high degree of relationship. Taking into account education, club attendance, and special interests, in other words, allows us to predict with remarkable precision whether or not a person will be a serious listener.²⁰ The

²⁰ A rough idea of the improvement gained by adding successive factors is given by Tables 6 and 7, showing the correlation between serious listening and education alone, and then between serious listening and education and club attendance combined.

TABLE 6.—CORRELATION OF SERIOUS LISTENING WITH EDUCATION (69 RADIO WOMEN, BURT COUNTY)

<i>Listening</i>	<i>Education</i>	
	—	+
Serious	13	18
Not serious	23	15

($r = +.28$)

result of this interviewing thus supports the assumption that these three factors are important in determining serious listening.

To the educational broadcaster this means that persons who listen to serious programs tend to be of a higher cultural level than the populace at large, or in other words, that he is reaching those who stand least in need of what he has to offer.

The findings also indicate a way in which the educational broadcaster might go about reaching a wider audience. If club attendance is a determiner of serious listening, he should try to publicize his program through organized groups. In the sample discussed here, over half of the women belonging to these groups reported using the radio in connection with their club work. They listened to radio book reviews so that they might relay them to others at meeting time. They listened to home demonstration talks or special broadcasts of the National Farm and Home Hour of interest to women to relay them to others at a formal meeting. In some cases they followed a particular aspect of the news in order to gather material for a report on a current national problem.

Listeners' councils might be of any aid here.

TABLE 7.—CORRELATION OF SERIOUS LISTENING WITH CLUB ATTENDANCE (69 RADIO WOMEN, BURT COUNTY)

Listening	Education and club attendance	
	Not	
Serious	16	15
Not serious	33	5

($r = +.61$)

Occasionally, indeed, this listening was even more co-operative:

Sometimes when a program that is important to our group is given when some of the members can't hear it, *one of us will stay home to listen and tell the others at the next meeting* so they all can hear what was in the program. Generally someone volunteers, but *we agreed that if no one did then the chairman could ask someone to and she would do it.*

This sort of listening, however, is at present largely spontaneous and unprompted. The fact that it is so extensive, though, suggests that it might be developed.

The influence of education and institutional promotion on serious listening was particularly evident in the comments of one young farm wife who told the interviewer:

In high school we had a class teaching us about current events in the world. It was a very interesting course, and *when we got a radio* and I heard talks on politics in America and conditions in other places like South America and Europe, *I found I knew quite a lot of what they were talking about.* It was fun to keep up on things that the teacher couldn't even tell about in the class where I used to be, because they were just happening. *That was how I started keeping up on current events.* I still have the notebook I made for class five years ago, and I've started to keep it up to date by putting in the things that have happened since.

Both in Burt and Pike Counties serious listening seemed about equally divided between habitual listening to one or more specific programs and searching the newspaper or the dial for programs dealing with the interest in question (e.g., classical music or national affairs). Apparently the back-

ground factors which stimulated serious listening were unrelated to these modes of listening.

MIGRATION FROM THE FARM

This section describes a series of attempts to determine the effects of the radio on adjustment to farm life. Specifically, the purpose was to determine whether radio tends to make people like farm life or dislike farm life, and whether this influence has any effect upon actual migration from the farm to the city.

Age Groups and Attitude Toward the Farm

Current opinion seems to be that the radio exercises only a stabilizing influence upon rural people, that it tends to make them more content with living on the farm and far less prone to leave the farm for the superior advantages of the city.²¹ The present section adds some information on this point.

In order to check the influence of the radio on attitude toward farm life, new-radio adult people from Pike County were asked whether getting radios made them like farm life more or less or had left their attitude unchanged.

Of 93 women, 16 reported that they like farm life more because of the radio, none reported liking it less, and the remainder said that the radio had not changed their attitude.

²¹ Edmund deS. Brunner, *Radio and the Farmer*, pp. 22-23.

Of 99 men, nine reported that they like farm life more, and the remainder reported no change in attitude.

Interviews with younger people in Pike County, however, led to rather different results. A special sample was taken of young people between the ages of 16 and 23, all either totally or partially dependent.

Of 29 young women, four reported liking farm life more as a result of the radio, but nine reported liking it less. The remainder had noticed no influence.²²

Of 27 young men, two reported liking farm life more as a result of the radio, five reported liking it less, and the remainder reported no change of attitude.

These figures indicate that older rural people tend to like farm life more as a result of having a radio (or at least to say that they do), while younger and dependent people tend generally to like it less.

What has been established here is a correlation and not a causal relationship. As the interviewing progressed, however, the interviewer became aware of a possible explanation for the observed relation between age and the influence of the radio. At least one apparent cause of the different

²² Because of the fact that many of the interviews were made at harvest time, the number of young men and women caught by the carefully selected sample in Pike County is rather too small to be representative. The transferring of sons and daughters from farm to farm at harvest time is a custom in this area, and time was not available to run down young people belonging to the family being interviewed. In addition many young people leave during the summer either to take courses in university summer session or business school, or for vacations with relatives. To further investigate an important point as to the reactions of young people, therefore, a second sample not so carefully selected as the first was chosen and is discussed further on.

reactions of older and younger persons was their different outlooks on life.

Older people apparently felt bound to the farm. Most of them were unable to seriously consider leaving farming for another occupation. For them, consequently, the radio was merely a source of entertainment, and they felt that it made farm life more desirable.

The younger people, being dependent, were on the other hand considerably more out of gear with their environment. Most of them, moreover, had been trained in at least the rudiments of a non-agricultural trade in the local high schools. To them the alternative of leaving the farm was an open one. They were thus less likely to select only the pleasant and non-conflicting elements of the total radio stimulus, and were more inclined to pay serious attention to conflicts which the radio tended to introduce.

This interpretation of the findings, which is suggested only tentatively, is given more detailed treatment below.

Pre-Radio Adjustment and Attitude Toward Farm Living

The results discussed above suggest that the influence of radio on attitude toward farm life is related to the social and economic adjustment of the individual, and that the influence should appear most strongly in young people.

In order to test this theory, the writer selected a special sample of 74 new-radio young men and women between the ages of 16 and 23. These subjects were classified as well

adjusted or badly adjusted *before* the coming of the radio in terms of five objective criteria of adjustment:

- (1) Enjoyment of life in general is a sign of good adjustment.
- (2) Interest in one's daily activities is a sign of good adjustment.
- (3) Being a recalcitrant student or a truant is a sign of maladjustment.
- (4) Overt family conflict for whatever cause is a sign of maladjustment.
- (5) Inability to get a job after definite attempts have been made is a sign of maladjustment.

In five rather exceptional cases other considerations were included also.

Since all these points could not be determined for each individual, a person was classified as well-adjusted or maladjusted after weighing those characteristics which were determinable.²³ It was desired to use these criteria to determine the adjustment of the individual *before he had been exposed to the radio*, and all information on these points was therefore gathered from persons other than the subject himself and *for pre-radio times only*. Such persons usually included the subject's school-teacher, friends, parents, minister, and neighbors.

²³ No case occurred in which less than three of these five points were determinable. Cf. Paul F. Lazarsfeld and W. S. Robinson, "The Quantification of Case Studies," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, XXIV (1940), pp. 817-825.

The question put to the 74 young respondents was the following: "Has having had a radio tended to make you more satisfied or less satisfied with living on the farm?" The answers are given in the following table, cross-classified as to pre-radio adjustment:

TABLE 8.—CHANGES IN ATTITUDE TOWARD FARM LIFE ATTRIBUTED TO THE RADIO BY 74 NEW-RADIO YOUNG PEOPLE 16 TO 23 YEARS OLD

<i>Adjustment</i>	<i>Men like farm life</i>		<i>Women like farm life</i>	
	<i>Less</i>	<i>More</i>	<i>Less</i>	<i>More</i>
Previously well-adjusted	4	8	8	14
Previously maladjusted	15	3	17	5

The correlation between pre-radio adjustment and the alleged influence of the radio is statistically significant for both men and women.

Part of the conclusion of the preceding section was simply that young people tend to like farm life less as a result of the radio. This hypothesis has now been revised to read as follows: Well-adjusted young people tend to like farm life more as a result of the radio, and maladjusted young people tend to like it less.²⁴

²⁴ An increasing volume of research is demonstrating the importance of this general factor of adjustment in conditioning the nature of response to new situations. Both Robert C. Angell's study, *The Family Encounters the Depression* (Scribner's, New York, 1936), and Ruth S. Cavan and Katherine H. Rank's *The Family and the Depression* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1938) agree on the predominant role of pre-depression family adjustment in controlling the reactions and subsequent adjustments of families to the blows of the depression. In still a third study (*Personality in the Depression*, Univ. of Minn. Press, 1936), this time of the adjustment of individuals to the depression, E. A. Rundquist and R. F. Sletto discovered a common general factor of adjustment influencing the responses to their specific trait scales.

Does the Radio Cause Actual Removals to the City?

The preceding results have shown that in some cases radio has made people like farm life less. The natural question at this point is whether or not such a change in attitude actually results in migration from the farm.

In order to answer this question at least tentatively, the writer interviewed 32 young people who had left Pike County to live in the city.²⁵ Of the 32, only one person thought that the radio had anything to do with his leaving.

Of 19 young men, six left to go to college, this decision being the result in all cases either of dissatisfaction with farm life or of previously acquired intellectual or professional interests which had no connection with the radio. The other 13 men left the farm because they could not get work in the country. Twelve of these were not affected by the radio in any way, but one attributed a small amount of influence to trade school advertisements heard over the radio.

Of 13 young women, five left to take business courses and had obtained positions as stenographers or secretaries. Two in addition left to get married, and the remaining six left to become clerks or factory workers. None of the women, even under leading questioning, thought that the radio had anything to do with her leaving the farm.

The radio does not seem to have played an important part in the decision to move to the city in any of these cases. It was the interviewer's impression, moreover, that the

²⁵ Interviews were made in St. Louis, East St. Louis (Ill.), Springfield (Ill.), Quincy (Ill.), and Chicago.

people who had gone to the city exhibited few characteristics of personal maladjustment, and that they had never exhibited such characteristics. In other words, the radio may tend to make maladjusted people dissatisfied with farm life, but those who actually leave the farm tend to be well adjusted and not influenced by the radio.

CONTROL OF RURAL OPINION AND ACTION VIA RADIO

Billions of dollars have been spent on radio programs aimed at influencing the public. National advertisers, presidential candidates, and European governments are merely the leading spenders in this field. Strangely enough, however, there have been few studies on the extent of control which is exercised, or which could be exercised, by the radio.

This section discusses the role which radio plays in controlling the opinions and actions of rural people in Pike County. The findings are of course limited, because they apply strictly only to a single rural county. It is probable, however, that similar results would be found in other rural areas.

Three possible effects of radio are discussed here: (1) The formation of opinion, where a person is led to commit himself on a topic about which he did not have an opinion before; (2) the change of opinion, where a person is led to give up one opinion in favor of another; and (3) the control of action.

It is commonly assumed that attitudes, or inner feelings, are reflected in opinions or verbal statements. Attitudes, moreover, are often regarded as feelings which result in action. On these assumptions, the changing of opinion results in the changing of the involved action or habit.

It is a fact, however, that many attitudes never result in the indicated actions. It is easier to make a man change the verbal expression of his attitude than it is to make him *do* something different, and attitudes are only one of many factors affecting action. It is incorrect to assume that change of attitude results necessarily in change of action, and the influences of the radio upon attitude and action must be separated at least until a connection between changes in the two is demonstrated.

THE FORMATION OF OPINION

The interview method was used in determining the radio's influences on the formation of opinion. The sample consisted of new-radio people, a fact which should be kept in mind in interpreting the results. The results may be more striking than they would have been had the respondents been people to whom the radio was not something new and exciting.

In detailed interviews, 72 of the 99 new-radio men interviewed could not remember forming any new opinion as a result of radio listening. The remaining 27, however, could remember being influenced to form a new opinion at least once. Of these 27, 19, or roughly three-quarters, reported

effects due specifically to one program—the U. S. Department of Agriculture's National Farm and Home Hour.

Because of its special interest, the National Farm and Home Hour will be the main concern of this section. Of the 99 men in the sample, 51 listened regularly to this program. Since the 19 men affected by it were all regular listeners, the program affected about 37 per cent of its audience. It also accounted for more newly formed opinions in the sample than all other radio programs combined.

The National Farm and Home Hour is of particular interest because it is actively engaged in propaganda. Broadcast throughout the nation five days a week, it offers the farm family weather and market reports, national political news, foreign news, talks on up-to-date farming and housekeeping practices, and talks on general agricultural topics and farm policy by the Secretary of Agriculture and other officials of the Department of Agriculture. One of its main objectives in addition is to win support for the Department of Agriculture's farm policy, and, incidentally, for the policies of the New Deal.

It is worth noting that of the 19 new opinions traced to the National Farm and Home Hour, 18 were political opinions. Fifteen of these consisted of at least verbal support of some phase of the New Deal farm policy.²⁶ The three

²⁶ The fact that such a large proportion of these men had previously held no attitudes on important and controversial questions of direct interest to them is understandable. This sample consisted of new-radio people, people who, mainly for economic reasons, had not been able to buy radios until recently. Because of their low economic status, these people had been isolated from propaganda and controversy on these topics. Few of them were mem-

remaining opinions, furthermore, were in support of phases of the New Deal other than farm policy. The one new non-political opinion was held by a farmer who had been convinced that it was every man's duty to farm up to the standard set by modern agricultural knowledge.

These results are striking. Eighteen men reported newly formed political attitudes due to the National Farm and Home Hour. Every one of these 18 newly formed attitudes was in approval of New Deal policies. Every one was directly in line with the objectives of National Farm and Home Hour control.²⁷

Interviews with new-radio women and young people produced similar results. Thirteen of 93 new-radio women had formed new opinions on political questions as a result of radio listening, this proportion being lower than that for men, perhaps because women tend to be less interested in politics than men. Of the 13 women affected, eight attributed the effect to the National Farm and Home Hour and all of these eight new opinions were in line with objectives

bers of the Farm Bureau, where the farmer meets agricultural policy almost on his doorstep. One-third of them did not subscribe to daily newspapers, where they could read of controversial topics. Their attitudes, in fact, dealt mainly with matters where direct experience underlay opinion, and not with topics of national but not necessarily local or personal importance. The radio thus introduced them to a new world of controversy and persuasion and emphasized problems of which they had not heard much before.

²⁷ The statistical significance of the result is very high. Even assuming that three out of every four men would have come to support the New Deal for reasons other than the National Farm and Home Hour, the probability of getting 18 pro-New-Deal attitudes by chance is only .006. The assumption that three-fourths of the male population would support the New Deal spontaneously, moreover, considerably overestimates the strength of the New Deal in Pike County.

of the program. Since only 11 women in the entire sample listened regularly to the program, the proportion of regularly listening women who were affected was roughly 70 per cent. Comparing this proportion with the 37 per cent of regularly listening men who were influenced, it appears that the women were more susceptible than men to control of political opinion via radio. In other words, women listen less than men, but if they do listen they tend to be influenced more than are the men who listen. These figures, however, probably exaggerate the difference between men and women and of course must be interpreted with reference to the well-known vagaries of small samples.

Similarly, six of 42 young people between the ages of 8 and 16 reported having formed new opinions as a result of radio listening. Two of these reported being affected by the National Farm and Home Hour, both in a pro-New-Deal direction. In both cases, however, the parents' opinions may have been the influencing factor.

Detailed statements from the respondents confirm these findings and give a picture of how the program affected them. Here is the statement of a tenant farmer 31 years old:

We bought our radio just because we wanted something to pass the time with. I didn't bother much about politics before and I didn't vote. Things was complicated and I got lost when I read about politics. Somebody'd say what the President did was right and somebody'd say it was bad. All the talk about how to get the depression over with didn't make much sense to me. Even things about crop prices weren't so clear.

One day when it was raining I got to listening to the National

Farm and Home Hour. It was interesting because they had good band music and discussions between plain-thinking people like us. When I got a chance I listened after that. I got so I got ideas of what they were talking about. They told how they helped the farmers and why the prices went up and down—made things simple, sort of. When the Secretary [of Agriculture] talked *I thought this was all from the New Deal and from that I got interested in the New Deal*. I got to listen to the news from Washington on the Farm Hour and keep up on what was going on. *I got so I liked the President because he sure did a lot for us farmers and from that I got so I liked all his plans. I didn't worry about them before.* If they'd do what he wants we wouldn't have no more depression.

This and other comments indicated several reasons for the influence accomplished by the program:

(1) The National Farm and Home Hour attempts to teach its listeners about the workings of the agricultural system, of direct interest to rural people, and at the same time apparently neither insults their intelligence nor overwhelms them. A well-to-do farm owner of middle age told the interviewer:

I like to hear their talks on crops and prices, because you get an idea of the little changes in supply and demand that change prices. Sometimes I don't get it all, but most of the time I do, and *it makes farming a more exciting business.*

(2) It appeals primarily to rural values and is cast in terms of the rural frame-of-reference. For instance, one woman said:

I like the Farm and Home Hour because *it has people like us on it*. Even the people that give talks are like us. When them family confabs is agoin' you'd think it was the family down the road.

Tickles me to hear 'em talk. 'Course I like their ideas. *They're made for people like us.* We'd think the same things if we thought about them things, only them make us think about 'em.

(3) National Farm and Home Hour propaganda is rather well concealed. Most rural people interviewed in this study objected to being forced into an opinion. As one woman said:

They don't *tell* you what to think. They just tell you what's what and you make up your own mind.

(4) The National Farm and Home Hour deals in matters of direct practical importance to its listeners and rarely fails to indicate the appropriate path of action:

They generally tell you what you can do about it if you want to and don't just leave the problem up in the air.

(5) Finally, the prestige-value of talks by the Secretary of Agriculture and other officials is important. For instance, a middle-aged tenant farmer said of a talk by the Secretary of Agriculture:

It made me feel like something was being done for the farmer. Wallace is in the Cabinet and he sees Roosevelt any time he wants to. He knows what's going on in agriculture. *He's close to Roosevelt and can get things done that way.* That way somebody can tell Roosevelt what the farmer wants.

Some comments went beyond the National Farm and Home Hour and suggested factors bearing on the general question of the formation of opinion in rural areas. Rural people are most apt to form opinions on issues which seem to them to involve their own particular needs, desires, or

problems. They are not affected by attempted control dealing with issues apparently far removed from their lives. Here is a statement along these lines by a young farm owner:

When I found out from a radio talk that strikes and city workers made prices higher for farmers to buy, you bet I got interested in strikes and didn't like them. I never heard before that they had anything to do with the cost of a tractor.

Similarly, rural people are apparently more apt to form opinions when possible action is involved than when the question is theoretical. This idea agrees with a hypothesis widely accepted by rural sociologists, that a distinguishing trait of rural people is their practicality. Many respondents told the interviewer that they were much more interested in "things that make a difference," or, as one person put it:

Why get worked up over something you can't do nothing about?

THE CHANGING OF OPINION

While the preceding section was concerned with the formation of opinion, this section will discuss the influence of radio in actually changing opinions.

An important interviewing problem here was that people might instinctively deny having changed their opinions. To prevent this, each interview was prefaced with a story telling how the radio had caused the interviewer himself to change an opinion. This may have resulted in a certain amount of

leading. If there was leading, however, the bias was on the safe side; for the conclusion derived from this interviewing is that the radio is not an important influence in changing opinions, and for a definite reason.

Of 99 new-radio men, only five reported changing opinions as a result of listening to the radio. Three of these five were converted from opposition to support of the New Deal farm policy as a result of listening to the National Farm and Home Hour. Another, previously pro-Japanese because he had a Japanese friend, became anti-Japanese after listening to a highly emotional speech on the Sino-Japanese war. The last gave up a belief that smoking was immoral after listening to a radio sermon.

Of 93 new-radio women, only three reported changing opinions. One, the wife of the above-mentioned man with the Japanese friend, also changed from pro-Japanese to anti-Japanese after listening to the same program which affected her husband. Another gave up a prejudice against vegetable shortening because of a persuasive radio sales talk. The third, who had always used a specified cleanser for brightening her woodwork, was persuaded by an extension talk that ordinary soap and water would do as well.

Judging by these results, the radio is not an important influence in making rural people change their opinions. The subjects, however, may not have been candid, which is possible on the well-grounded assumption that people do not like to admit having changed their opinions. But many of the subjects readily agreed that there might have been un-

noticed changes, which confirms the writer's impression that there was little misrepresentation. Many respondents, in fact, were rather puzzled as to why the radio had not changed their opinions.

To get at the problem from a different angle, two more questions were asked at another point in the interview:

(1) The subjects were asked if they had disagreed with anything heard over the radio, and, if so, what they had done about the disagreement. Forty-one of the 99 new-radio men, or about 40 per cent, answered that they had disagreed with something at least once within their recollection. Thirty-one of them disagreed on political questions, four on moral questions, one on a religious question, and the remainder on miscellaneous topics. *But in 32 of the 41 cases of disagreement the program was tuned out before it concluded because of the disagreement.*²⁸

Women displayed a similar reaction. Eighteen of 93 women reported disagreeing with something heard on the radio at least once, six on political questions, eight on moral questions, and four on religious questions. Moreover, in seven cases out of the 18 the program was tuned out before it concluded because of the disagreement. Proportionately only half as many women as men reported disagreements, and a smaller proportion of women than men refused to hear the program through.

(2) The subjects were then asked if they agreed with

²⁸ Only attitude conflicts are reported here and not disagreements, for example, over matters of fact. In a majority of cases the disagreement was connected with a rather important belief of the respondent.

most of the opinions they heard over the radio. Of the 99 men, 93 answered "Yes," and of the 93 women, 90 answered "Yes." Seventy-five of these same men, however, and 78 of the women, reported under further questioning that only very rarely did they listen to programs dealing in opinions with which they were reasonably sure to disagree.

The answers to these two questions both confirm and explain the findings discussed previously. Radio is ineffective in changing rural opinions, it appears, because rural people generally will not listen to opinions with which they seriously disagree. Proportionally more men than women exhibit this reaction.

The remarks of the respondents throw additional light on this phenomenon. A woman concerned with a moral disagreement said:

I won't listen to blasphemers saying that drinking isn't a sin. It's just the same as if I put myself under the influence of the heathen and let them try to convert me. The Good Lord said, *Putteth thee aside temptation. I'd never be tempted to drink, but I won't listen to people advertising beer on the radio.*

A farm owner 35 years old remarked:

I don't listen to political speeches for Roosevelt because they rile me up. I know all their arguments and their tricks and they ain't no good. Only time I listen is sometimes to Roosevelt's speeches, because he's President and I want to know what's going on. That shows what listening to things like that can do if you're not careful. *Sometimes when I listen [to Roosevelt] I even get to thinking he's right and all the time I know he's wrong.*

Interestingly enough, many other respondents felt as this man did about listening to the President. Even though they disliked his views many persons would not tune him out, the two reasons given most frequently being the President's prestige and the fact that he often said what he was going to do in the future and was therefore of news value. Most political speeches were tuned out when there was disagreement, as were religious programs (e.g., Catholic church services in a Protestant community), or programs advertising products objected to on moral grounds (e.g., beer and cigarettes).

THE CONTROL OF ACTIONS

Brand Consciousness of Radio and Non-Radio Families

The preceding sections have been concerned with the influence of the radio on opinions. The purpose of this section is to discuss the influence of the radio upon actions.

One kind of action in particular has been chosen for study—the act of buying. National advertisers are continually trying to control the buying habits of radio listeners, and the extent to which they are successful is a convenient measure of the efficiency of radio as a medium for controlling actions.

If radio advertising exerts a significant influence upon purchases, radio families should be more particular about the brands they buy than non-radio families. To test this hypothesis the interviewer submitted a list of 20 commodities to 132 radio families and 126 non-radio families, asking

each family to check off the items it habitually bought by brand name. The list included the following items: coffee, laundry soap, kitchen soap, toothpaste, toilet soap, breakfast foods, soups, oil and gasoline, gelatine, razors, razor blades, shaving soap, face powder, bread, cakes, crackers, flour, canned milk, and tobacco. The ratio of the number of kinds of merchandise usually bought by brand name to the total number of items used was computed for each family. This proportion serves as a rough index of effective brand consciousness.

The average proportion of goods bought habitually by brand name was 79.2 per cent for radio families and 66.1 per cent for non-radio families. The difference, 13.1 per cent, is greater than seven times its standard error.

While this difference is interesting in itself, it is not a "net" difference. Radio families are considerably better off economically than non-radio families. They read more magazines and newspapers and have had better schooling than non-radio families. It is possible, therefore, that they are more brand conscious because they have the money to buy the brands they like instead of the cheapest, or because they are exposed to more newspaper and magazine advertising.

As a partial test of this additional suggestion, the relations between the percentage of goods bought habitually by brand name and the family's (1) income, (2) average daily time spent reading newspapers and magazines, (3) number of magazines read, and (4) last school grade attended were

studied. These factors were correlated with buying but not with radio and non-radio differences in buying. In other words, if these factors are taken into account, the difference between the brand consciousness of radio and non-radio families remains the same.

In making this test all conceivably relevant factors were not considered and randomization was not employed. There may thus be other unconsidered factors which would explain the difference in brand consciousness between radio and non-radio families. In spite of this, however, we are nevertheless justified in concluding that the radio probably does exert a significant influence on rural buying habits.

Psychological Processes Involved in Radio's Control of Purchasing

To get at the psychological processes involved in radio's influences on purchases, a sample of new-radio families was then interviewed in detail on the question: "Since you bought your radio have you bought or ordered something as a result of listening to the radio?"

Of 93 women, only 24 answered that the radio had had no direct influence on their buying. The remaining 69 could remember at least one instance in which they had been influenced to buy something. Of 99 men, 61 reported no influence, and the remaining 38 that they had been influenced at least once. The radio thus affected a much higher proportion of women than men, which would be expected, since

women listen more to the radio than men and since most radio advertising is directed toward women.

Answers to this question exhibit the same tendencies as the findings from the quantitative-comparative technique reported in the preceding section and therefore serve as confirmation of the findings reported before.

It may be, however, that the men and women reporting changes in buying habits due to the radio would have made these changes anyway, due to some influence other than the radio or perhaps merely for variety.

The reasons given for their changed purchasing habits by the people just referred to, however, increase the likelihood of the conclusion given above and in addition throw some light on the psychological processes involved. Of the 69 women who reported that the radio influenced their purchases, 37, or slightly over half, reported that they tried at least one new brand because they felt somewhat obligated to support a program they had enjoyed. Of the 38 men, 15, or rather less than half, reported similarly. This of course does not mean that half of the brand changes induced by radio came about because of this feeling of obligation, but merely that about half of the respondents reported that this had happened at least once.

It is concluded from this that when the rural listener enjoys a program he often feels a moral obligation to support it by buying the product sold by its sponsor. This feeling of obligation may be one of the most important factors in radio advertising to rural people.

This finding is illustrated in the remarks of respondents. One young farm wife told the interviewer:

We don't like Chase and Sanborn coffee as much as another kind, but *I buy it now to support Charlie McCarthy* because he gives us so much pleasure.

A young tenant farmer who was a devotee of the Lucky Strike Hit Parade told the interviewer:

Most cigarettes taste about the same to me, but I smoke Luckies now because I like the Hit Parade and *I like to keep it going by buying their cigarettes.*

This suggests that the radio has an important advantage over other media of communication for control in certain sectors of possible influence. In advertising, for example, no other medium offers nearly as much entertainment as does the radio. The finding also suggests, however, that in situations in which entertainment is not offered, for example in political broadcasts, the efficiency of control is seriously impaired, not only because it is difficult to make persons listen to the expression of attitudes in conflict with their own, but also because the element of moral obligation is lacking.²⁹

It was the interviewer's definite impression, however, that

²⁹ Cf., for example, the following statement from *Time*, November 7, 1938: "Does a candidate who takes the customary air time of a popular program draw to himself the attention or hostility of the program's audience? Candidate Thomas E. Dewey last week bought on Station WJZ (Manhattan) 30 minutes of Tuesday evening time, half of which usually goes to the *Information Please* program (then without a sponsor). Although he was still

while the rural listener may feel obligated to *try* a product advertised on a program he likes, he usually does not feel obligated to continue using it unless it suits him. For example, one farmwife said:

Naturally we wouldn't keep on using it if we didn't like it.

SOME SOCIAL EFFECTS OF THE RADIO

Using Pike County as a laboratory we have discussed in the preceding pages such questions as these: "Does the radio make the rural individual interested in the news?" "Does the rural individual learn anything from the radio?" "How does the radio make the rural individual feel about being a farmer?" "Does it influence his opinions and/or his actions?"

The following pages, on the other hand, are concerned with the effects of the radio on rural social life. Instead of dealing with the rural individual himself, we shall deal with the rural individual in relation to typical rural social groups and institutions such as the family, church, Farm Bureau, and so on.

talking when his time was up, WJZ cut him off to pick up the second half of *Information Please* . . . By telephone *Information Please* fans berated NBC for giving part of the program's time to Candidate Dewey. Dewey fans slated the station for not letting their candidate finish. The telephone score: For *Information Please*, 920. For Dewey, 9."

UNORGANIZED SOCIAL INTERCOURSE

The Radio and Social Contact Within the Family

Our first topic will be the effects of radio on spontaneous intra-family activities such as informal conversation, discussion, and participation in other joint affairs.

The interview technique was used in studying these activities, the basis of each interview being a series of questions which were discussed with the respondent in detail. Thus each respondent was asked if he could remember having mentioned something he heard over the radio to another member of the family, and if so when and where; and if he could remember other people mentioning things they heard over the radio to him. To get at as many instances of this sort as possible, the interviewer also asked each respondent if listening to the radio had given him any new ideas, and if so whether he had discussed them with anyone. Each respondent was also asked if he had disagreed with anything on the radio, and if so whether he had discussed the matter with anyone. Only new-radio families were interviewed, in the belief that new-radio persons would exhibit any effect of the radio more clearly than old-radio persons.

That the radio did sometimes result in an increase in social activity within the family will be clear from the narration of what happened to one particular family. In this family the coming of the radio was at first a matter of interest because of the information (mainly news and weather and

market reports) and entertainment which accompanied it. The radio served no social function, the family listening very little as a group, and it was even occasionally the source of open conflict concerning which programs were to be heard at particular times.

In this family, however, because of the interest of the husband, it became customary at the dinner hour in the middle of the day to listen to the National Farm and Home Hour. After the meal an occasional discussion of agricultural conditions and policy developed, in which the entire family, consisting of husband and wife and three children of high school age, took part. This post-listening discussion gradually became an established custom, so that at the time of the interview it had been going on for about five months.

The result of this newly developed custom was the integration of the family to an appreciable degree. It was of course not true that the family at once, or ever, became a closely knit group as a result of buying a radio. But it was true that the "discussion hour," as it came to be called, occupied an important place in the social activity of that family. All five members of the family independently concurred in telling the interviewer that they had been drawn more closely together by this activity. Every member of the family looked forward to the daily discussion not only as an educational but also as a social affair.

In 16 of the 92 complete new-radio families interviewed, the radio's effect was an increase in the amount of intra-family contact and cohesion in one way or another because

of the habit of gathering about the radio to discuss a program, respond to a "quiz," and so on. In each of the 16 cases the respondents remarked upon the social aspects of the contact. In all 16 of these cases, moreover, the custom was of at least weekly occurrence; 11 of them were reported to be of daily or almost daily occurrence.

It was the interviewer's strong impression, moreover, that each of these 16 families exhibiting a positive influence of the radio upon social cohesion had been rather well integrated before the advent of the radio. This impression was strong enough to suggest that pre-radio integration of the family might be a factor affecting reaction to the radio. The interviewer therefore developed a method for rating the interviewed families as to their pre-radio integration. Families were classified into well- and badly-integrated as objectively as possible in view of limited time. Families exhibiting jealousy, suspicion, intolerance, lack of sympathy or respect, habitual irritability, and so on were classified as badly integrated, and families characterized by the contrary list of traits were classified as well-integrated. Supporting information as to these points was derived from talking to the families in question and from interviewing families who knew the one under study. An attempt was made to record only evidences of *pre-radio conditions*. This is, to be sure, a rather loose way in which to measure integration. It was well adapted, however, to the purpose of the interviewer, who desired to touch the surface of many previously unconsidered problems in an exploratory manner.

All of the 16 families exhibiting an increase in social contact or cohesion were rated as well adjusted prior to the advent of the radio.

Among the 92 families, however, there were six important instances of a negative effect of the radio. Two were due to the fact that the family could not agree on which programs were to be heard. In one of these cases the pre-radio integration of the family was poor, but in the other no evidence of pre-radio maladjustment was found. In three other families conflicts broke out systematically over topics which the radio brought up, and the pre-radio adjustment of each of these families was poor. In the sixth case a conflict broke out between two members of the family on a religious question as a result of a single program. The pre-radio adjustment of this family, however, was classified as good, though some evidence of maladjustment made the classification rather difficult.

To sum up, the radio exerted an integrating influence on 16 families, all of them well adjusted before the advent of the radio, and a disrupting effect on six families, four of which were badly adjusted in pre-radio times. In well-integrated families the radio apparently tends to increase social contact and cohesion, whereas in poorly integrated families the effect of the radio is to aggravate previously existing maladjustment.

This conclusion, however, is not so paradoxical as it appears. People select from the radio that which they want to listen to. Apparently well-adjusted people attend to those

parts of the total radio stimulus which foster adjustment. Maladjusted people, on the other hand, are sensitive to the disturbing aspects of the stimulus. The effect can be understood only in terms of the listener's predispositions.⁸⁰

The Radio and Social Contacts

The telephone often plays an important part in the social life of many rural communities. An attempt was made, therefore, to determine the influence of the radio upon telephoning done for social or conversational reasons.

An important finding here was that the radio often competed with the telephone as a household necessity. Of 92 new-radio families interviewed, 13 had given up their telephones when they purchased radios, in each case for economic reasons. These people fully appreciated the advantages of the telephone in the conduct of business and in case of emergency. However, the radio offered so much more than the telephone that they could get along without the telephone, especially if one was available near by. In several neighborhoods, in fact, the various households contributed to a general fund toward keeping a telephone in one of the homes, so that medical or other aid could be called quickly and a telephone for business use was not far away. Several

⁸⁰ For the total sample of 22 affected families, there are six exceptions to the theory that the radio *increases* intra-family cohesion. By considering the explanatory factor "previous state of integration," however, this ineffective theory is revised to read as follows: In well-integrated families the radio increases social contact and cohesion, whereas in poorly integrated families the radio decreases intra-family cohesion. The revised hypothesis is more adequate, since it is embarrassed by only two exceptions instead of six.

groups of families thus managed to retain the emergency advantages of the telephone and at the same time to turn most of its expense toward the purchase or maintenance of a radio.⁸¹

From this it may be concluded that in rural areas families with insufficient income to pay for both telephone and radio tend to give up their telephone. In communities where the prevailing economic level is low an increase in the number of radios will result in a decrease in the number of telephones, and this will naturally tend to decrease the total amount of social visiting by telephone.

In the original sample of 92 new-radio families there were 29 who had telephones. In interviewing to determine the influence of radio on social telephoning the interviewer talked only to women, since it is primarily the farm wife who uses the telephone socially. Of these 29 women, four reported that their social telephoning had increased after buying a radio. These women frequently called up friends to talk about something heard on the radio. Two more women could remember making an occasional call of this kind, but they did not do so as a general practice.

Eleven women reported that their social telephoning had decreased after buying radios, because listening to the radio was a substitute for telephone visiting, because they did not want to interrupt their own listening, or because they did

⁸¹ The manager of the local telephone company emphatically corroborated this finding, though he gave it considerably more importance than the proportion of cases in the sample indicated.

not want to interrupt the listening of friends who had radios. The remaining 12 women reported that the radio had had no noticeable effect in this connection.

These facts indicate that buying a radio probably tends in general to decrease social telephoning, though the case is not overclear. The influence of the radio upon social telephoning apparently depends also upon other factors not isolated in this study. Some interviews suggested that the distance at which the respondent's intimate friends lived might be such a factor. Buying a radio, for example, might increase telephoning to distant friends because the farm wife would not want to leave the radio long enough to visit them in person. With close neighbors, on the other hand, the increase in telephoning might not be so great. However, no definite evidence is available on this point.

The influence of radio on the frequency of making informal social visits to neighbors was also selected as a topic for investigation. Rural people have a habit of dropping in on one another now and then, not just for practical reasons, but often only to talk. This seemed an area of behavior in which the coming of the radio might have had a discernible effect.

Unfortunately, however, questions dealing with this topic did not yield reliable results. Apparently buying a radio causes a slight decrease in social visiting, but the evidence was so sparse that little faith can be put in this conclusion.

ORGANIZED SOCIAL INTERCOURSE

This section is concerned with radio's effect upon organized social activities, as contrasted with the spontaneous or unorganized activities discussed in the preceding section. A social activity has been classed as "organized" if (1) the time and place of meeting are prearranged; and (2) either a published or an implicit membership list is involved.

Attendance at Meetings of Organized Groups

Pike County people satisfy some of their desire for social intercourse by attending "community club" meetings. The community club meets once or twice a month in the local schoolhouse or in the home of a member. Its activities include visiting, group singing, putting on playlets or readings, eating refreshments, and occasionally discussing minor community problems. Anyone living in the township is welcome, and as a rule families attend the meetings as units, though sometimes the wife and children may attend while the husband does not.

Of the 92 complete new-radio families interviewed, some member of 53 families attended his community club meetings at least occasionally.³² In all, 42 men and 53 women reported attending at least occasionally. Of the 42 men none reported more frequent attendance as a result of the radio. Six men could remember missing a meeting because of the

³² At the time of interviewing about half the townships of Pike County had organized community clubs.

radio at least once, and the remaining 36 were certain that the radio had not affected their attendance.

Of the 6 men who had missed meetings because of the radio, four could remember being affected only once (the first meeting after the radio was put in); one could remember being affected twice; and the last could remember being affected four times. The median number of meetings since the acquisition of the radio for these six men was 11.

Of the five women who had attended at least occasionally, all were certain that the radio had not affected them.

From these figures it is apparent that attendance at community club meetings was not significantly affected by the radio.

Similar results were obtained in questioning the members of other organized groups:

Of 22 women attending the meetings of a bridge club at least occasionally, none reported any influence of the radio.

Of 14 women belonging to "culture" clubs, book review clubs, and the like, 13 reported no influence, and one reported missing one program out of the seven scheduled after the radio had been put in because she wanted to listen to a particular program.⁸³

Of 17 men who attended Farm Bureau meetings at least occasionally, not one had failed to attend because of the radio.

Thus the radio exerts little influence on attendance at the

⁸³ The median number of meetings for these 14 women since they acquired radios was 9.

meetings of organized groups. Some reasons for this are suggested by the remarks of the respondents. A middle-aged tenant said of Farm Bureau meetings:

I always know a week ahead when there's going to be a meeting in my township, so I always go. I belong to the Farm Bureau because of the help I can get from it, so when there's a meeting I generally go. I wouldn't stay away on account of the radio unless for the World's Series or something like that, and I've never had to make up my mind between them yet.

This man's wife remarked:

I always go to the bridge club because I like to play bridge and I know when the meeting is going to be and I wouldn't be a good member if I didn't go.

A farm laborer in his twenties said:

We like the community club and so we go and take the kids. The radio wouldn't keep us home unless something special was happening. All our friends go and they'd ask what kept us away if we weren't there. But I guess we go mostly because we like to better than not missing a program or so when we go.

Finally, a man in his thirties who had recently bought his farm remarked:

The community club is a good thing for the township. We have a good time but we talk about things that need to be done in the township and see that they get done. We like community club, but it's sort of a man's duty to go if he doesn't like it.

The three chief reasons given for radio's lack of influence on attendance at the meetings of organized groups may be

summarized thus: (1) Members of organized groups generally belong because of some special interest which is apt to outweigh the attractions of ordinary radio programs; (2) meetings are arranged beforehand, so that attendance is often planned as a special occasion; and (3) there is sometimes an ethical incentive to attend the meetings of organized groups voluntarily formed for the furtherance of a definite end.

The Formation of New Groups

Many people have predicted that newly organized groups would be formed in rural communities because of the radio.³⁴ Two summers of interviewing in Pike County, however, revealed no such newly organized groups. In addition, the interviewer found no previously existing groups other than school classes that made use of the radio in any way.

In the two largest communities of the county, groups did assemble to listen to events such as the World's Series baseball games or championship boxing matches. A public address system was set up in the town square for such events, and the townspeople gathered around informally. Open country folk rarely attended such gatherings; of 394 country people interviewed, only 14 had ever done so. The interviewer was present at two such affairs, and both dispersed immediately after the program ended.

Spontaneously formed groups also occasionally used the radio for dancing. Before the radio, however, the phonograph had been used for the same purpose, and the substitu-

³⁴ See Edmund deS. Brunner, *Radio and the Farmer*, p. 8.

tion thus introduced no essential change in the social aspects of these gatherings.

DELIBERATENESS OF DECISIONS AND THE SOCIAL EFFECTS
OF RADIO

The effects of the radio on participation in several forms of social intercourse have now been discussed, and it is clear that the radio affects informal social intercourse to a greater extent than organized social intercourse. This suggests that there is a difference between these two types of activity which may explain why radio affects one more than the other.

Decisions to engage in informal or unorganized social intercourse are generally made without much deliberation. They are thus probably subject to a fairly large number of incidental factors, among which is the radio.

Decisions to participate in the meetings of organized and regularly meeting groups, on the other hand, generally are more deliberate in that they involve premeditation and previous commitments. Such decisions thus tend to be less subject to incidental influences such as the radio.

This difference in the deliberateness of decisions provides an important explanation for the degree of the radio's influence on all types of social activities. Stated in general terms, the hypothesis is that (other things being equal) the more deliberate the decision to participate in a social activity, the less influence the radio has on that participation. For exam-

ple, the radio clearly affects social telephoning, but apparently has little or no effect on more deliberative and formal social calling. Again, if this theory is true, one should expect to find that the radio has a more pronounced effect on the visiting of close neighbors than friends who live a considerable distance away, since visiting at a distance requires preparation and co-operation not involved in calling on near-by neighbors.

THE RADIO AND CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Two methods were used in the field work in Pike County to determine the influence of the radio on church attendance. (1) The church attendance of radio and non-radio families was compared, with an attempt to hold constant the influence of several disturbing factors. (2) New-radio respondents were interviewed in detail to see what factors might be involved in the situation.

Comparison of the Church Attendance of Radio and Non-Radio Families

In comparing the attendance of radio and non-radio families it was possible to control the influences of several factors which might otherwise have biased the comparison: (1) A basic factor was integration in the social and economic affairs of the community. The status of the respondent (i.e., laborer, tenant, or owner) and the number of acres he farmed (except for laborers) were used as rough indexes of

TABLE 9.—COMPARISON OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE OF RADIO AND NON-RADIO WOMEN FROM PIKE COUNTY
(Figures in the table are proportions of church services attended by the respondents in the four weeks preceding the interview.)

Status	Laborer						Tenant						Owner					
	0-120		121-180		181 and over		0-90		91-120		121-240		241-300		301 and over			
	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM		
Memberships	.00	.50	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	
Radio.....	.00	.75	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.25	.25	.50	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.50	.75	
(X) Mean	.00	.25	.15	.00	.111	.00	.231	.00	.292	.00	.327	.00	.156	.00	.40	.00	.00	
Non-Radio	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	
	.00	.00	.00	.25	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.25	.00	.25	
	.00	.00	.00	.50	.00	.00	.25	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.25	.00	.50	.00	.50	
	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.25	.50	.00	.00	.00	.50	.00	.00	.00	1.00	
	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.25	.25	.50	.50	.00	.00	.00	.75	.00	.00	.00	.75	
	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.50	.50	.75	.75	.00	.25	.25	.75	.00	.00	.00	.00	
	.00	.00	.00	.50	.50	.75	.75	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	
(Y) Mean	.111	.00	.172	.188	.196	.00	.250	.050	.386	.071	.350	.00	.333	.125	.286	.00	.458	
X - Y	-.111	+.250	-.022	-.188	-.085	.000	-.019	-.050	-.136	-.071	-.058	.00	-.006	-.125	-.130	.00	-.058	

this because income is correlated with participation in community affairs. (2) Church membership was also controlled, since members as a rule attend church more frequently than non-members and the proportions of church members among radio and non-radio families differ. (3) Women attend church more frequently than men, and because the sex distribution was different in radio and non-radio samples³⁵ it was necessary to control this factor also. This was accomplished by making the comparison for men and women separately, comparing radio men with non-radio men, and radio women with non-radio women. (4) Both radio and non-radio persons who did not own automobiles (nine persons in all) were eliminated from the comparison because non-ownership of an automobile is a factor influencing church attendance. (5) Single men were eliminated because they lacked the usual stimulation of the wife's interest in attending church and the proportion of single men differed in radio and non-radio samples.

Table 9 compares the attendance of 87 radio and 131 non-radio women. The corresponding figures for men have been omitted to save space but show the same general tendencies.

Church attendance in this table is measured by the proportion of church services attended by each respondent in the four weeks prior to the interview. In each case this proportion is expressed as a decimal fraction. If a person had

³⁵ Many farm laborers were unmarried, and there were more laborers in the non-radio group.

attended one church service out of four in the month preceding the interview, his "index of church attendance" would have the value $\frac{1}{4} = .25$.

Each vertical column in the table should be read downward. Thus in the first column there are two wives of farm laborers who were church members and who had radios, and both of them had attended no church services, as indicated by the two indexes with the value .00. The figure in this column marked "Mean" is the average proportion of services attended for both these respondents, in this case .00.

Continuing down the same column we come to wives of farm laborers who were church members and who did not have radios. As can be seen, there were nine such respondents. Eight had attended no church services in the preceding months, as is indicated by the appearance of eight .00's. The ninth respondent, however, had attended all four church services, as indicated by the appearance of the single value 1.00. For these nine respondents the average proportion or mean is .111. The figure at the bottom of this column, marked " $\bar{X} - \bar{Y}$," is the difference between the two average proportions, that is, $.000 - .111$, or $-.111$. The negative sign indicates that the non-radio women listed in this column attended church more frequently on the average than the radio women.

It will be seen that there are 18 such differences between means in the table. Of these 18, one is positive, indicating that radio women attend church more frequently than non-radio women. Four of these differences are zero, indicating

no difference between the average church attendance of radio and non-radio women. The remaining 13 differences are negative, indicating that radio women attend church less frequently than non-radio women. Statistical tests indicate that the average difference in church attendance between radio and non-radio women is statistically significant, and enables us to conclude that even with the effects of economic status and church membership ruled out radio women attend church less frequently than non-radio women. The logical conclusion appears to be that radio ownership causes a decrease in the church attendance of rural women. The table for men is similar and the average difference for men is statistically significant also.

A Case Study Approach to the Influence of Radio on Church Attendance

In order to verify the results of the statistical comparison presented above and to get at the psychological factors involved in the radio's influence on church attendance, the interviewer proceeded to study a sample of new-radio men and women from a non-quantitative standpoint.

Of 74 new-radio men who had attended church services at least occasionally before buying a radio, none reported that the radio had stimulated his attendance. Sixty-nine reported no effect, and five reported missing church at least once because of the radio. Of 75 new-radio women, none reported increased attendance, 65 reported no influence, and 10 reported failing to attend at least once because of the radio.

Of the five men who had been influenced by the radio, three reported that they habitually stayed at home and listened to the radio instead of going to church. Of these three, two had not been very much interested in the church before getting radios and listened to non-religious programs on Sunday. The third man had been interested in the church, but after getting a radio contented himself with listening to Harry Emerson Fosdick over the air.

Of the 10 women who had been influenced by the radio, five reported staying home habitually and substituting non-religious listening for their church attendance. All five of these women reported being only casually interested in the church before getting radios.

Of the 10 women who had been influenced by the radio, four more reported staying home habitually and substituting listening to sermons on the air, and three of these four had been seriously interested in the church before buying a radio. The remaining woman, who did not stay home habitually but who listened to radio sermons when she did, had been interested in the church before buying a radio.

These figures indicate a tendency which can be stated as follows: When people give up going to church after getting radios, whether or not they listen to religious programs in place of their previous church attendance depends on the strength of their former interest in the church.

The size of the sample studied is too small to warrant putting much faith in this finding. It does, however, offer an

important clue for further investigation. In addition, the case studies reported here definitely support the statistical finding reported previously, namely, that the radio tends to decrease attendance at the rural church.

CONCLUSION

Several findings of this study, either because they have not appeared in other rural studies or because they are clues for additional investigation, are summarized here.

(1) The radio is not an effective instrument for practical instruction in agricultural topics.³⁶ This finding has been corroborated by the U. S. Department of Agriculture, but attempts at practical instruction in agricultural topics go on apace. Further study along these lines would be of value to many broadcasters, for there are probably areas of practical instruction in which radio is efficient or could be made efficient. There are also many fields of instruction in which the radio is ineffective or completely useless. These areas need to be mapped.

(2) Psychological preparedness is a prerequisite to serious radio listening.³⁷ For this reason many educational broadcasters are reaching those who stand least in need of what they have to offer. This situation might be remedied in part by utilizing institutional promotion in the field, but further study of the factors involved in serious listening is needed.

(3) Personal adjustment is shown in several places to be a highly important factor in determining the listener's reac-

³⁶ Pp. 242-245.

³⁷ Pp. 245-250.

tion to the radio.³⁸ The selective factor of the listener's background and personality cannot be neglected if the effects of the radio are to be validly isolated. They have been largely neglected in radio research up to this time. Further investigation of the relation between the listener's personality and his selection of stimuli from the total radio stimulus would be valuable.

(4) The rural people of this study would not listen to persuasion likely to change their opinions except in rare instances, and consequently the radio failed to change their opinions.³⁹ Whenever possible they avoided opinion-conflicts which the radio tended to introduce. This may be a strictly rural characteristic, but if it is its areal extent in the United States should be studied. On the other hand, it is probable that urban people exhibit the same tendency in lesser degree. Detailed study of this reaction to persuasion by radio, if it is at all common, should be valuable in explaining the radio's influence (or lack of influence) in changing listener opinion.

(5) Apparently the more deliberate is a decision to participate in a social activity, the less influence the radio has on that participation.⁴⁰ Further study of this hypothesis and its extension if possible to activities other than social would take us a long way toward understanding the radio's influence (or lack of influence) in a large number of important situations.

³⁸ Pp. 251-257.

³⁹ Pp. 257-273.

⁴⁰ Pp. 285-286.

APPENDIX

FOREIGN LANGUAGE BROADCASTS OVER LOCAL AMERICAN STATIONS

APPENDIX I. THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The Office of Radio Research
Columbia University, New York
SPECIAL PROGRAM STUDY

Date.....

Language
Listener
Station
City

Time.....to.....

SECTION I—BASIC INFORMATION (To be filled in for each program)

1. Name of the program.
2. Sponsor or sponsors of the program (Give products where possible).
3. Language: All foreign..... English announcements..... English other than announcements.....
4. Is this program: part of a continuing series..... or a one-time broadcast.....
5. Was the incidental music or theme song national (of special appeal to the people of this nationality—see instructions)?
National music..... non-national music..... If non-national, was it from any other particular nationality.....
6. Were greetings or congratulations included in the time-period marked above? Yes..... No.....
7. If short commercial advertisements (less than 5 minutes) included a special message to people of this nationality or stressing Americanism or nostalgia for the old days or the old country, please quote briefly below.

8. If short non-commercial announcements (less than 5 minutes) were included in the time-period marked above, please write below the topics and the sponsors of the announcements.

9. Was the body of the program (not incidental music or commercial announcements) transcribed....., partly transcribed....., all live.....

SECTION II—SPECIFIC TYPES OF PROGRAMS

A. NEWS

If this was a NEWS program, or if news was included in the time-period marked above:

10. Was it straight news....., or a commentator.....
 11. If it was straight news, list the items as they were given by the announcer (number in order given):

Source	Topic	Source	Topic	Source	Topic
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

12. If it was a commentator, what was his name.....his title.....
 13. If it was a commentator, what topics received particular emphasis?

14. If it was a commentator, quote any items or suggestions he gave which were specially intended for the foreign language audience.

15. Do you think this news program is different from the English news programs in your community? Yes.....
 No.....
 16. If yes: How are they different?

B. MUSIC

- If this was a **MUSICAL PROGRAM**, or if this time period included any **COMPLETE Musical selections (not incidental music)** what type of music was played? (Make a vertical stroke beside the proper type for each selection played)
17. **NATIONAL MUSIC:** (From the old country, composed, performed by people of this nationality)
Folksongs....., Popular songs or music....., Opera....., Light Classical....., Patriotic.....
Other (Specify).....
18. **NON-NATIONAL MUSIC:** (Of no particular significance for people of this nationality)
Classical and semi-classical....., Opera....., Popular....., Religious....., Patriotic.....
Other (Specify).....
19. If any selections of non-national music were plainly from some other (Not English or American) nationality, note this here.....

C. DRAMA

- If this was a **DRAMATIZATION**, or if this time period included a dramatization:
20. Was this a serial drama....., or a complete play in one broadcast.....
21. What type of drama was it? Historical..... Religious..... Mystery..... Romance.....
Family..... Doctors..... Humorous..... Other (Specify).....
22. In what country was the action of today's play located?.....

23. Were the characters and plot situation of particular significance for this country or language?.....

D. EDUCATION

- If this was an **EDUCATION** or **SERVICE** program, or if such an announcement of more than 5 minutes was included in this time period:
24. What was the topic, what does it suggest?.....

25. To whom was it addressed? (Check one) Specific national group in America..... Specific national group in your city..... All foreign groups..... No national group especially.....
26. Was it addressed to any particular occupational group? (Check one) Housewives..... Workers.....
Students..... Parents..... Other (Specify)..... None.....

E. QUIZ

- If it was a **QUIZ** or **INTERVIEW** program, or if such items were included in the time period marked above:
27. What was the subject of the questions or interview?.....

28. If it was a quiz program, were the participants members of the national group?
 Yes..... No.....
29. If it was an interview, write the name and title of the person interviewed:

F. If this was a RELIGIOUS TALK, or a PERSONAL ADVICE program (Answering letters, etc.)

RELI-
 GIOUS
 & PER-
 SONAL
 ADVICE

30. What topic or topics were treated?
31. What specific advice was given by the speaker?

G.
 OTHER
 TYPES

- If this was ANY OTHER TYPE OF PROGRAM not provided for above (such as household recipes, markets, long commercial announcements, etc.) Over 5 minutes:
32. What was the topic of the program?
33. What suggestion did it give of special interest to the foreign language group or to listeners?

H.

FILL THIS OUT AT THE END OF EACH PROGRAM OR TIME PERIOD (Check only one type)

34. What type of program was it? Musical..... News..... Drama..... Education and service..... Quiz,
 or interview..... Religious talk..... Personal advice..... Long commercial (more than 5 minutes).....
 Household or marketing..... Variety (music plus drama or jokes)..... Combination of several types in long
 program..... Other types (Specify).....
35. Write here your personal comments on the special appeal of this program to the foreign language group, to their nos-
 talgia for the old country, to their pride in their nationality, to their Americanism, etc.

APPENDIX II. ADDITIONAL TABLES

TABLE I.—DISTRIBUTION OF TIME BY LANGUAGE, CONTENT AND TYPE OF PROGRAM

	German		Italian		Yiddish		Polish		Lithuanian		Spanish							
	Sp. ^a	Par. ^b	Sp.	Par.	Sp.	Par.	Sp.	Par.	Sp.	Par.	Sp.	Par.						
Musi-	13:15	55:30	56:41	108:30	165:11	8:20	44:25	52:45	29:53	117:30	147:23	5:21	6:25	11:46	18:45	121:15	140:00	
cal																		
News	1:30	1:30	15:51	8:50	24:41	3:40	5:05	8:45	7:53	16:05	23:58	2:54	1:5	3:09	3:55	2:50	6:45	
Drama	:30	1:00	42:20	20:20	62:40	1:35	3:25	5:00	13:23	8:50	22:13	1:35	3:5	2:10	3:10	1:55	4:05	
Talks	3:05	:20	3:25	2:55	11:10	1:30	5:00	6:30	:30	3:20	3:50	1:00	1:50	2:50	:30	4:30	5:00	
Other																		
types	:25	:30	:55	2:53	5:23	1:40	2:50	4:30	1:31	2:10	3:41	:40	:25	1:05	1:25	1:45	3:10	
Total	17:15	58:20	75:35	156:00	143:05	269:05	16:45	60:45	77:30	53:10	147:55	201:05	11:30	9:30	21:00	27:45	131:15	159:00

^a Sp.—Sponsored

^b Par.—Participating

^c Tot.—Total

TABLE 2.—KINDS OF NATIONAL APPEALS USED IN ADVERTISING DIFFERENT KINDS OF PRODUCTS AND SERVICES (EXCLUDING ENTERTAINMENT)

Kind of product advertised	Do as in old country	We speak your language	Patronize com-patriots	All use our product	We sell . . . product	Total per cent	Total number of appeals
Foods	32.6	1.1	10.1	23.0	33.2	100.0	178
Beverages . . .	30.7		12.9	29.0	27.4	100.0	62
Furniture . . .	4.1	20.4	49.0	8.2	18.3	100.0	49
Medicines . . .	12.1	43.1	22.4	10.3	12.1	100.0	58
Professional services . . .	5.8	28.8	28.8	23.1	13.5	100.0	52
Clothes (men)	30.8	15.4	38.4	7.7	7.7	100.0	13
Clothes (women) . .	29.2	12.5	37.4	12.5	8.4	100.0	24
Cigars	25.0				75.0	100.0	12
Restaurants . .	33.3		21.1	3.5	42.1	100.0	57
Jewelry			53.4		46.7	100.0	30
Books, radios, etc.		37.5	4.2	4.2	54.1	100.0	24
Markets and stores	10.5	5.3	42.1	10.5	31.6	100.0	19
Candy and gum						100.0	0
Soap				50.0	50.0	100.0	2
Travel agencies	20.0		40.0		40.0	100.0	5
Others	3.3	29.5	14.7	21.3	31.2	100.0	61
Total	19.7	13.1	21.7	15.3	30.2	100.0	646

TABLE 3.—PROPORTION OF ADVERTISEMENTS WITH NATIONAL APPEAL FOR DIFFERENT KINDS OF PRODUCTS

<i>Kind of product advertised</i>	<i>Per cent using national appeal</i>	<i>Total advertising</i>
Foods	25.8	690
Beverages	15.3	404
Furniture	8.5	578
Medicines	11.5	506
Professional services . . .	17.8	293
Clothes (men)	3.6	360
Clothes (women)	6.0	398
Cigars	13.6	88
Restaurants	42.5	134
Jewelry	19.5	154
Books, radios, etc.	22.1	109
Markets and stores	16.5	115
Candy and gum		53
Soaps	1.3	153
Travel agencies	7.1	70
Other	9.2	663
Total	13.6	4,768 ^a

^a Movies have not been included in this table. For the total number of movie advertisements see Table 10 (page 36).

INVITATION TO MUSIC

A STUDY OF THE CREATION OF NEW MUSIC LISTENERS BY THE RADIO

APPENDIX IA. VALIDITY OF THE SELF-CLASSIFICATION

Since great importance was placed upon the question asking the respondent to classify himself according to the role of the radio in his musical development, much attention was given to testing the validity of the respondent's self-classification. Several additional questions were inserted in the questionnaire to provide checks upon the interpretation of the question. In addition, detailed interviews were made with all cases in which an inconsistent or unclear answer was given. The tests then were of two types, internal statistical checks and detailed personal interviews.

Each respondent was presented with a list of all possible music sources and asked to check those two factors most important in his musical development. All respondents who had classified themselves as radio-initiated were required to have checked "radio music programs" in answer to this question. If he had omitted "radio" he was interviewed and reclassified correctly. The final tabulation of the initiated respondents discussed in this report shows the radio as listed by all of them.

More indirect, but quite indicative, was a simple count of all factors mentioned spontaneously by the respondent in answer to the general question, "Can you tell us how you first became interested in music?" We find that several of the initiated respondents did not refer to the radio in answer to this question. Interviews with these respondents revealed that the first source of music as given in answer to the question was not the radio, but that the respondents had classified the radio as all-important because it led to a conscious interest replacing their former incidental contacts through other media. These respondents were reclassified as "developed" by the radio.

In several cases interviews with the respondents revealed an interesting modification of the radio-developed type. We might call this a "revival of interest in music" rather than a strictly developed or nursed type. In these cases, the listener had experienced a lapse in interest which upon contact with radio-music was reborn. Since in these cases there appears but little likelihood that contact with music would have occurred without the radio, the importance of radio is obvious. These respondents were classified as radio-developed.

An example of this is an English housewife with a good musical background who states:

When I came to America, for a three year period I lost all contact with music. My husband was not at all interested and I was much too busy adjusting myself to do much in a musical way. However, I purchased a radio and immediately discovered classical music. I regained my interest almost overnight and today am even more interested than when I left England.

By means of these detailed interviews, then, it was possible to insure for each of our cases a reasonably proper classification as initiated, nursed, or supplemented. We may feel fairly safe that the respondent's self-classification approaches the same accuracy that a detailed analysis of the respondents' musical life would have permitted.

APPENDIX IB. RANKING OF COMPOSERS

In order to secure some index of the extent to which the respondent's musical development had progressed, the following experiment was carried through. Twenty-five musically interested individuals with a fair degree of musical education were sent a list of 38 composers and asked, "Please check the following composers as to merit . . . not necessarily what you like, but what you think is their relative standing." The ratings of these composers is given below.

RANKING OF COMPOSERS

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Rank</i>		
	<i>Good</i>	<i>Not as good</i>	<i>Don't know</i>
Bach	25		
Beethoven	25		
Berlioz		25	
Bizet		25	
Brahms	25		
Chopin	14	9	2
Debussy	25		
Delius		25	
Dvorak		25	
Enesco		25	
Foster		25	
Franck	2	23	

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Rank</i>		
	<i>Good</i>	<i>Not as good</i>	<i>Don't know</i>
Gershwin		25	
Glück	23	2	
Grieg	1	24	
Handel	24	1	
Haydn	25		
Liszt		25	
Mendelssohn	10	13	2
Moussorgsky	21	3	1
Mozart	25		
Paganini	20	5	
Rachmaninoff		25	
Ravel	3	21	1
Rimsky-Korsakoff	2	23	
Rossini	4	21	
Saint-Saëns		25	
Schubert	25		
Schumann	25		
Sibelius	21	2	2
Strauss, Johann		25	
Strauss, Richard	23	1	1
Stravinsky	24	1	
Sullivan (Gilbert &) ..	1	24	
Tchaikowsky	11	10	4
Verdi	20	3	2
Wagner	25		
Weber	23	1	1

As has been discussed in the text, the radio-initiated listeners show a preference for the minus composers as compared to the radio-supplemented listeners. As an example we showed the much greater popularity of Rimsky-Korsakoff, Dvorak and Rachmaninoff among the initiated listeners. Dr. T. W. Adorno offers the following analysis of these three composers.

These three composers have two characteristic features: a so-called "emotional appeal" combined with what is known as "Slavic melan-

choly," and a relationship to folk music. Both these features make for easy understandability. The emotional appeal largely coincides with the fact that this music involves very few technical complexities, has a stream of almost unbroken melodies in the upper parts and possesses certain harmonic qualities such as the frequent use of minor chords even in a major context, which contribute to the easy understanding of their expressive content. They use expressive formulas that everyone knows, recognizes and accepts.

Even more important may be their "folk tune" character. This is particularly characteristic of Dvorak. The whole emphasis is put on more or less isolated tunes resembling relatively short folk songs which can be easily grasped as complete unities within the whole. To grasp these tunes one does not need to bother too much about the totality of the movement. The interconnection of the tunes and their development is of rather a loose character, sometimes approaching the medley. Yet this music, whose structure shows the inherent characteristics of popular music, is generally regarded and revered as "classical" because of the formal devices which they employ, however superficially. It is largely this unity of easy accessibility and cultural prestige which makes for the success of this music. It should be added, however, that these characteristics by no means imply that this music does not have certain merits of its own.

APPENDIX IC. TESTING RADIO'S CONTRIBUTION

We have concluded that the radio-initiated music listener has a less sophisticated and advanced approach to music than the music listener without a similar reliance upon the radio. Our hypothesis has been that the reason for this lies in the radio itself, and not in the listener. In order to show this it becomes necessary to "control" those characteristics of the listener which might be responsible for the lower level of

listening which we are attributing to the radio. We must show that quite independent of these factors, the presence of the radio in the respondent's development results in a less sophisticated musical interest.

First, we have found that the radio-developed listeners are younger and come to a larger extent from among the men. It is possible that the observed difference in level of composers is due to this sex and age difference, since sex and age, together with education, are also related to level of musical taste. By dividing our sample according to these three personal characteristics and then studying each sex, age and educational group separately, we can see whether a difference in level of musical sophistication still exists between our radio and non-radio groups. This is done in Table 1, although it becomes necessary because of the detailed breakdown to combine our initiated and nursed groups in order to secure a large enough number of listeners in each group.

TABLE 1.—LEVEL OF FAVORITE COMPOSER ACCORDING TO ROLE OF RADIO IN MUSICAL DEVELOPMENT FOR DIFFERENT SEX, AGE, AND EDUCATION GROUPS

<i>Role of radio in musical development</i>	<i>Per cent of each group naming plus composers</i>							
	<i>Male</i>				<i>Female</i>			
	<i>Under 30</i>		<i>30 and above</i>		<i>Under 30</i>		<i>30 and above</i>	
	<i>Less than coll.</i>	<i>Coll. and above</i>	<i>Less than coll.</i>	<i>Coll. and above</i>	<i>Less than coll.</i>	<i>Coll. and above</i>	<i>Less than coll.</i>	<i>Coll. and above</i>
Initiated and nursed . . .	63.4	58.7	58.4	63.2	52.3	51.4	68.8	88.9
Supplemented	71.1	76.6	62.1	82.5	59.2	72.2	70.3	91.5

We now find that even when we take listeners of the same sex, age and education, those individuals for whom radio was

an important factor in their development have a lower level of musical taste than the group not dependent upon radio. This would confirm our belief that radio as a creator of an interest in music is not living up to the standards set for it by the concert hall and other established media.

We also know that the radio-initiated type developed his interest at a relatively late age. Perhaps the difference in level of musical taste between the initiated and supplemented groups is not due to the radio, as we have already concluded, but is really a reflection of the late age at which the radio type becomes interested. That our earlier conclusion is correct, and that the dependency upon radio does reflect upon one's musical taste is further proven by Table 2. Quite independently of the age at which one becomes interested, we find the radio-initiated type possessing a lower level of musical taste.

TABLE 2.—LEVEL OF MUSICAL TASTE ACCORDING TO ROLE OF RADIO IN MUSICAL DEVELOPMENT AND AGE AT WHICH FIRST INTEREST BEGAN

<i>Age at which interest began</i>	<i>Per cent of each group naming plus composers</i>		
	<i>Initiated</i>	<i>Nursed</i>	<i>Supplemented</i>
Below 14 years	33.3	34.3	41.5
From 15 to 20 years	30.2	33.1	41.6
Above 20 years	26.3	35.7	47.2

It is interesting to note that the older one becomes before developing an interest in music, the greater will be the difference in level of listening between the radio and the non-radio types.

Finally, it is necessary to determine how much of the differences between our three radio types in regard to level of

musical development is due to the fact that our radio-initiated group has a more recent interest than the non-radio group. It might well be claimed that radio is in its "baby-stage" and that the differences we find between our radio and non-radio type of listener is simply due to the short time radio-music has been broadcast. While it is still too early to disprove completely this argument, we do have evidence that even if we limit our discussion only to those listeners who became interested in the past five years, and therefore have had an equal opportunity for listening to serious music, we find that the stronger the role of radio, the lower the sophistication of musical listening. This is shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3.—LEVEL OF MUSICAL TASTE ACCORDING TO ROLE OF RADIO IN MUSICAL DEVELOPMENT, AND PERIOD DURING WHICH INTEREST BEGAN

<i>Period at which interest began</i>	<i>Per cent of each group naming plus composers</i>		
	<i>Initiated</i>	<i>Nursed</i>	<i>Supplemented</i>
Before 1925		75.0	78.5
From 1925 to 1935	56.7	60.3	61.1
From 1935 to 1940	50.0	57.2	65.6

It is interesting to note that indeed the longer one has been interested in serious music, the higher the level of one's listening. This, however, does not affect the role of radio in determining the level of musical listening, both factors working independently of each other, and in this case cumulatively with the lowest level of listening being done by that group most recently interested and whose interest was also initiated by the radio.

APPENDIX II. ADDITIONAL TABLES

The following base figures refer to the tables of the same number in the text. They were omitted in order not to crowd the text, but are included here for reference.

TABLE 5.—SEX OF LISTENERS ACCORDING TO PERIOD DURING WHICH INTEREST BEGAN, SHOWING THE PERCENTAGE OF EACH GROUP ATTRIBUTING INTEREST TO RADIO

<i>Sex</i>	<i>Total number in each group</i>		
	<i>Before 1925</i>	<i>1925-1935</i>	<i>1935-1940</i>
Male	139	142	101
Female	136	98	43

TABLE 12.—RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RADIO AS AN INITIATOR OF MUSICAL INTEREST, LEVEL OF MUSICAL TASTE, AND ATTITUDE TOWARD RADIO MUSIC

<i>Level of musical taste</i>	<i>Total number in each group</i>		
	<i>High</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>
High	100	114	138
Low	43	46	81

RADIO AND THE PRESS AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE

APPENDIX I. DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

This investigation is a second endeavor to analyze the news habits of a group of young people. In May 1938 the original study by the Office of Radio Research under the supervision of Hazel Gaudet aborted through a misunderstanding on the part of the co-operating high school administrator as to the sampling requirements. The important contribution of the first investigation was the questionnaire, which for the present study was modified in the light of experience. The most important modification was the expansion of the current events section of the original questionnaire from four general questions to a test of current-event knowledge. Whole-hearted co-operation on the part of the school administration made it possible to procure, for the present investigation (which was made in a separate school system from that of the original study) the intelligence score of every youngster in the universe from which the sample was chosen.

Sampling Technique

The sample of 1,200 youngsters was drawn from six school grades in two schools. One hundred boys and one hundred

girls were chosen from each grade of Junior High School No. 4 (which was considered to be the most representative junior school of Trenton) and Central High School (the one senior high school of the city). The sample was limited to white youngsters.

In the junior school, where the cafeteria was available for the administration of the schedule, it was possible to pre-select a random sample from the fifty-five individual alphabetical classroom lists. In the senior high school it was not possible to assemble a pre-selected group at one time. Fortunately, however, the population of the study hall (approximately 600 youngsters) was a cross-section of the school population during each of the six hours of the day. This was so because when the curricula were devised in September the youngsters were tentatively scheduled for six hours of classroom work. Then in providing study time, one-sixth of the youngsters in each classroom throughout the day was assigned to the study hall. So far as the school administration is aware, no bias operated in the selection of youngsters for any particular study hour, except in the case of athletes and boys with after-school jobs, many of whom were scheduled for study during the last hour and were excused for extra curricular activities. However, since the study hall contained a cross-section of the school population, the lower classes had larger representation than the senior class. To insure adequate representation of upperclassmen the schedules were administered to 1,200 students during the second and third study hours. The filled-in questionnaires were sorted in al-

phabetical order by grade and sex. Then a random sample of 100 boys and 100 girls was selected from each of the three grades represented.

Structure of the Sample

The analysis relates responses mainly to sex, grade and intelligence. In isolating the effect of grade and intelligence the grade-sex samples were paired; grades 7 and 8, 9 and 10, 11 and 12, and each sex-grade group was divided into two equal groups, the "High I.Q." group consisting of the first two I.Q. quartiles and the "Low I.Q." group consisting of the third and fourth I.Q. quartiles.

This method of controlling intelligence assumes that the scatter of intelligence scores in each grade-sex sample is alike in terms of central tendency and dispersion. The assumption, probably safe enough for our purpose, may require some qualification.

Measures of Intelligence

Intelligence measurements were determined from school records of scores on group tests of mental ability. In Junior 4 results on the Otis Intermediate Examination: Form B (an "intelligence" test) were available. In Central High School scores on the Van Wagenen Unit Scales of Aptitude (a scholastic aptitude test) were the only scores available. The correlation between scores on these tests, in so far as the author can learn, has never been determined. However, since the

distributions of scores for the two tests have about the same character it was thought that the distinction between "intelligence" as measured by the Otis test and "aptitude" as measured by the Unit Scales of Aptitude, was relatively unimportant for the present purpose, which was to divide the young people into "intelligence" quartiles and halves to isolate the effect of intelligence or ability on behavior.

Intelligence Scores as a Test of Representativeness of Sample

In determining the representativeness of the sample of boys and girls taken from each grade, the intelligence scores of the total populations of the two schools, as of October 1939, were compiled and the distributions of intelligence scores for each grade-sex group of the sample and the universe were compared. Curves were drawn comparing the percentile distributions of intelligence scores of each grade-sex sample with those of each grade-sex universe and with those of the total sex universes, but are excluded because of space limitations. They indicate for boys:

That the 7th grade sample and the 7th grade universe tend to be inferior to the total sex universe in intelligence.

That the 8th and 10th grade samples tend to be superior to the 8th and 10th grade universes and the total sex universe in intelligence.

That the 9th, 11th and 12th grade samples and the 9th, 11th and 12th grade universes closely approximate the total sex universe in intelligence.

And for girls:

That the 7th, 10th and 11th grade samples correspond quite well in regard to intelligence to the grade universes and the total sex universe.

That the 8th and 9th grade samples and grade universes tend to be superior to the total sex universe in intelligence.

That the 12th grade sample tends to be superior in intelligence to the 12th grade universe and the total sex universe.

A test of the representativeness of the sample, in regard to intelligence, by the use of the Chi-square distribution indicates the following approximate probabilities¹ of getting χ^2 's by random sampling as great or greater than the values obtained.

TABLE 1.—PROBABILITIES OF APPROXIMATING RANDOM SAMPLING

Grade	Boys			Girls		
	χ^2	<i>n</i>	Approx. <i>P</i>	χ^2	<i>n</i>	Approx. <i>P</i>
7	3.08	6	.50	3.95	4	.43
8	9.47	4	.05	3.00	5	.70
913	4	.99	3.92	4	.43
10	4.94	4	.30	4.74	4	.30
11	3.96	4	.43	4.47	4	.35
12	3.92	4	.43	14.86	5	.01
All grades ..	25.50	26	.50	34.92	26	.10

A free interpretation of this result might be that the sample seems to be a chance distribution, and that divergences between grade portions of our sample and corresponding portions of the universe are a matter of bad luck.

¹ G. U. Yule and M. G. Kendall, *An Introduction to the Theory of Statistics*, 11 Ed., London: Charles Griffin and Company, Ltd., 1937, pp. 413-433.

R. A. Fisher, *Statistical Methods for Research Workers*, 2nd Ed., London: Oliver & Boyd, 1928, pp. 75-98.

T. C. Fry, *Probability and Its Engineering Uses*, New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1928, pp. 265-315.

Uncontrolled Factors

Some factors in the sample, because of the practical limitations of quantitative analysis, were left uncontrolled except in so far as they were related to grade or intelligence. Three of them, course in school, age and socio-economic background, require some discussion.

Youngsters in Trenton after they have finished the seventh grade "choose" their courses in school with the advice and consent of the school administration. Their distribution by courses is more or less determined by their abilities and special aptitudes. Since intelligence scores for the youngsters are available, their course in school has not been used for any special tabulations.

Age distributions of the sample are not given because there is reason to believe that the ambiguity of Question 3 of the schedule precluded the possibility of accurate responses. The loss is probably not a great one since school grade is for obvious reasons a better measure of maturity in a school population than is chronological age.

There are indications that in social and economic measures significant differences occur between the Junior 4 and the Central High School samples. The discussion of these measures is therefore limited to the differences between the junior school (seventh through ninth grade) and high school (grades ten through twelve) populations.

A significant bias in regard to social status exists between these two portions of our sample as will be readily seen in the following:

TABLE 2.—SOCIAL STATUS IN THE TWO SCHOOLS

<i>School</i>	Number		<i>Total</i>
	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	
Junior high school ^a	162	437	599
Senior high school ^a	271	328	599
Total	433	765	1,198

^a One case in which social status was not ascertainable.

However, reference to Table 19 in the text will show that the influence of social status on news information is slight and that intelligence is the controlling factor.

Almost all (98.5 per cent) of the youngsters are native, but about 60 per cent of them have foreign or mixed parentage. In only a third of the junior school families as compared to about one-half of the high school families are both parents native. The disproportionate number of Italian parents in the junior school sample is shown in the following table:

TABLE 3.—BIRTHPLACE OF PARENTS IN THE TWO SCHOOLS

	<i>Junior high</i>	<i>High school</i>
United States	42.2	56.0
Italy	30.7	16.2
All other	27.1	27.8
Total per cent	100.0	100.0
Total number ^a	1,181	1,182

^a Excludes 37 cases not ascertainable.

In comparing the two schools it will be seen that there are twice as many Italian parents represented in the junior school

sample as in the high school sample. The following tables are evidence, however, that the disproportionate number of youngsters of Italian descent in the two parts of the sample does not seriously affect the results.

TABLE 4.—AVERAGE NEWS DISCUSSION SCORE OF ITALIANS COMPARED WITH ALL OTHERS ON DIFFERENT GRADE AND INTELLIGENCE LEVELS

Grade	<i>Upper intelligence half</i>				<i>Lower intelligence half</i>			
	<i>Italian^a</i>		<i>Other</i>		<i>Italian^a</i>		<i>Other</i>	
	No.	Score	No.	Score	No.	Score	No.	Score
	<i>Boys</i>							
7 and 8 ...	38	2.4	62	2.3	55	2.2	45	1.9
9 and 10 ...	26	2.4	74	2.5	40	2.2	60	2.2
11 and 12 ...	13	2.5	87	2.5	27	2.3	73	2.5
	<i>Girls</i>							
7 and 8 ...	37	1.7	63	1.9	44	1.8	56	1.5
9 and 10 ...	23	1.8	77	2.1	33	1.8	67	2.1
11 and 12 ...	17	1.9	83	1.9	31	2.2	69	1.9

^a Father and/or mother of Italian nationality or descent.

TABLE 5.—AVERAGE INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT OF ITALIANS COMPARED WITH ALL OTHERS ON DIFFERENT GRADE AND INTELLIGENCE LEVELS^a

Grade	<i>Upper intelligence half</i>		<i>Lower intelligence half</i>	
	<i>Italian</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Italian</i>	<i>Other</i>
	Mean I.Q.	Mean I.Q.	Mean I.Q.	Mean I.Q.
	<i>Boys</i>			
7 and 8	105.3	109.4	81.9	83.4
9 and 10	108.7	108.9	86.0	87.9
11 and 12	102.2	105.3	84.2	86.0
	<i>Girls</i>			
7 and 8	105.6	109.4	88.1	86.3
9 and 10	107.0	109.6	87.9	88.3
11 and 12	105.5	108.2	87.6	87.7

^a The number on which each average score is based may be seen in Appendix I, Table 4.

TABLE 6.—AVERAGE NEWS INFORMATION SCORE OF ITALIANS COMPARED WITH ALL OTHERS ON DIFFERENT GRADE AND INTELLIGENCE LEVELS ^a

Grade	<i>Upper intelligence half</i>		<i>Lower intelligence half</i>	
	<i>Italian</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Italian</i>	<i>Other</i>
	<i>Mean score</i>	<i>Mean score</i>	<i>Mean score</i>	<i>Mean score</i>
<i>Boys</i>				
7 and 8	10.8	11.7	7.8	9.8
9 and 10	15.1	15.5	13.8	13.5
11 and 12	17.9	17.7	14.8	15.7
<i>Girls</i>				
7 and 8	7.7	9.0	5.4	6.1
9 and 10	12.0	13.2	10.2	11.2
11 and 12	13.6	15.3	14.8	13.2

^a The number on which each average score is based may be seen in Appendix I, Table 4.

APPENDIX II. THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Princeton University Radio Research Project

TRENTON HIGH SCHOOLS NEWS STUDY

-
- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. Name</p> <p>2. Sex: Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. Age</p> <p>4. Birthplace</p> <p>5. Course in school</p> <p>6. Grade in school</p> <p>7. Home room</p> <p>8. Occupation of father
(be specific)</p> <p>9. Type of business</p> <p>10. Birthplace of father</p> <p>11. If father born in U. S. give nationality or descent</p> <p>12. Birthplace of mother</p> | <p>13. If mother born in U. S. give nationality or descent</p> <p>14. Languages spoken at home besides English</p> <p>15. Do you have a mechanical refrigerator? Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>16. Do you have a telephone in your home? Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>17. Is there a radio in your home?
One <input type="checkbox"/> More than one <input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>18. Does your family own an automobile?
Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>19. If yes, what year was your car made?</p> |
|--|---|
-
20. Have you been discussing current affairs in school within the last week or two?
Yes No

-
21. From which of the following sources do you get most of your news?
 Don't follow the news Conversation with family Conversation with friends
 Newspapers Movie newsreels Magazines School Radio
 Other
-
22. Where do you prefer to get your news, from the radio or the newspapers? Radio
 Newspapers
-
23. In what grade were you when you first began to follow the news?
-
24. How did you first become interested in the news? If a person had anything to do with your first interest, who was that person? (CHECK ONE)
 Parent Other family member Teacher Friend Other person
 If it was not a person who first interested you in the news, how did you first become interested?
-
25. Do you usually discuss the daily news with your family? Yes No With your friends? Yes No In school? Yes No
-
26. Did you discuss any item of news with your family yesterday? Yes No
 If yes, what type of news did you discuss?
-
27. Did you discuss any item of news with your friends yesterday? Yes No
 If yes, what type of news did you discuss?
-
28. Was there a classroom discussion of the news yesterday? Yes No
 If yes, what type of news was discussed?
-
29. What, in your own opinion, were the most important news items in the last few days? Tell one or more specific events.
-
30. What was the topic of conversation at the dinner table in your home last night?
 Family matters Sports Current events Neighborhood news School affairs Other (Explain)

-
31. What newspapers are brought to your home daily?
 A.
 B.
 C.
 Don't know None
-
32. What papers do you take in connection with school work?
 A.
 B.
 C.
 None
-
33. Aside from the headlines, what do you read regularly in the newspapers?
 Local and state political events National politics Foreign news Ad-
 vertisements Pictures Editorials Crime news Society Con-
 tinued stories Sports Movies Book reviews Comics Colum-
 nists None
-
34. How often do you read a daily newspaper?
 More than once a day Several times a week Once a day Occasion-
 ally Hardly ever
-
35. How often do you listen to news bulletins over the radio?
 More than once a day Several times a week Once a day Occasion-
 ally Hardly ever
-
36. Do your parents listen to news broadcasts fairly regularly? Yes No Don't
 know
-
37. Have you ever been directed, by a teacher, to listen to news broadcasts as an as-
 signment in connection with school work? Yes No If yes, have you had
 such an assignment within the last week or two? Yes No
-
38. Do you ever turn on news programs of your own accord? Yes No
-
39. What type of news programs do you prefer? Short news flashes read in five minute
 periods Fifteen minute news programs giving only facts News commenta-
 tors who give their own opinions and interpretations News commentators who
 try to give "inside dope" Dramatized news broadcasts Sports broadcasts
 Other
-
40. Do you think that much of the news we get in the newspapers and on the radio is
 biased? Yes No Have no opinion
-
41. Which do you think is more reliable? Radio news Newspapers Both reli-
 able Neither reliable Have no opinion
-

INFORMATION QUIZ ANSWER SHEET

- | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> | 16. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> | 17. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> | 18. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> | 19. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> | 20. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> | 21. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> | 22. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> | 23. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> | 24. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> | 25. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> | 26. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> | 27. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 13. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> | 28. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 14. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> | 29. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 15. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> | 30. A <input type="checkbox"/> | B <input type="checkbox"/> | C <input type="checkbox"/> | D <input type="checkbox"/> |

INFORMATION QUIZ

After you have answered the 41 NEWS QUESTIONS on pages 321 and 322, answer these questions on the INFORMATION QUIZ ANSWER SHEET, page 322. Read question No. 1. Decide whether A, B, C, or D is the correct answer. Suppose you decide that "D" is the correct answer, then on the ANSWER SHEET indicate your choice as follows:

1. A B C D

Answer all the questions in the same manner.

- The "open door" in China is being threatened by the actions of: *A. Russia—B. Germany—C. Great Britain—D. Japan*
- Which one of the following men is Governor of New Jersey? *A. Harold G. Hoffman—B. George Page—C. Harry Moore—D. Frank Hague*
- Which of the following countries is not on the Baltic Sea: *A. Bulgaria—B. Latvia—C. Finland—D. Lithuania*
- President Roosevelt recently nominated for the post of Secretary of the Navy: *A. Henry Woodring—B. Charles Edison—C. Diana Hopkins—D. Admiral Yarnell*
- Helsinki is a city in: *A. Poland—B. Roumania—C. Russia—D. Finland*
- John L. Lewis is an official of the: *A. C.I.O.—B. Civil Liberties Union—C. A. F. of L.—D. Communist Party*
- Senator Borah, who recently died, represented which of the following states: *A. New Jersey—B. Idaho—C. Missouri—D. Nebraska*
- A possible Republican candidate for the 1940 Presidential Election is: *A. Thomas E. Dewey—B. James Farley—C. Alben Barkley—D. John N. Garner*
- What Jerseyman has recently been appointed as Minister to Canada: *A. James H. Cromwell—B. Lester H. Clee—C. Chester I. Barnard—D. T. J. Rowe*
- President Roosevelt has recently nominated which one of the following men for Associate Justice of the Supreme Court: *A. Frank Murphy—B. Robert H. Jackson—C. Thomas E. Dewey—D. Ferdinand Pecora*

11. The National Chairman of the Finnish Relief Fund is: *A.* James Farley—*B.* Thomas E. Dewey—*C.* Herbert Hoover—*D.* F. A. Delano
12. The Foreign Commissar of Russia is: *A.* Molotov—*B.* Litvinoff—*C.* Kaganovitch—*D.* Beck
13. The head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation is: *A.* Arthur Capper—*B.* G. Edgar Hoover—*C.* Thomas E. Dewey—*D.* Richard E. Byrd
14. President Roosevelt has chosen, as his personal representative to the Vatican in Rome: *A.* Myron C. Taylor—*B.* Alben W. Barkley—*C.* Alfred E. Smith—*D.* Frank Murphy
15. The United States' note protesting the removal of American mail from American and other neutral ships was addressed to what warring power: *A.* Germany—*B.* Great Britain—*C.* France—*D.* Japan
16. Robert Taft is a Senator from: *A.* Massachusetts—*B.* Pennsylvania—*C.* Wisconsin—*D.* Ohio
17. Which one of the following countries has to date saved its independence: *A.* Austria—*B.* Czechoslovakia—*C.* Hungary—*D.* Poland
18. Adolf Hitler spent some time on Christmas Eve in which foreign country: *A.* France—*B.* Italy—*C.* Russia—*D.* Holland
19. On February 1, 1940, was celebrated the 150th anniversary of which American institution: *A.* U. S. Marine Corps—*B.* U. S. Postal Service—*C.* U. S. Supreme Court—*D.* The Pony Express
20. A store of arms was recently discovered to be in the illegal possession of Brooklyn members of which of the following organizations: *A.* Communist Party—*B.* Christian Front—*C.* Civil Liberties Union—*D.* Socialist Party
21. Hore-Belisha, who recently resigned from the British Cabinet, was the: *A.* Chancellor of the Exchequer—*B.* Prime Minister—*C.* War Secretary—*D.* First Lord of the Admiralty
22. Which of the following powers has recently addressed a strong note to Britain protesting the removal of 21 German sailors from a neutral ship: *A.* Japan—*B.* United States—*C.* Italy—*D.* Switzerland
23. President Roosevelt recently asked Congress to appropriate for 1941 the sum of \$1,839,000,000 for: *A.* Relief of Unemployment—*B.* Armaments—*C.* Reforestation—*D.* Free hospitals in rural areas
24. Transportation facilities have recently been severely hampered by a blizzard in which of the following countries: *A.* Italy—*B.* Argentina—*C.* England—*D.* Spain

APPENDIX III. ADDITIONAL TABLES

TABLE I.—NUMBER OF RADIOS OWNED

	<i>Per cent</i>
More than one radio	40.2
One radio	57.8
None	1.1
Not answered	0.9
Total per cent	100.0
Total number	1,200

The universality of the radio, as portrayed by Appendix Table I on p. 324, is not astonishing but it does seem significant that about 40 per cent of the homes represented in our sample have more than one radio available.

TABLE 2.—TYPE OF NEWSPAPERS RECEIVED AT HOME

	<i>Per cent</i>
Trenton and out-of-town newspapers	36.7
More than one Trenton newspaper	11.4
One Trenton only	36.4
Out-of-town only	4.1
English and foreign language	1.4
Foreign language only	0.7
Weekly paper only	0.2
None	6.9
Don't know and not answered	2.2
Total per cent	100.0
Total number	1,200

An interesting distribution of local and out-of-town newspapers exists in Trenton which is about thirty miles from Philadelphia and about sixty miles from New York. Less than half the families represented in our sample depend on local papers only.

TABLE 3.—NUMBER OF PERSONS ON WHOM AVERAGE SCORES IN TABLE 15 ARE BASED

<i>Radio-newspaper consumption groups</i>	<u>Grades 7 and 8</u>		<u>Grades 9 and 10</u>		<u>Grades 11 and 12</u>	
	<u>Intelligence</u>		<u>Intelligence</u>		<u>Intelligence</u>	
	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>
Radio and newspaper (RN)	77	40	98	74	113	94
Predominantly newspaper (rN)	35	15	33	35	46	47
Predominantly radio (Rn)	46	57	34	41	13	28
Poor in both sources (rn)	42	88	35	50	28	31
Total number	200	200	200	200	200	200

TABLE 4.—NUMBER OF PERSONS ON WHOM AVERAGE SCORES IN TABLE 21 ARE BASED

<i>Radio-newspaper consumption groups</i>	<i>Grades 7 and 8</i>		<i>Grades 9 and 10</i>		<i>Grades 11 and 12</i>	
	<i>Intelligence</i>		<i>Intelligence</i>		<i>Intelligence</i>	
	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>
	<i>Boys</i>					
Radio and newspaper (RN)	41	24	56	37	62	45
Predominantly newspaper (rN)	19	6	13	21	23	21
Predominantly radio (Rn)	26	27	17	20	5	15
Poor in both sources (rn)	14	43	14	22	10	19
Total number	100	100	100	100	100	100
	<i>Girls</i>					
Radio and newspaper (RN)	36	16	42	37	51	49
Predominantly newspaper (rN)	16	9	20	14	23	26
Predominantly radio (Rn)	20	30	17	21	8	13
Poor in both sources (rn)	28	45	21	28	18	12
Total number	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 5.—GRADE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF NEWS INFORMATION SCORES

Scores	Boys						Girls						Total	
	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total	7	8	9	10	11		12
0	4				1		5	7						7
1	1						1	5	2					7
2	5						5	9	2		1			12
3	2	2					6	4	7			1		13
4	3	4	1				8	10	6	2		1		20
5	6	5			1		12	5	6	3	2			16
6	9	3	1	1			14	19	13	7	3	2		44
7	9	5	3	2	2		21	9	10	8	6	2	2	37
8	4	11	3	1		2	21	12	10	10	1	5	2	40
9	13	3	7	3	6	1	33	8	6	8	10	6	5	43
10	10	8	8	4	5		35	4	9	5	10	7	3	38
11	8	9	11	5	5		38	3	7	15	8	9	4	46
12	9	8	9	8	4	3	41	1	4	3	9	11	5	33
13	5	11	7	9	5	4	41	2	5	10	9	11	9	46
14	6	4	6	7	6	9	38	1	2	6	9	10	11	39
15		10	5	9	10	6	40	1	4	6	3	7	8	29
16	3	8	7	7	9	8	42		3	3	14	7	11	38
17	2	2	9	12	7	11	43		3	6	3	2	4	18
18		2	9	9	9	13	42		3	2	5	8	10	26
19		2	4	9	11	10	36		1	2	2	3	5	12
20	1	1	3	7	8	12	32		2	2	2	4	9	15
21		2	2	4	4	6	18		1	1	3	1	7	12
22		2	3	4	3	9	19		1	1	1	2	3	6
23						6	6		1			1		2
24					3		3						1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	600	100	100	100	100	100	100	600
Average score ..	8.7	11.4	13.5	15.5	15.5	17.7	13.7	5.9	8.5	11.2	12.6	13.3	15.4	11.1

TABLE 6.—RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INTELLIGENCE AND SOCIAL STATUS

<i>Intelligence quartiles</i>	<i>Junior high school</i>			<i>Senior high school</i>			<i>Total</i>		
	<i>Social status^a</i>			<i>Social status</i>			<i>Social status</i>		
	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Total</i>
High	56	94	150	84	66	150	140	160	300
Upper middle	42	108	150	74	76	150	116	184	300
Lower middle ^b	35	115	150	59	90	149	94	205	299
Low ^b	29	120	149	54	96	150	83	216	299
Total	162	437	599	271	328	599	433	765	1,198

^a Social status measured by family ownership of automobile, mechanical refrigerator and telephone subscription. High social status—family possesses two or three of these conveniences. Low social status—family possesses one or none of these conveniences.

^b One case in which social status was not ascertainable.

That a marked correspondence exists between social status and intelligence will be readily seen in Appendix Table 6. The relationship is more obvious for the high school portion of the sample than for the junior school portion. This is interesting in light of the fact that intelligence differences between grades are slight (Appendix I). The simplest explanation of these relationships, of course, is to be found in the age differences between the fathers of youngsters in each school. A more hazardous explanation involves the fact that more of the junior school youngsters are of foreign or mixed parentage. Assuming that intelligent parents tend to have intelligent children we might hazard the hypothesis that intelligent natives are more likely to achieve a fair standard of living than are intelligent foreigners.

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