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Manuscripts, books for review, and editorial and business correspondence should be addressed to the Editor, **JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING**, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122.

ELLIOT N. SIVOWITCH

A Technological Survey of Broadcasting's “Pre-History,” 1876-1920

Although the JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING commemorated broadcasting's 50th anniversary more than a decade ago (see the Fall, 1959 issue), it was not until 1970 that the golden anniversary of American broadcasting was celebrated nationwide. Yet, before the initial broadcasts of KDKA and WWJ in 1920, there was almost another half-century of technological development. This technological base consisted of experimental work in both wired and wireless telephony, and included many “dead ends” as well as many developments that led to the fruition of broadcasting.

In the following article, Elliot Sivowitch, of the Division of Electricity and Nuclear Energy of the Smithsonian Institution, covers the high points of the “pre-history” of broadcasting, with emphasis on developments in the United States prior to 1920. A forthcoming issue of the JOURNAL will feature a companion article, tracing developments of the first decade of broadcasting itself through analysis of the history of significant early stations, which is being prepared by Joseph E. Baudino of the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company.

IN the period prior to 1876, the telegraph, in its various forms, was the principal rapid news conveyor throughout the world. The transmission of information in this manner can be construed as “broadcasting” only if one interprets the usual definition (“the dissemination of radio communications intended to be received by the public, directly or by the intermediary of relay stations”) in the sense of “wide dissemination of information, not necessarily at the same point in time.” For the purposes of this paper, we will use a very broad definition and will include experiments that might more properly be related to point-to-point communication than to current definitions of broadcasting.

Wired Broadcasting

The telephone's introduction in 1876 forced a revolution in communication capability with wide ranging social and economic implications. Not only could more words per minute be transmitted, in both directions, but anybody could use the telephone without special training in code. This magic of voice transmission over wire led 19th century innovators to serious thoughts concerning the transmission of news and entertainment simultaneously and instantaneously to multiple receiving points. Although broadcasting by wire was hampered by equipment limitations with regard to fidelity and amplification, the idea was sufficiently intriguing to be explored by engineers both in this country and in Europe. Commercial development, however, was considerably greater abroad, where sound "rediffusion" (analogous in many ways to CATV) still exists in many places.

The beginnings of wired broadcasting can be traced to a "pre-telephone" transition period after 1860, when a number of experimenters were developing methods for transmitting musical tones over telegraph wire lines. These activities may have culminated in the work of Elisha Gray, who conducted several tests of "electroharmonic" broadcasting to audiences in 1874 and 1875.¹ Following a successful demonstration by Alexander Graham Bell of the speaking telephone at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, the possibilities of using it as a broadcast instrument were apparent. In the Fall of 1876, experimental "concerts" were transmitted over wire line by Bell from Paris to Brantford, Ontario, utilizing a "triple mouthpiece" telephone transmitter to accommodate several soloists. From 1876 through 1880 a variety of transmissions were conducted, both in this country and in Europe. The carbon transmitter, co-invented during this period by Edison, David Hughes and Emile Berliner, enormously increased the power output of the telephone. In 1881, Clement Ader, in France, conducted intensive investigations of wired stereophonic broadcasting at the Paris Electrical Exposition, and by 1895 various European Opera Houses were equipped with either stereo or monophonic telephone systems. In 1893 a commercial broadcasting system called the Telefon-Hirmando (Telephonic Newseller) began operation in Budapest, Hungary, and shortly afterward the Electrophone Company started service in London. The Budapest operation was a highly sophisticated system that provided regular news and music programming up

to 12 hours per day.² Although the European activities were reasonably successful, the United States did not see similar developments until the Cahill Telharmonium broadcasts more than a decade later.³ However, there were frequent occasions here of subscribers being "wired up" for specific church service broadcasts or special events. Of more than usual significance was the broadcasting of Congressional and local election returns by the Chicago Telephone Company on Nov. 6, 1894. It was estimated that more than 15,000 persons were reached by this novel transmission method.⁴

Loomis-Ward Aerial Conduction Telegraph

19th century thoughts on broadcasting were not limited to land line experimentation. On April 30, 1872, William Henry Ward of Auburn, New York, received a patent for a telegraphic tower (No. 126356) that might be said to embody the earliest conception of transmitting signals by wireless from a single antenna to a multiplicity of receiving aerials. In the wording of the patent:

Different towers may be erected on the different continents, and if they are all what is technically called hooked on—that is to say, connected to the earth—a signal given at one tower will be repeated at all the towers, they being connected with each other by the aerial current.

No mention of the telephone, of course, at this early date. However, a word of caution should be mentioned here. The "wireless" system described is that of *conduction transmission*, a technique developed by telegraph engineers after 1838 when it was discovered that two wires were not necessary to complete a circuit. One could be eliminated and a return made through the ground. All sorts of intriguing possibilities were then thought of, including the idea of communicating across bodies of water. The particular technique which Ward envisioned involved the elimination of both wires, the use of the ground and bodies of water as a substitute for one wire, and the "conducting atmosphere" in place of the other wire. The inspiration for communicating through the atmosphere in this manner appears to have developed from observations of the effect of the aurora borealis on telegraph lines. Auroral storms created all sorts of havoc on domestic telegraph circuits including the freak ability to send messages over wire line with induced currents, entirely eliminating the need for batteries. If such electricity in the upper atmosphere could be harnessed,

what a tremendous boon for global communications! We have no evidence however, that Ward actually built a tower (which, by the way, looks in the patent application drawing very much like the modern space-satellite communications antenna in Andover, Maine—although, of course, operating on entirely different principles) and conducted experiments. Ward was principally an independent inventor in mechanical technology, with a concentration in railway car coupling devices. However, during the 1850s and 60s he developed a rather sophisticated semaphore signalling system for maritime communication, and published a book describing his coded symbols in some detail.⁵ Sometime during this period he appears to have made the acquaintance of Mahlon Loomis and possibly was influenced by the latter's thoughts on conduction telegraphy. Loomis (1826-1886), a Washington D. C. dentist, was the principal 19th century exponent of aerial conduction communication. Loomis' thoughts on wireless transmission date back to the great auroral storm of 1859 which was particularly vexing to telegraph operators in the Northeast United States.⁶ Loomis seems to have conducted several tests in the Blue Ridge and Catoctin mountain ranges of Virginia and Maryland in the 1866-72 period but a detailed account of the equipment used and persons present is lacking. However, he obtained considerable support in Congress and probably would have received an appropriation had not the financial panic of 1873 struck.⁷ The most important question, of course, from the engineering point of view, is whether the Loomis-Ward system could have worked in terms of the design theory assigned to it. The answer is "no," with the qualification that under certain unusual conditions in the ionosphere, some deflection of the receiving galvanometer might be noticed. What is more likely is that Loomis radiated some electromagnetic energy from discharges of atmospheric electricity at the transmission end. Again, firm evidence is not at hand. Loomis was granted a patent for his system July 30, 1872.⁸

Although the aerial conduction scheme passed into obscurity, systems involving conduction through the ground appeared over the next few decades and have been revived in modern times. These, however, were viable systems without any question, though only over limited distances. So far as our broadcasting story is concerned, however, ground conduction becomes intertwined with certain other related phenomena in the developing telephone technology.

We mentioned earlier the experimental telephone "concerts" promoted soon after the instrument was introduced. In 1877, a telephone "broadcast" was made from New York City to Sarasota Springs, New York, using a newly developed Edison transmitter. The musical programming was heard accidentally in both Providence and Boston due to electrical leakages between adjacent sets of wires on trunk lines north of New York City. Although conduction leakage through the ground was the principal cause, *induction* through the air also was involved. Within both phenomena lay mechanisms for a new mode of communication: suppose one were to purposely cause induction of energy with large loops of wire, or conduction with stakes buried in the ground—would not a useful communication device result? This line of development appealed to several late 19th century personalities, though considerable thought toward wireless techniques of this general type was in evidence even prior to 1850.⁹ The crucial point to remember, however, is that the scientific base for induction-conduction communication was a natural outgrowth of conventional telegraph and telephone technology, and was not directly related to the Hertz-Marconi approach to wireless. The latter method employed *radiated* waves of high frequency which had the capability some distance. However, there are certain interrelationships between these various systems which we will describe in the following critical review of the work of one early "wireless broadcaster."

Nathan Stubblefield

Nathan B. Stubblefield (1860-1928), of Murray, Kentucky, was a self-taught tinkerer-experimenter. He is more in the tradition of Daniel Drawbaugh than Edison or any of the university savants.¹⁰ However, he has a persistent vision of the success of his method of communication and influenced several businessmen to finance commercial exploitation. His first claim to fame, however, came via local "acoustic telephone" hookups in Murray circa 1890.¹¹ Following investigations into induction and conduction telephony, he developed several types of apparatus and performed some public demonstrations prior to 1900. In March 1902 he succeeded in transmitting speech from a boat in the Potomac River to shore-based receivers. Inspired by this operation he boasted of the practicability of sending simultaneous messages from a "central distributing station" and of conveying the "general transmission of news."¹² However, commercial thoughts

were directed toward point-to-point communication. The Wireless Telephone Company of America was formed and an active stock promotion plan put into operation. Although the stock prospectus was quick to point out the virtues of a cheap wireless system versus the expensive Bell Telephone lines, the fact of the matter was that induction/conduction telephony was too marginal in distance capability to offer any serious competition to Bell. The Gordon Telephone Company of Charleston, South Carolina, did purchase some equipment to communicate with off-shore islands, but this was about the extent of the operation's success.¹³ Stubblefield became disillusioned with the stock promotion schemes of his financiers and withdrew to seclusion in his workshop. He did receive identical United States and Canadian patents in 1903 for the induction system¹⁴ and an examination of the basic principle may prove useful.

A battery and telephone were to be connected in series with a very large coil of wire (i.e. transmitting "antenna"). Upon speaking or singing into the microphone, audio frequency currents would flow in the loop, and an alternating current induction field would form in the vicinity of the "antenna." A pickup-loop mounted atop a moving vehicle would act as the receiving aerial and feed a simple telephone receiver. Now here is the critical point: most of the energy in the induction field is contained in the vicinity of the transmitting loop. The field, however, is varying at an audio-frequency, so far as this is concerned it obeys the same law as any varying field in space, regardless of frequency. Why isn't this radio? It turns out that we can determine from electromagnetic theory that there are three components of a varying electromagnetic field in space, one whose electric field intensity varies inversely as the cube of the distance, $1/R^3$ (static field), one inversely as the square of the distance, $1/R^2$ (induction field), and one inversely as the distance, $1/R$ (radiation field). Some energy is *radiated* away from the antenna at any frequency, but at *low frequencies* (i.e., voice and music) most of the energy is confined to the vicinity of the wire.¹⁵ The induction field is the principal component of the Stubblefield system, and this limited the transmission range of the system to something less than three miles. (This is not to be confused with the case where we superimpose voice or music on a higher radio frequency and make full use of radiation capability, as in modern broadcasting.)¹⁶

The mathematical processes and field theory outlined above were known in 1908, but at this stage of the game, the fine points of difference between the various wireless systems were not appreciated; after Marconi's work became known in this country many were quick to point out that Stubblefield had transmitted voice (not just Morse Code) via "wireless" as early as 1892.

Edison, Dolbear, Thomson and Stone

More than a decade before Stubblefield's first experiments, there was a line of development in which double-winding induction coils similar to the types employed in early telephone work and in physics laboratories were utilized. In some circuit configurations an induction field would predominate, and in others radiation capability existed, but the state of the art was such that most electricians and physicists failed to recognize the capability of the induction coil in the production of high frequency waves. Several persons were on the fringe of exciting discoveries but "missed the boat" by narrow margins. Included in this group were Thomas Edison and Elihu Thomson, who conducted a variety of investigations in the 1870s in which electrical sparks produced by a generator could be detected at a distance.¹⁷ Only Heinrich Hertz, in Germany, really understood what was going on. His brilliant experimental proof of Scottish physicist James Clerk-Maxwell's theoretical predictions took place in 1888. However, the most significant work from the wireless telephone standpoint was performed by Amos Emerson Dolbear, Professor of Physics at Tufts College.¹⁸ Dolbear, in the early 1880s, conducted a number of experiments with induction coils, carbon and condenser telephone transmitters, and batteries in a wireless set-up with grounded wires at both ends of a communications link. The system was fully described in the *Scientific American* of Dec. 11, 1886 and a patent was awarded (No. 350299). Transmission range (mostly induction field) was limited to something less than one mile. Following the development of true radiation wireless telegraphy more than a decade later, it was realized that Dolbear's circuit configuration created a borderline situation in which he probably radiated electromagnetic energy to greater distances but lacked a suitable detector. The Dolbear patent was later used by the De-Forest radio interests in an attempt to prove priority over Marconi.¹⁹

By the mid-1890s a variety of experimentation in induction telegraphy and telephony was in evidence. However, the concept of modulating a high frequency carrier wave with voice perhaps can be ascribed to John Stone Stone who, in 1892, utilized both induction coils and alternating current generators in experiments designed by AT&T to communicate by telephone with ships at sea. Although the inspiration for this series of investigations came from the work of Hertz and Tesla, and preceded Marconi by several years, Stone fell short of "inventing" radio partly by reason of the aforementioned confusion of induction with radiation, and partly by lack of appreciation of the need for such appliances as antennas and modulation detectors.²⁰

Reginald Fessenden

The credit for a major breakthrough in superimposing voice or music information on a high frequency "carrier" goes to Reginald A. Fessenden (1866-1932), whose persistence along these experimental lines culminated in what many regard as the first broadcast using a reliable continuous wave generator (the high frequency alternator) from Brant Rock, Massachusetts, on Christmas Eve, 1906.

The high frequency alternator essentially was a type of alternating current generator that produced "continuous waves" in the radio frequency range. The term "high frequency" is a misnomer by modern standards, since the device operated under 100 kHz. Although developed by Elihu Thomson and Nikola Tesla in the late 1880s, Fessenden probably was the first to apply it to radio communication.

Fessenden became interested in wireless during the embryo period of the 1890s, but realized very soon that conventional spark oscillators used for radiotelegraphy created too high a distortion level to make the radiotelephone practical. However, he conducted some tests along these lines in December, 1900, at Rock Point, Md. (Cobb Island, 50 miles south of Washington, D. C.) where distances up to one mile were bridged.²¹ He seems not to have had a really adequate detector on the receiving end, but the system was patented in 1902 (No. 706747) and constitutes the earliest registered invention in the United States for a radiotelephone system employing Hertzian waves. Some commercial radiotelephone sets using the spark system were marketed by Fessenden.

At the turn of the century, another development occurred which proved crucial for the growth of experimental broadcasting. This was the application of the high frequency arc to wireless. The oscillating arc was basically a circuit arrangement that included two carbon electrodes activated by high voltage and shunted by suitable inductance and capacitance. Investigated by Elihu Thomson in 1889, it was not until further work after 1900 by William Duddell in England and Valdemar Poulsen in Denmark that frequencies high enough for radio transmission could be realized. Although the arc did produce "continuous waves" and was a favorite of other experimenters, Fessenden felt uncomfortable with it because of its high distortion level and instability.²² As a result, he asked Charles Steinmetz of the General Electric Company to construct a 10,000 cycle alternator for him that would have some capability for modulation with voice or music information. Tests with this machine were made at the Washington, D. C. laboratory of the newly formed National Electric Signalling Company in 1905. Results were encouraging enough to construct a higher frequency machine for the use at NESCO's Brant Rock, Massachusetts installation. The engineering team at Schenectady was headed by E. F. W. Alexanderson, a talented young Swedish electrical engineer. An alternator was delivered to Fessenden in 1906, and after many technical difficulties made ready for its debut. On Nov. 21, 1906, a variety of scientific dignitaries, including Greenleaf W. Pickard and Elihu Thomson, witnessed tests in which speech was successfully transmitted 11 miles between Brant Rock and Plymouth, Mass.²³ A phonograph was on hand and was used to transmit music over the airwaves. On Christmas Eve, 1906, Fessenden and his group at Brant Rock presented a program of varied content for the holiday occasion; this was advertised to ship operators of the United Fruit Co. three days in advance. A similar schedule was presented on New Year's Eve. Ship reports of reception came from points as far away as Norfolk and the West Indies. The programming was described by Fessenden:

First a short speech by me saying what we were going to do, then some phonograph music . . . the music on the phonograph being Handel's "Largo." Then came a violin solo by me, being a composition by Gounod called "O, Holy Night," and ending up with the words "Adore and be still" which I sang one verse of, in addition to playing the violin, though the singing, of course, was not very good. Then came the Bible text, "Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace

to men of good will," and we finally wound up by wishing them a Merry Christmas and then saying that we proposed to broadcast again New Year's Eve.

The Broadcast on New Year's Eve was the same as before, except that the music was changed and I got someone else to sing. I had not picked myself to do the singing, but on Christmas Eve I could not get any of the others to either talk, sing or play and consequently had to do it all myself. On New Year's Eve one man — I think it was Stein — agreed to sing and did sing, but none of the others either sang or talked.²⁴

NESCO continued experimental work on the radiotelephone in July, 1907, and obtained distances up to 180 miles. The following excerpt from the log of wireless enthusiast Francis Hart shows the description of the transmission as received in the New York harbor area on Feb. 11, 1908, at 1:16 p.m.:

Wireless phone at Jamaica and other must be at Brant Rock, Mass. Phone very clear except for a rasping noise that mingles with the voice . . . I managed to get the following and could probably have obtained more except for "9" and etc.

"How's that now" "open up a little more"

"You came in louder than that yesterday"

Could hear music as clear as voice from weaker station but couldn't make out words from other station although they came in fair.²⁵

Although NESCO's wireless telephone activities continued for a time, the company ran into economic and administrative difficulties. The Bell System was quite impressed with Fessenden's wireless telephone, but AT&T suffered a major reorganization following the financial panic of 1907 and interest cooled. Fessenden and his financial backers also were on poor terms for several years, and the inventor was forced to leave the company in 1911. The following year NESCO went into receivership, though the organization continued in research and development activities until its purchase by Westinghouse in 1921. The alternator, for all its wizardry in wireless telephony, was too cumbersome a machine and the engineering fraternity preferred to endure the higher distortion level in the more portable Poulsen arc. The alternator's significance in radiotelegraphy would overshadow other use, as would its political effect in the battle over control of the early radio industry in the period during World War I and thereafter.

DeForest and the Arc Radiotelephone

Of all the members of the early wireless engineering fraternity, perhaps Lee DeForest, more than any other, had some vision of the broadcasting potential of the wireless telephone. Although possessing a Ph.D. in physics from the Sheffield School at Yale (1896), DeForest basically was an experimental electrician in the tradition of Edison rather than a mathematician such as Maxwell or Kelvin. He foresaw, at an early date, the application of the high frequency arc to modulated radio frequency transmission. In December, 1906, he succeeded in transmitting voice across his laboratory room in the Parker Building (19th Street and 4th Avenue, Manhattan) to a receiver employing a vacuum tube detector.²⁶ A number of experimental broadcasts were made early in 1907, and were picked up by ship operators in New York harbor.

In the summer of 1907 DeForest and his assistant, Frank Butler, went to Put-in-Bay on Lake Erie to report the Interlakes Association regatta from a radiotelephone installation aboard the *Thelma*. The Navy Department watched these activities closely and became aware of the potential of voice transmission as a tactical communication device. It should be noted, incidentally, that to promote this new invention the DeForest Radio Telephone Company was organized earlier in the year and a subsidiary, the Radio Telephone Company, was formed for the purpose of developing DeForest's patents. In September, the Navy ordered two complete transmitting and receiving units for installation aboard the *U.S.S. Connecticut* and *U.S.S. Virginia*. Trials were held in Cape Cod Bay, and were so successful that the Navy ordered another two dozen sets for installation aboard Admiral Evans' "Great White Fleet," which was scheduled to depart for an around-the-world cruise on December 16. DeForest and his co-workers slaved night and day to get the equipment ready. Due to hasty procedures and other technical problems, some of the transmitters were inoperable, but several vessels, including the *U.S.S. Ohio*, continued to experiment for the duration of the voyage.²⁷ By January, 1908, the arc aboard the *Ohio* was made sufficiently stable to operate for several hours at a time. Radio-telephone broadcasts were made to the assembled U. S. and Brazilian fleets and later to British and Chilean vessels as the expedition moved along the South American coastline. In April, while the fleet anchored at Long Beach, Calif.,

the radio crew aboard the Ohio procured a phonograph and proceeded to entertain local radio operators. The inspiration for these broadcasting activities may have come from some of DeForest's tests at the Brooklyn Navy Yard prior to the sailing of the Connecticut and the Virginia for New England waters. It was here that contralto Madame von Boos Farrar sang "I Love You Truly" and "Just-a-Wearyin' for You" to the radio operators in the port. On April 23, 1908 the DeForest Company gave a banquet in Los Angeles for the Fleet wireless telephone crew. Roscoe Kent, one of DeForest's assistants, casually mentioned to the assembled group that this was the "first meeting of radio broadcasters."

Admiral Evans' fleet continued its cruise to the Orient where additional radiotelephone programs were "beamed" to the Japanese Fleet at Yokohama harbor, and upon continuation of the journey eastward similar activities were conducted near ports in Ceylon, Arabia, Egypt, Greece, Turkey, and Gibraltar. Broadcasts also were made to several ocean-going liners. Upon return to the Brooklyn Navy Yard in March, 1909, the equipment was placed in storage. The Navy was not again equipped for wireless telephony until 1917.

A corollary episode was taking place about this time in New York City that has some bearing on our story. Dr. Thaddeus Cahill, a scientist from Holyoke, Mass., demonstrated a sophisticated musical tone system before a meeting of the New York Electrical Society in September, 1906. The new device was called a "Dynamophone" or "Telharmonium," and consisted of a bank of alternating current generators controlled to give musical tones of varying combinations. The Cahill Telharmonium Company occupied a large building at 39th Street and Broadway. The musical transmissions were played on an organ-type console and fed from the generating plant to distribution lines leading to various halls and restaurants where receiving telephonic speakers were installed. The system can well be termed the first serious venture into a background music system in this country. However, owing to the Bell Telephone Company's reluctance to give permission for use of conventional telephone lines (fearing damage to equipment), plans to extend the service to individual subscribers were seriously hampered. The Cahill Company was intrigued by DeForest's wireless telephone and gave permission for a trial broadcast of Telharmonium music over the air waves.²⁸ The programs took place in February and March of 1907 but apparently were not extended

further. One can only conjecture that the audio quality left much to be desired. DeForest at this time was using Poulsen's version of the arc, but attempting to improve performance by substituting steam for hydrogen.

While Admiral Evans' "Great White Fleet" was on its round-the-world trip, DeForest traveled to Europe and conducted several spectacular wireless telephone demonstrations from the Eiffel Tower, Paris, in Spezia, Italy and in Portsmouth harbor, England. Upon return to the United States, he occupied himself with several matters relating to his equipment manufacturing activities, though the radio-telephone was still operated almost daily. He returned to an intense interest in musical broadcasting during the winter of 1909. Then he made the acquaintance of Andreas Dippel, assistant director of the Metropolitan Opera House and, outlining the past experiences with the Telharmonium and phonograph, persuaded the management to allow experimental broadcast of grand opera. The principal event occurred January 13, 1910, when *Cavalleria Rusticana* and *I Pagliacci* were transmitted, with several famous soloists including Ricardo Martin and Enrico Caruso. This activity actually was conducted in conjunction with the National Dictograph Company, whose president Kelley M. Turner had designed a new "acousticon" pick-up microphone for stage use. The tests were arranged both to determine the feasibility of broadcasting opera to telephone subscribers over wire line, and to check out the similar capability of wireless. Although the broadcasts were reasonably successful, and repeated again later with staff from the Manhattan Opera Company, one can safely conclude that limitations in audio fidelity and instability problems with the arc made commercial exploitation premature. The Radio Telephone Company became the victim of early stock promotion schemes and went bankrupt in 1911. DeForest then transferred his activities to the West Coast and went to work for the Federal Telegraph Company.

In 1915, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company conducted significant tests in radiotelephony at the site of Navy station NAA, Arlington, Va. Using banks of vacuum tubes in oscillator and modulator circuits, signals were transmitted across the Atlantic and were heard as far away as Honolulu.²⁹ Possibly with this event as the stimulus, DeForest picked up his broadcasting activities again, this time from High Bridge in the Bronx. A new company backed the venture, the DeForest Radio Telephone and Telegraph Company, bol-

stered with 5 years of advance in technology and a firmer patent position. Of particular interest was the manufacture of "oscillion" transmitting tubes, now being produced with power ratings up to 125 watts. DeForest installed a transmitter at the Columbia Gramophone Building on 38th St. and began daily broadcasts of phonograph music with the Columbia company as the sponsor. The transmitting site was later moved back to the High Bridge tower. On election night, November 7, 1916, DeForest broadcast the Hughes-Wilson election returns for some six hours—erroneously proclaiming at 11p.m. (as did several newspapers) that the winner was Charles Evans Hughes.³⁰

The U. S. entry into World War I shut down all non-Government radio operations in 1917, but two years later DeForest set up operations again at the High Bridge location with call letters 2XG.³¹ Phonograph records this time were supplied by the Brunswick-Balke-Collender Company, which acted as sponsor. Richard Klein, of the DeForest sales organization, was the program director. In December, 1919, concert singer Vaughn de Leath appeared as soloist and made several broadcasts. The station later moved its facilities to the World Tower Building at 46th and Broadway to utilize better antenna facilities, but DeForest neglected to get a Government permit for the new location and the operation was ordered closed by the district federal radio inspector. This, together with other vexing legal troubles, prompted the inventor to once again head West. In San Francisco, the High Bridge transmitter was re-installed in the California Theater Building and daily broadcasts were made with Herman Heller's orchestral group. From this point on the story of the DeForest broadcasting activities becomes involved with the attempt of a group called the Radio News and Music Company to interest newspaper owners in the purchase of DeForest radiotelephone transmitters. The Detroit *Daily News* did so, and herein lies the start of the story of WWJ, whose predecessor 8MK began operation August 20, 1920, an event that will be recounted in a future article in the JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING.

West Coast Radiotelephony

The critical role of the high frequency arc and alternator in the growth of radiotelephony has been stressed. These devices were "continuous wave" generators, and were only reliable tools for voice modulation techniques prior to development of the vacuum tube oscillator. However, Marconi-type "damped wave" transmitters didn't necessarily preclude telephony if distortion caused by the spark ir-

regularity and low spark frequency could be minimized. In practice this was difficult to do, though Fessenden, as we have indicated, made some efforts in this direction.

" In 1902, an amateur operator from San Francisco, Francis McCarty, began to experiment in spark telephony with a view toward development of a commercial system. The Henshaw brothers, influential bankers of Oakland, California, were persuaded to invest some capital in the new venture. However, McCarty was fatally injured in a motorcycle accident in 1906, and the project was temporarily interrupted pending the search for new engineering advice and leadership. In 1908, Cyril Elwell, an electrical engineering student at Stanford, was persuaded to join the McCarty Wireless Telephone Co. as a consultant.³² He proceeded to set up experimental broadcasting with a phonograph supplying the program content. Elwell realized that the McCarty system worked best when the transmitter spark gap was so narrow that the system operated as a quasi-arc, providing nearly continuous waves. Experiments were continued from the Company's Palo Alto laboratory until early 1909. At that time, Elwell advised the management that it would be useless to play around further with spark gaps, and that the Poulsen arc held the real future for wireless engineering. Elwell discovered that the U. S. patent rights for Poulsen's invention had not yet been granted. An inquiry to the Danish inventor revealed that something in the neighborhood of one-quarter million dollars was considered the proper "ball-park" figure. The Henshaw brothers were, however, disinterested in putting further investment capital into such new and uncertain ventures, and sold the laboratory to Elwell for a low figure. The account of how a young Stanford graduate then proceeded to buy the U. S. rights to a significant invention is a fabulous story that we have insufficient space to treat here; suffice it say that Elwell formed the Poulsen Wireless Telegraph and Telephone Co. with support from the Stanford faculty and a certain amount of good fortune perhaps possible only in the first decade of the 20th century. A considerable amount of experimental broadcasting and point-to-point radio telephony with stations at Stockton and Sacramento formed the principle wireless telephone "menu" of the day, with much of this work done for stock selling and promotion purposes. However, as with the alternator, the Poulsen arc's principal use would come with radio telegraphy, and Elwell's successor company, the Federal Telegraph Co., catered primarily to customers desiring high-powered telegraphic communication.

In the meantime, however, the "fall-out" from the arc technology spread to other experimenters. San Jose's Charles Herrold was the principal West Coast exponent of wireless entertainment in the pre-1920 era.³³ In Seattle, Washington, William Dubilier performed a variety of "broadcasts" in 1911-1912 using modulated sparks and arcs. Back in the East, A. Frederick Collins of Philadelphia, under the auspices of the Collins Wireless Telephone Co., marketed equipment of short range capability, but including spark and arc oscillators. In New York City, Alfred Goldsmith, Professor of Electrical Engineering at CCNY, operated a broadcasting station at the College in the 1912-14 period under call letters 2XN.³⁴

The above description of arc/spark events prior to 1914 indicate that quite a bit of activity was taking place apart from the work of Fessenden or DeForest, though these two personalities were still the most prominent on the wireless telephone scene. Between 1912 and 1915 there were some critical advances in electronic engineering, including the audio frequency amplifier (DeForest), regenerative amplifier and feedback oscillator (DeForest and E. H. Armstrong), and vastly improved high-vacuum triode radio tubes (Bell Laboratories and General Electric).

Sarnoff and the "Radio Music Box"

Early in 1914, the American Marconi station in New York's Wanamaker Building was refurbished with a low power vacuum tube transmitter for experimental broadcasting of phonograph music. David Sarnoff, Contract Manager for the Company, had sailed aboard the *S.S. Antilles* for New Orleans to attend a convention of Railway Telegraph Superintendents. By advance scheduling, the Wanamaker station was tuned in while the vessel was about 60 miles away from New York. This incident appears to have influenced the young executive, and, coupled with some fast breaking technical developments (such as E. H. Armstrong's feedback circuit and the Bell Company's radiotelephone tests) led to the famous "Radio Music Box" memorandum of Sept. 30, 1915, addressed to Edward J. Nally, Vice President and General Manager of the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company of America:

I have in mind a plan of development which would make a radio a "household utility" in the same sense as the piano or phonograph. The idea is to bring music into the house by wireless.

While this has been tried in the past by wires, it has been a failure because wires do not lend themselves to this scheme. With radio, however, it would seem to be entirely feasible. For example, a radio-telephone transmitter having a range of, say, 25 to 50 miles can be installed at a fixed point where instrumental or vocal music or both are produced. The problem of transmitting music has already been solved in principle, and therefore all the receivers attuned to the transmitting wavelength should be capable of receiving such music. The receivers can be designed in the form of a simple "Radio Music Box" and arranged for several different wavelengths, which should be changeable with the throwing of a single switch or pressing of a single button.

The "Radio Music Box" can be supplied with amplifying tubes and a loudspeaking telephone, all of which can be neatly mounted in one box. The box can be placed in the parlor or living room, the switch set accordingly, and the transmitted music received. There should be no difficulty in receiving music perfectly when transmitted within a radius of 25 to 50 miles. Within such a radius, there reside hundreds of thousands of families; and as all can simultaneously receive from a single transmitter, there would be no question of obtaining sufficiently loud signals to make the performance enjoyable. The power of the transmitter can be made 5 kilowatts, if necessary, to cover even a short radius of 25 to 50 miles, thereby giving extra-loud signals in the home if desired. The development of a small loop antenna to go with each "Radio Music Box" would likewise solve the antenna problem.³⁵

A typical transmitter of 1915 or 1916 would be a vacuum tube oscillator (or a Poulsen arc, if one could stand the noise) with necessary speech modulation equipment. The home listener could use a simple crystal set or perhaps one of the single-tube receivers then available to amateur radio operators.

An obvious question would be: If all the necessary appliances for radio broadcasting were here in 1915, why wasn't broadcasting itself?

As so often happens with benefit of hindsight, we may be able to deduce more from the evidence than really applies to the situation. It would seem, however, that Sarnoff's proposal was perfectly reasonable, considering the state of the art as well as the past experience of DeForest and the Bell System engineers not to mention the full gamut of wired and wireless telephony development since Alexander Graham Bell's demonstrations of the telephone 40 years earlier.

The answer, it would seem to us, is two-fold: (1) A lack of appreciation of the entertainment and information capability of the

radio-telephone ("the time isn't ripe yet" cliche); and (2) a turbulent patent situation leading to all sorts of manufacturing difficulties.

In September, 1916, the courts ruled that DeForest had infringed the two-element Fleming Valve patent, and the Marconi Company had infringed the three-element DeForest "Audion" tube patent. Nobody could manufacture triodes—absolutely essential for vacuum-tube transmitters and for tube-type receivers. Then the General Electric Company and AT&T became involved in patent interferences on the "feedback circuit" used with the triode.³⁶ Although there was a Navy-inspired truce for the purpose of aiding the war effort during World War I, this paralysis was not really resolved until the post-war cross-licensing agreements between the industry giants. Then broadcasting really had a chance to flourish.³⁷

Footnotes

¹ E. N. Sivowitch, "Musical Broadcasting in the 19th Century," *Audio* (June, 1967), 19-23.

² Sivowitch, *Op. Cit.*; David L. Woods, "Semantics versus the First Broadcasting Station," *JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING*, XI:3 (Summer 1967), 199-207.

³ *Infra* (Section on DeForest). The Telharmonium was an "electrical music" generator.

⁴ *Electrical Review*, 25 (Nov. 21, 1894), 259.

⁵ William H. Ward, *Ward's Code of Signal Telegraph for Ocean Marine Service* (Auburn N.Y.: W. H. Ward, 1858).

⁶ Loomis Notebook, Mahlon Loomis Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

⁷ Thomas Appleby, *Mahlon Loomis: Inventor of Radio*. (Washington, D. C.: Loomis Publications, 1967) 101-104.

⁸ No. 129971. Appleby feels that Loomis definitely radiated a signal with his apparatus, and received it with some type of rectifier action or magnetic detector effect in the galvanometer circuit.

⁹ Samuel F. B. Morse had conducted experiments as early as 1842. See J. J. Fahie, *A History of Wireless Telegraphy*. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1902).

¹⁰ Drawbaugh was a mechanic from Eberlys Mills, Pennsylvania, who worked on telephonic devices in the 1860s and 70s. He lost a legal decision to Bell by a very close margin. See Warren J. Harder, *Daniel Drawbaugh: The Edison of the Cumberland Valley*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960).

¹¹ The "acoustic telephone" was essentially a "tin-cans-and-string" telephone for house-to-house communication. Believe it or not this type of device had some commercial application during the same time span as the first electric telephones, circa 1875-1895. Stubblefield had a patent on his device.

¹² Tom Hoffer, "Nathan B. Stubblefield and His Wireless Telephone." *JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING* (forthcoming).

¹³ Prospectus, Wireless Telephone Company of America, Clark Collection CWC 4-3340A. (See "note on sources" at end of footnotes).

¹⁴ U. S. Patent No. 887,357 (May 12, 1908); Canadian Patent No. 114,737 (Oct. 20, 1908).

¹⁵ The tendency to *radiate* increases as the square of the frequency.

¹⁶ Nor the case of high powered VLF stations used for communication with submarines, such as the Navy station at Cutler, Maine, which operates on 14.7 kHz. In this instance more than a megawatt of power is radiating from the antenna system.

¹⁷ Charles Süsskind, "Observations of Electromagnetic Wave Radiation before Hertz," *ISIS* 55 (March, 1964), 32-42.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 37-39.

¹⁹ *Marconi Wireless Telegraph Co. of America vs. DeForest Wireless Telegraph Co.* United States Circuit Court for the Southern District of New York. In Equity No. 8211 (1904).

²⁰ We are indebted to J. Brittain of the Georgia Institute of Technology for calling our attention to the early Stone experiments. See Clark Collection SRM 4-1230, John Stone Stone, Report (1892) Mechanical Department of American Bell Telephone Co. Also commentary in letter of Dec. 22, 1944 from Lloyd Espenschied to G. H. Clark, CWC 4-2839A. A published source is George H. Clark, *The Life of John Stone Stone*. (San Diego: Frye and Smith Ltd., 1946) 35-37.

²¹ Helen Fessenden, *Fessenden: Builder of Tomorrows*. (New York: Coward-McCann, 1940), Chapter XV. See also, R. A. Fessenden, "Wireless Telephony," *Transactions of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers*, 1908. Clark Collection CWC 135-178A.

²² The distortion level, while less than that of the spark radiotelephone, was worse than that of the alternator.

²³ John Grant, "Experiments and Results in Wireless Telephony," *The American Telephone Journal*, (January 26 and February 2, 1907).

²⁴ Letter of January 29, 1932, Reginald A. Fessenden to S. M. Kintner, Vice-President, Westinghouse Electric & Mfg. Co. Clark Collection CWC 135-246A.

²⁵ Call Letters and Log Book of Francis Arthur Hart, 1906-1909. Smithsonian Institution Cat. No. 329,734. Hart also reports the DeForest arc experiments of March 20, May 7 and May 9, 1907.

²⁶ Lee DeForest, *Father of Radio*. (Chicago: Wilcox-Follett, 1950), 221.

²⁷ H. J. Meneratti was wireless operator aboard the Ohio. The basic research material for this section is based upon his notes in the Div. of Electricity & Nuclear Energy files of the Smithsonian. See also data in Clark Collection Class 134 History of Broadcasting and Class 135 History of Radiotelephony. A good published source is L. S. Howeth, *History of Communications-Electronics in the United States Navy*. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963), 169-172.

²⁸ DeForest, *Op. Cit.*, 225; Georgette Carneal, *A Conqueror of Space*. (New York: Horace Liveright, 1930), 205-209.

²⁹ R. A. Heising, *Montauk-Arlington Radio Telephone Tests of 1915* (1938), Clark Collection CWC 135-085A. A brief account of the tests is contained in: William Peck Banning, *Commercial Broadcasting Pioneer*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946), 6-7.

³⁰ DeForest, *Op. Cit.*, 338.

³¹ U. S. Department of Commerce, *Commercial and Government Radio Stations of the United States* (1920).

³² A full account of Elwell's role in radio engineering may be found in: *Pioneer Work in Radio Telephony and Telegraphy* by Cyril Elwell. (Smithsonian Institution: Clark Collection CWC 135-245A). A popularized though extensive account of West Coast developments may be found in Jane Morgan, *Electronics in the West: The First Fifty Years*. (Palo Alto: National Press Books, 1967).

³³ Herrold's role will be fully discussed in Joseph E. Baudino's future article, which will consider individual station histories. See also Gordon B. Greb, "The Golden Anniversary of Broadcasting," JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING, III:1 (Winter, 1958-59), 3-13.

³⁴ U. S. Department of Commerce, *Radio Stations of the United States*. (1914 and 1915 editions).

³⁵ Eugene Lyons, *David Sarnoff: A Biography*. (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 70-73; David Sarnoff, *Looking Ahead*. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1968), 31-34; Gleason Archer, *History of Radio to 1926*. (New York: American Historical Society, 1938) 110-113.

³⁶ The complexities of the patent problem are told in W. Rupert MacLaurin, *Invention and Innovation in the Radio Industry*. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1949).

³⁷ Letter of Jan. 31, 1922 from David Sarnoff to C. D. Young of RCA restates the "Radio Music Box" proposal, and discusses its previous introduction in 1915 as well as another memorandum of Jan. 31, 1920. Sarnoff does mention the lack of a suitable radiotelephone transmitter and compact receiver in the earlier period, inferring that this retarded the introduction of broadcasting. It might be argued, however, that had the industry responded with some inspiration to his initial proposal, some of the difficulties vis-a-vis the patent situation could have been resolved. In point of fact, the equipment needed for broadcasting was close to practical realization. The Bell System's radiotelephone tests of 1915 included oscillator, modulator and power amplifier tubes. DeForest's "oscillion" transmitting triodes were also available that year. Receivers such as the DeForest RJ-4 and RJ-5 audion detectors, with necessary receiving transformers were available in 1914 at prices in the \$26-40 category. These would fulfill the "Music Box" criterion, albeit with lack of sensitivity compared to later circuitry. As fate would have it, however, World War I provided the training ground for many of the first radiotelephone applications and for mass production of vacuum tubes, since manufacturers agreed to suspend any patent litigation for the duration of the war.

Note on sources: The Clark Collection of manuscripts and photographs is located at the Smithsonian Institution's Division of Electricity and Nuclear Energy. One of the most extensive collections of documents pertaining to the history of radio technology, it was compiled by George H. Clark (1881-1956), who was RCA's historian for more than 30 years. The Collection was used extensively by L. S. Howeth in his work (cited in footnote 27).

RICHARD G. LAWSON

A Little Perspective, Please

It is a common failing of most of us to remember only that which was pleasant, and forget that which was unpleasant. We also tend to think of the past as a "golden age," without taking the time to test that assumption. Critics apparently are no exception to these rules. Dr. Richard Lawson, who did bother to check, is associate professor in the radio-TV-film area of the Department of Communication Arts in the University of Wisconsin.

TELEVISION of the 1950-57 era is fondly recalled by many as the "golden age." It was an age of "live" drama. Arthur Shulman and Roger Youman, in their nostalgic look-back on broadcasting, *How Sweet It Was*, said of the golden age: "Every night was opening night."¹ It was an age of excitement, promise and creativity. It was also an age of discovery of new directing talent, playwrights, and actors. Many people felt in the early 1950's that television was a new art.

Erik Barnouw, testifying before the FCC in June 1961, recalled those years:

. . . five years ago they viewed television with hope and excitement
. . . today they regard it as an artistic deadend, a mere appendage to merchandising. . . .

How different this from the situation a few years ago. Already that period, in retrospect, looks like a Golden Age. To the opportunity that existed at that time, writers responded in a way that did credit to television and to the American writer. Scripts written in those mid-fifties not only brought maturity and stimulation to the television screen, but made their mark on every other medium. . . .²

Upon reading the testimony and statements of others in a distinguished group of producers, directors, and writers from the "Golden Age of TV" one is struck by their nearly-unanimous agreement as

to how great the age was, and how low television fell in such a few short years. And yet there are those who feel that the characterization of the early 50s as the "Golden Age" is utter nonsense, and that those who maintain this characterization view the past with rose-colored glasses and/or have some personal axe to grind. Such skeptics usually are called "apologists" by the critics, and often are executives in networks or large stations. Therefore, their belief in TV today also may be somewhat suspect. These men and their detractors agree that television is different today, but they have quite different views of "yesterday." The men supporting current television offerings say that quality or class entertainment available today is much better produced than it was in the early fifties.

How do you feel about the "Golden Age"? Has television substantially improved, having matured over the years? Were the 1950s really a time of quite uneven experimentation in television, a time of slap-dash production? Or do you think of television today as being a vast wasteland? Were the 1950s television's finest hour? Has it fallen from Grace, so to speak? Would you say that the following statements of Jack Gould fairly describe the television scene today?

Let us face it: television is getting pretty bad. The high hopes for video which were held by so many are vanishing before our eyes. The medium is heading hell-bent for the rut of innocuity, mediocrity, and sameness that made a drab if blatant jukebox of radio. . . .³

or

The television viewer who has wondered when there would be some practical move to elevate the standards of video can only cross his fingers.⁴

or

To look at video on many evenings recently, it would seem as if the TV screen had become a roost for nothing but unpleasant and unattractive characters concocted by dramatists in desperate need of psychotherapy.⁵

or

Most viewers undoubtedly will welcome even a brief respite from the large volume of celluloid junk that has been dumped on the air waves. . . . In show after show there is no perspective, no diversity of setting, no sense of scope. There are close-ups after close-ups and the actors seem to be going around in tiny circles.⁶

or

Formula thinking is all too prevalent and imitation in programming, especially in situation comedy, is rampant. The quality of drama has fallen.⁷

Robert Montgomery, in an interview, sadly pointed to the lack of original television drama:

Television is suffering from a dearth of original plays and writers do not seem to be inclined to do anything about it.⁸

A review in *The New Yorker* well sums up a commonly held opinion concerning current television programming:

Well, here we are in a new television season, with most of the summer shows departed and a great many of the so-called old favorites back on the tiny screen. I thought it might be instructive to take a look at some of the current dramatic offerings, in order to discover whether there have been any splendid innovations, any wondrous developments, any pushing back of the frontiers . . . I'm afraid I must report that matters stand pretty much where they stood last spring, and the spring before that.⁹

All of these criticisms might be considered as apt descriptions of television today. All were written by respected critics. However, these very criticisms were written in 1951, 1952, and 1953—at the very height of television's "Golden Age!"

Reviews Reviewed

Because of the conflicting nature of informal reminiscences, it was decided to go back to the reviews of well-known critics such as Goodman Ace, Jack Gould, Robert Louis Shayon, Philip Hamburger, and Harriet Van Horne, to see what they wrote about the "Golden Age" of television while it was occurring.

PRODUCTION TECHNIQUES

Philip Hamburger, writing in *The New Yorker* in 1953, harshly criticized the production techniques in then-current dramatic offerings.

The scenic effects in most television plays, for example, are still largely amateurish and ugly. They are the sort of thing talented gradeschool children might knock together for their commencement playlet out of whatever happened to be lying around the shop. . . .

As for lighting, television dramas still remain mostly nonlighted, and in consequence actors occasionally bump into one another in the semi-darkness, knock over pieces of bric-a-brac, and address the wrong characters. They don't have much trouble telling the sexes apart, but if the screen is cluttered up with, say, three or four males, the fellow who is talking has the devil's own time finding the fellow he is supposed to be talking to. The audience which receives its images, at best, through a slight mist, is often at a loss to know whether Lee is surrendering at Appomattox or Lincoln is being assassinated.

There is no need to go deeply into the matter of television acting as I have seen it so far this season, for television actors, I am told, work dreadfully hard for their living, engage in heart-breaking rehearsal hours, and hardly have time to read their lines, much less memorize them. Nonetheless, it would be awfully agreeable to watch a television drama now and then in which everybody knew all his lines, and, knowing them, enunciated them clearly and with meaning.¹⁰

EXPERIMENTATION AND STANDARDIZATION

Harriet Van Horne, a critic of television, writing in *Theatre Arts* in 1951, discussed the lack of and need for more experimental work.

The complexities of the medium are an artistic challenge, yes. But that should encourage experimental work. . . . There are . . . writers with ideas they've never put on paper. Given the opportunity . . . they'd love to do so. Television has been decidedly cavalier toward writers, paying them far too little and demanding that they write to format, which is another word for cliche.¹¹

The views of *New York Times* critic Bosley Crowther were described in a news story:

Mr. (Bosley) Crowther noted that many of the criticisms now being voiced about television were similar to those heard about motion pictures in their earlier days. . . . Motion pictures weathered the early storms and found a place in daily life . . . but (Crowther said), it is a place of comparative innocuousness.

And why has it sifted down into a place of innocuousness? . . . Because it has warped into the pattern of standardization for convenience of merchandising. . . .¹²

WRITING

Robert Louis Shayon, writing in *Saturday Review* in 1954, discussed a document that he had received from an anonymous person entitled, "Notes for our Playwrights." Shayon said that "It came from the editorial headquarters of a long-established, well-known network dramatic program, and it was addressed generally to all authors who had written for, or might be interested in writing for, this particular program."¹³ In this document were listed the criteria for the high level drama this particular program desired. Among them were: (1) believability; (2) rich in characterization; (3) timely; (4) American; (5) truly theatrical; (6) dramatically strong; and (7) emotionally powerful.

The foregoing *dictat*, as we indicated at the head of the page, was issued last October (1953). Scanning it here, the reader may wonder

why, on those nameless 'nights when the communique's program X is presented, he noticed no broad, deep stirring on his television screen (as described in the document), as if some massive creative hand had divided the waters of primeval sameness from the waters of pristine monotony and set in the cleft thereof a firmament of passion and grandeur.¹⁴

Goodman Ace was more succinct and biting in his criticism of the writing of a 1954 series.

... I have seen other Kraft (Theatre) plays, and often they seemed quite pedestrian. That means the authors should have gotten run over.¹⁵

PROGRAM QUALITY

Gilbert Seldes, writing about possible international exchanges of television programs in the *Saturday Review* in 1954 stated: "... 90 per cent of our (TV) entertainment is hardly worth crossing a state line for...."¹⁶ Robert Louis Shayon discussed the program quality of Studio One and the pressures placed on the programs by the sponsors in another 1954 article in the *Saturday Review*.

This reviewer remembers with pleasure the originality and general excellence of the TV adaptation of "Nineteen Eighty-Four" — the Orwell novel of life in a future totalitarian state — with which "Studio One" opened its current season. Profoundly disturbing, widely praised, the production fluttered hopes that at long last a leading dramatic program would strike out in the direction of meaning rather than dig ever deeper in the "new school" sands of form, style and precision. But a leading player on the show told me that the client "hated" the story, found it "depressing," and decreed that nothing like it should ever be done again. "Studio One" has been undistinguishable since.¹⁷

NETWORK PROGRAMMING

Jack Gould, at the end of 1952, summed up the year's program fare in the following way:

For television it was a year of contrasting extremes: Indeed, it could almost be said that there are now two kinds of video.

One kind is where the broadcaster or others have special creative efforts of their own in programming, notably in the realm of the arts and coverage of certain straight news events.

... The other kind of video is the day-to-day programming in the straight entertainment field; here the picture is much less encouraging ...¹⁸

What Was Golden

Was there nothing "Golden" about the "Golden Age"? Was there nothing about television in the early 1950s that was different from television of today? Has nothing changed? The really "Golden" part of the "Golden Age" lay in the fact that television was willing and able to experiment and to provide a training ground for new writers. These two aspects are the necessary conditions for the development of television as an art. They are largely missing today.

EXPERIMENTATION

While it is true that there has been a fair amount of experimentation in television over the past few years, most of this occurred in the news and public affairs programming area, *Rowan & Martin's Laugh-In* and the *Smotherers Brothers* notwithstanding. In spite of an annual rationing of good programs (many from Great Britain presented over National Educational Television in the U.S.), very little experimentation has occurred in what might be referred to as "dramatic television." Yet, it was in dramatic television that many people active in the "Golden Age" saw the greatest hope for artistic achievement. Robert Montgomery, in his testimony before the Federal Communications Commission in 1961, recalled the excitement in the 1950s over the new medium related to experimentation in other areas as well as program:

. . . There is a tendency, when a new medium of entertainment, mass medium of entertainment comes along, to experiment with that medium and to generate a certain amount of excitement with the medium, which happened to TV. A great number of people from the various entertainment fields, I think, believed that this was going to be a new and very exciting area in which to operate.

The interchange of ideas between television and motion pictures, television and the drama, then even television and the radio was pretty soon evident, and the attempts of most people in television in the early 50s was to try and stimulate new concepts of productions, new methods of presentation.¹⁹

TRAINING OF WRITERS

Reginald Rose, one of the top writers during the 1950s, and still active in television today, sadly described the demise of television as a training ground, especially for dramatic writers, in an article written for the *New York Times* at the close of 1968.

To get back to the problems of the writer, which, to be sure, do not necessarily coincide with the problems of the network, it becomes in-

creasingly evident that we are not about to spawn a new group of craftsmen such as Robert Allen Arthur, Paddy Chayefsky et al. There is simply no training ground available for them. . . .

What we are developing today is a kind of computerized writer, an artist who learns his craft writing to formula, the kind of formula which excludes character development, complex relationships and everything but the most perfunctory allusions to the interrelationships between human behavior and the story line which is the essential ingredient of good serious drama.

. . . the CBS Playhouse production (December 6, 1967) of "Dear Friends" is the first original drama I've written for television (discounting a dozen or so "Defenders") since 1960. . . . (In 1954) I had six one-hour dramas produced on Studio One alone, some good, some bad, but all original.²⁰

A Little Perspective, Please

Nostalgia is fun. However, one must not trust completely one's memory. The "Golden Age" had many faults. Most were the nascent faults of today. To be smugly self-satisfied today is to deny any hope of improvement. To cast television of the early 1950s in the perspective of a "Golden Age" which is gone forever, and to ignore the attempts at quality broadcasting today, is to beg the question of whether or not we can have a renaissance. The people writing critically about the "Golden Age" during its height pointed up some fairly disfiguring warts. One should not become an apologist for today's television. Neither should one become a Cassandra wailing before the temple of the "Golden Age." A little perspective, please.

Footnotes

¹ Arthur Shulman and Roger Youman, *How Sweet It Was* (New York: Shorecrest, Inc., 1966), p. 190.

² "Summary of Testimony: Erik Barnouw," 2d *Interim Report by the Office of Network Study; Television Network Program Procurement; Part II; Docket No. 12782* (Washington, D. C.: FCC, 1965), pp. 542-543.

³ Jack Gould, "The Low State of TV," *New York Times*, October 19, 1952, Sec. 2, p. 13.

⁴ Jack Gould, "Television Standards," *New York Times*, Feb. 4, 1951, Sec. 2, p. 11.

⁵ Jack Gould, "Television in Review," *New York Times*, Aug. 12, 1953, p. 28.

⁶ Jack Gould, "Working in a Closet," *New York Times*, Aug. 16, 1953, Sec. 2, p. 9.

⁷ Jack Gould, "The Year's Summary," *New York Times*, Dec. 28, 1952, Sec. 2, p. 11.

⁸ Val Adams, "A TV Producer's Point of View," *New York Times*, May 18, 1952, Sec. 2, p. 9.

⁹ Philip Hamburger, "Television; Seasonal Report," *New Yorker*, Sept. 19, 1953, p. 104.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Harriet Van Horne, "The Living Theatre on Television," *Theatre Arts*, Sept., 1951, p. 53.

¹² "TV and Radio Seen on Juvenile Level," *New York Times*, May 2, 1951, p. 44.

¹³ Robert Louis Shayon, "Unusual Plays Wanted—But Don't Offend Anyone," *Saturday Review*, Feb. 13, 1954, p. 32.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Goodman Ace, "In Reply to Yours," *Saturday Review*, May 1, 1954, p. 34.

¹⁶ Gilbert Seldes, "Under the Eye of Eternity," *Saturday Review*, Aug. 14, 1954, p. 25.

¹⁷ Shayon, "Unusual Plays Wanted," *Op. Cit.*, p. 33.

¹⁸ Jack Gould, "The Year's Summary," *New York Times*, Dec. 28, 1952, Sec. 2, p. 11.

¹⁹ "Testimony: Robert Montgomery," *2d Interim Report by the Office of Network Study*, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 536-537.

²⁰ Reginald Rose, "TV's Age of Innocence—What Became of It?" *New York Times*, Dec. 3, 1967, Sec. 2, p. 21.

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BRADLEY S. GREENBERG and THOMAS F. GORDON

Critics' and Public Perceptions of Violence in Television Programs

The following article is one of the first fruits of a million dollars' worth of research by some two dozen investigators that was sponsored by the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee in an attempt to examine the possible links between the mass media and violence. The research upon which this particular publication is based was performed pursuant to Contract No. HSM 42-70-32 with the National Institute of Mental Health, Health Services and Mental Health Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Dr Greenberg, associate professor in the Department of Communication at Michigan State University, and a frequent contributor to the JOURNAL, was the principal investigator. Mr. Gordon, a Ph.D. candidate, was senior research assistant in the same department.

THE mass media critic has multiple roles and interests, some vested, others less so. He reports to his readers' on current trends in the industry, he evaluates new offerings, he speculates about the impact of media presentations, and often he pontificates on what should be, in contrast to what is. The target of the critic may be his readers, or those he would like to be his readers, or the industry, or perhaps his fellow critics. In the United States, media such as movies and television have regular critics, while media such as newspapers, radio, and magazines have irregular critics or none at all.¹

The link the critic serves between the public and the communication industry may be a crucial one. In certain media, this has been demonstrated. In theatre, for example, there has long been speculation as to the presumed power of the New York critics in determining the success or failure of plays. Some empirical support exists for this

proposition.² One can only speculate as to what influence, if any, the TV critic has on either the television industry or its viewers. In terms of attention, however, reader studies show that TV columnists in newspapers are among the more widely-read features, and *TV Guide* is this country's largest paid circulation magazine, although its critical commentary is sparse.

The present study focuses on certain perceptions of TV programs by critics and the public. The research question posed is: to what extent does the TV critic "see" or characterize programs similarly to viewers? More specifically, how much *violence* does the critic perceive in TV programming, in comparison to that perceived by viewers?

The mass communication literature is abundant with content analyses which document the frequency of violent acts and episodes on television.³ In all these studies, what is labeled as "violent" is defined by the investigator. Our alternative approach is to use the TV critic fraternity and the American viewing public as self-definers of violence. Given a particular TV program, to what extent is it called violent by the critics and, separately, by the viewers?

What does one expect in terms of comparability of judgment from the professional viewer and the fan? For one, the typical critic espouses a strong sense of social responsibility, writing about the air-waves belonging to the people, programming in the public interest, etc. We anticipated that they would be more intense about and sensitive toward the level of violence in TV programs. The first hypothesis was:

1. Critics will rate programs as more violent than will viewers.

Hypothesis 1 relates to programming in general. The full range of prime-time programming encompasses 60-70 television programs, available nightly between 7:30-11 p.m. However, many programs are virtually void of violence, by most definitions. Therefore, the sub-set of programs to which the critics or the viewers attribute a moderate or strong degree of violence should be considerably smaller, and there should be high agreement as to which shows are more or less violent.

The second hypothesis was:

2. Ordering of programs from most to least violent will be highly correlated for the critics and the public.

In addition to critic-public comparisons, we anticipated certain sub-group differences within the public in terms of perceived violence and actual viewing behavior, based on the sex and age of the viewer. (Our hypotheses are based on viewing of violent programs only, and are not equated for "total viewing" differences between any two groups.) Men and women in this society typically are differentially socialized as to the acceptability of aggression or violence as a mode of behavior. Girls generally are taught to coax and persuade, not to hit or be tough; boys are taught about self-defense, not being sissies, standing up to attackers, etc. Hence:

3. *Women will judge programs as more violent than will men.*
4. *Men will more regularly watch more of the violent programs than will women.*

Counterpart hypotheses were tested with respect to different age groups of viewers. Young viewers, raised on a greater diet of television violence, it was reasoned, would be more likely to condone violence as a mode of behavior. Thus, any given act or episode of violence would be rated less severely. We tested this assertion in:

5. *Older viewers will judge programs as more violent than will younger viewers.*

'In parallel fashion, the younger viewers, more accustomed to televised violence and perhaps more entertained by it, might be expected to watch more of it, i.e.:

6. *Younger viewers will more regularly watch more of the violent programs than will older viewers.*

The hypothesized sex and age sub-group differences imply that the more often an individual favored a given show by watching it, the less likely he would perceive or admit that it was a program of considerable violence. Three alternative explanations would support this premise. For one, a general norm of our society today opposes aggressive violence where the intention is to deliberately harm others. Hence, adults who admittedly engage in heavy viewing of what others characterize as violent content may justify their TV behavior by labeling the content as less violent or non-violent. These viewers would "see" less violence. A second rationale originates with the non-viewers. To the extent that they are antagonistic toward programming which they believe features violence, they may avoid watching such shows. They

may then be prone to judge what they do *not* watch as more violent. A third alternative reverts to the most frequent viewer of violence. Perhaps he has been so jaded by the acts he has seen that he is less inclined to judge repetitive "normal" acts of mayhem as being very violent. This study does not permit the direct testing of these different theoretical suppositions. On all counts, however, the regular viewer of violence is expected to differ from the irregular viewer in how much violence he sees. To wit:

7. *Perceived amount of violence in programs is negatively correlated with regularity of viewing those programs.*

This last hypothesis led us to include one additional variable—the *induction* of a definition of violent content. If asked to define what is meant by violence, some people will talk of shootings, others of yellings, still others of debasing cultural values or aesthetic standards. Hence, asking viewers—or the critics—to judge how much violence is in a given show is inviting a myriad of personal definitions and frames of reference. On the other hand, imposing a single definition, created by an academician or critic or producer may be even more arbitrary. We gave half the viewers this definition of violence and none to the other half: "By violence, I mean how much fighting, shooting, yelling, or killing there usually is in the show." This definition encompassed the majority of definitions that had been used by content analysts in prior studies of media violence. Given this response set for the meaning of violence, it was hypothesized that:

8. *Viewers receiving this definition of violence would perceive more violence in TV programs than viewers not receiving this definition.*

Methodology

PUBLIC SURVEY

500 telephone numbers were drawn randomly from the 1969 Detroit area telephone book. Eight trained interviewers made long-distance calls to the designated numbers during the period March 23-27, 1970. By attempting to interview a man at the first number called, a woman at the second, etc., the final sample yielded 41% men and 59% women. Of the 500 original telephone numbers, 48 were disconnected, 20 were respondents who could not speak English, were virtually deaf, partially blind, etc. Of the remaining 432 usable telephone numbers, 303 interviews were completed, or a 70% com-

pletion rate. There were 102 refusals, and 27 numbers which had not answered after a minimum of three callbacks.

Each respondent was asked to rate 33 of the 66 TV programs offered in Detroit by the three commercial networks from 7:30-11 p.m. The programs were on Ch. 2, CBS; Ch. 4, NBC; and Ch. 7, ABC.⁴ A five-point scale was used to rate the amount of violence in each show. The scale anchors were, "a lot, quite a bit, some, not much, and none at all." To rate each program, the respondent was asked if "there is or is not violence on (the show)." If he stated that there was violence, he was then asked, "would you say there is a lot, quite a bit, or some?" If he answered no violence, he was asked, "none at all, or not much?" After rating each program on the violence scale, the respondent was asked whether he watched each show "almost all the time, now and then, or not at all."

Interviewers used two 33-program listings. Shows had been randomly assigned to the two listings and interviewers systematically varied the starting point within the list for each interview. Within each list, the interviewer also alternated presenting or not presenting the previously mentioned definition of violence. Of 123 men, 61 received one program listing and 62 the other; 56 were given a definition of violence, and 67 were not. Of 180 women, 88 received one program listing and 92 the other; 87 were given a definition of violence, and 93 were not.

CRITICS' SURVEY

Questionnaires were sent air mail-special delivery, on March 27, 1970, to 90 newspaper or magazine television critics. The critics were asked to rate the programs on the scales provided and return the forms in the air mail special delivery envelopes enclosed. Of the 90 forms sent out, 53 replies were received, 43 of which contained completed questionnaires. There were four written refusals and six forms which were incomplete. The 90 critics sampled comprised the total listing of newspaper and magazine critics in the public relations office of one of the national networks.

The critics rated each of the 66 programs on the same violence scale used by the public. Amount of viewing was not asked. Each critic was asked to rate the programs according to the definition of violence given the public sample. They were also given an opportunity to present their own definition of violence and to re-rate the programs

using that definition if they wished. Only nine critics gave self-definitions of violence. These definitions included such things as cruelty to animals, implying violence without showing it, spoken abuses or terror, "slapstick" comedy and rock and roll.

Results

Two general analyses were made. The first compared the program judgments of the critics with those of the public sample. The second focused on subanalyses of the public sample, looking at both program rating and program viewing.

The critics and the public. Perceived violence in 65 network programs was obtained from both the critics and the public sample. Table I presents the entire set of program means.⁵ The sample sizes for the public given in Table I represent the number of people who said that they watched the particular program "now and then" or "almost all the time." Ratings of non-watchers are excluded. The number of critics rating each program ranged from 37 to 43, inclusive. Converting the mean scores to ranks, with a rank of 1 representing the show of maximum violence and 65 the show of minimal perceived violence, the sets of ratings for these two groups were correlated +.86 ($p < .001$). In ordering the shows, there was virtual unanimity between the critics and the public as to where the violence was to be found.

The top 20 shows for the critics included the identical 20 for the viewers. The five most violent shows for the public were *Mod Squad*, *Mannix*, *Mission: Impossible*, *Hawaii Five-O*, and *It Takes a Thief*. For the critics, the five most violent shows were *Mannix*, *Hawaii Five-O*, *The FBI*, *Mod Squad* and *Mission: Impossible*. For this set of 20 shows, the critics' ratings of perceived violence were higher for 19 of the 20 shows ($p < .001$ by sign-test). Beyond the top 20, there was no consistent difference in the pattern of perceived violence.

For each of the following 16 shows, the critics perceived significantly more violence than did the public sample: *Mannix*, *The FBI*, *Lancer*, *Hawaii Five-O*, *Hee-Haw*, *Carol Burnett*, *High Chaparral*, *Land of the Giants*, *Paris 7000*, *Daniel Boone*, *Here Come The Brides*, *World of Disney*, *Laugh-In*, *I Dream of Jeannie*, *Red Skelton*, and *Lassie*.⁶

To summarize, there was near-complete agreement between the critics and the public as to which shows were most and least violent. Among the most violent shows, the critics were likely to perceive even more violence than did the public.

Next we focused on sub-group differences within the public in terms of perceived violence, actual viewing, and the relationship between these two behaviors.

Violence ratings. Two forms of the questionnaire were used with the public, each containing half the master list of network programs.⁷ Within these forms, a random group of 143 respondents received this definition of violence from the interviewers: "By violence, I mean how much fighting, shooting, yelling, or killing there usually is in the show." The remaining 160 respondents were given no definition of violence. Respondents receiving the definition made more severe ratings on 42 of 65 programs ($p < .05$). Seventeen of the 20 most violent programs were rated as even more violent by those given the definition ($p < .01$). Despite this greater amount of perceived violence, the ordering of programs did not vary. For 33 programs, the correlation between show ratings with and without definition was +.90; for the other 32 it was +.91. Thus, presenting a definition of violence served to cue more perceived violence within this sample of citizens.

Turning next to differences in perceived violence between men and women viewers, there was no overall tendency across the 65 programs for the sexes to differ. However, in the 25 programs that were judged as most violent for both sexes—the same 25 for men and women—the lady viewers perceived more violence in 23 of them ($p < .01$). Hence, where more violence in general was judged to exist, the women were likely to label those offerings as even more violent. This finding is further supported by a violence index we constructed as a summary measure. For the six shows judged to be most violent by the entire sample, we summed the violence ratings as a single index—labeled the Perceived Violence Index (PVI).⁸ For the men in this study, the mean PVI was 2.92; for the women, it was 3.19. This difference was statistically significant beyond the .01 level, by *t*-test. The correspondence in what the 25 most violent shows were for both sexes is indicative of the overall similarity in their ordering of the shows in terms of violence. The correlation between men and women in terms of rated violence for the 65 programs was +.88 ($p < .001$). There

TABLE I
Critic and Public Program Violence Ratings

Public (N=303)			Program	Critics (N=43)	
n	Mean	Rank		Rank	Mean
108	3.56	1	Mod Squad	4	3.65
112	3.37	2	Mannix	1	3.91
124	3.35	3	Mission: Impossible	5	3.55
101	3.24	4	Hawaii Five-O	2	3.81
111	3.23	5	It Takes a Thief	9	3.39
124	3.19	6	The F.B.I.	3	3.79
128	3.16	7	Gunsmoke	6	3.49
102	2.98	8.5	High Chaparral	8	3.46
120	2.98	8.5	Dagagnet	19	2.78
117	2.95	10	Ironside	14	3.00
133	2.90	11	Bonanza	12	3.11
117	2.88	12	The Virginian	11	3.19
89	2.77	13	The Name of the Game	13	3.05
79	2.69	14	Land of the Giants	7	3.47
67	2.67	15.5	Lancer	10	3.32
107	2.67	15.5	Death Valley Days	15	2.97
69	2.58	17	The Bold Ones	17	2.93
85	2.51	18	Then Came Bronson	20	2.65
109	2.43	19	Daniel Boone	18	2.91
79	2.38	20	Paris 7000	16	2.96
95	2.27	21	Get Smart	22	2.24
61	2.10	22	Bracken's World	23	2.17
75	1.87	23	Room 222	30	1.49
97	1.85	24	Here Come the Brides	21	2.32
124	1.81	25	Hogan's Heroes	24	2.07
105	1.61	26	Marcus Welby, M.D.	26	1.91
130	1.56	27	World of Disney	25	2.04
74	1.40	28	Love, American Style	32	1.39
67	1.36	29	My World and Welcome To It	56	1.09
63	1.35	30	To Rome With Love	59	1.07
129	1.34	31	Lassie	27	1.88
116	1.33	32.5	Laugh-In	28	1.79

TABLE I—Continued

Public (N = 303)			Program	Critics (N = 43)	
n	Mean	Rank		Rank	Mean
103	1.33	32.5	Bill Cosby	52.5	1.12
118	1.30	34	Dean Martin	38	1.28
86	1.28	35	The Ghost and Mrs. Muir	42	1.20
109	1.27	36	Mayberry R.F.D.	57	1.08
65	1.26	37	Tim Conway	41	1.24
83	1.24	38.5	The Governor and J.J.	54.5	1.11
123	1.24	38.5	Red Skelton	29	1.51
129	1.23	40	Beverly Hillbillies	40	1.25
130	1.22	41.5	Jackie Gleason	34	1.38
73	1.22	41.5	Pat Paulsen	39	1.26
65	1.20	43	Nanny and the Professor	52.5	1.12
115	1.18	45.5	Here's Lucy	36	1.30
112	1.18	45.5	The Flying Nun	44	1.17
85	1.18	45.5	Debbie Reynolds	32	1.39
118	1.18	45.5	Julia	48.5	1.14
127	1.17	49.5	Bewitched	46	1.15
107	1.17	49.5	Tom Jones	59	1.07
114	1.17	49.5	Doris Day	54.5	1.11
88	1.17	49.5	Brady Bunch	48.5	1.14
104	1.16	52	I Dream of Jeannie	31	1.46
120	1.15	53	That Girl	48.5	1.14
118	1.14	54.5	Green Acres	48.5	1.14
87	1.14	54.5	Englebert Humperdinck	63.5	1.02
127	1.13	56	Petticoat Junction	45	1.16
122	1.12	57	Johnny Cash	59	1.07
116	1.11	58	Jim Nabors	51	1.13
112	1.10	59	Glen Campbell	60	1.05
78	1.09	60.5	The Courtship of Eddie's Father	63.5	1.02
120	1.09	60.5	Carol Burnett	37	1.29
137	1.07	63	My Three Sons	63.5	1.02
126	1.07	63	Andy Williams	43	1.19
92	1.07	63	Hee Haw	35	1.31
129	1.06	65	Family Affair	63.5	1.02

was striking agreement in what was violent, but a different base level in terms of the degree of violence.

To examine age differences, five age categories were used—under 30, 30-40, 41-49, 50-59, and 60 plus. These were determined empirically by segmenting the overall distribution into five equivalent age groups. For the 20 most violent programs, the younger viewers were most likely to judge the programs as more violent, and the older viewers were most likely to judge the programs as least violent. The relationship was linear and significant, as tested by a Friedman two-way analysis of variance ($X^2=35.8$, df=4, $p<.001$). Table II presents the mean PVI indices for each age category, indicating a difference among age groupings that is significant beyond the .001 level. This demonstrated relationship between age and perceived violence is counter to the hypothesized one.

TABLE II
Perceived Violence Index by Age

	Under 30	30-40	41-49	50-59	60+
Mean PVI	3.32	3.32	3.08	2.73	2.83
Source of Variance		Mean Square	df	F	
Between Categories		430.5	4	6.16	<.0005
Within		69.9	293		

Viewing patterns. Viewing *per se* was of lesser concern in this study since more precise estimates of program viewing may be obtained from commercially available audience data. However, the presentation of some viewing findings seems appropriate. The viewing data were derived for each program by asking each respondent whether he watched a particular program, "almost all the time, now and then, or not at all." As an independent check on the viewing data, we examined the February/March ARB "Marketron" viewing data for competitive prime-time programs in Detroit, which included 63 of our 65 programs. A Spearman rank-order correlation between the study's viewing rankings and the ARB rankings was +.62, $p<.001$.

Table III presents the 20 most violent programs, together with the rank in viewing obtained for each program from this sample. The violent programs range from the second most popularly-viewed show (*Bonanza*) to the least watched show (*Paris 7000*). Overall, the average viewing level for the 20 programs was a rank of 33.3; the average viewing level for all 65 programs would be 32.5. Generally, the most violent programs were no more or less watched than the less violent shows.

Men were more likely than women to watch 31 of the 65 programs, and women the other 34. However, if one looks again to the programs of maximum judged violence then men claim they are more often in

TABLE III
Twenty Most Violent Programs by Viewing Level

Violence Rank	Program	Watching Rank
1	Mod Squad	27
2	Mannix	25
3	Mission: Impossible	9
4	Hawaii Five-O	42
5	It Takes a Thief	21
6	The F.B.I.	12.5
7	Gunsmoke	17.5
8.5	High Chaparral	43.5
8.5	Dragnet	32
10	Ironside	14
11	Bonanza	2
12	The Virginian	27
13	The Name of the Game	41
14	Land of the Giants	54.5
15.5	Lancer	57.5
15.5	Death Valley Days	36
17	The Bold Ones	53
18	Then Came Bronson	48
19	Daniel Boone	39
20	Paris 7000	65

the audience for 16 of the top 20 and 18 of the top 25 violent shows, both trends being significant ($p < .05$). Looking at the complete list of shows or the 20 most violent ones, viewing for the various age groups did not differ consistently. However, when the top 20 programs were separated into western and mystery categories, a significant age difference in viewing was found. Except for *Land of the Giants* and *Then Came Bronson*, the top 20 violent shows could be grouped as 7 westerns and 11 mysteries. The oldest age group spent more time watching westerns, while the younger age groups were least likely to watch them ($X^2 = 21.69$, $df = 4$, $p < .001$). There was no consistent age difference for the mysteries.

The relationship between perceived violence and viewing behaviors. We hypothesized a negative association between how much violence one attributes to a given television program, and the frequency with which such programs are watched. For example, it was postulated that a frequent watcher of a violent show like *Mannix*, would describe that program as less violent than would a less frequent viewer.

Several segments of the data bear on this proposition. First, for each of the 65 programs, we correlated the judged violence of the show with the viewing data for each respondent. Of these correlations, 53 of the 65 were negative. This tendency is overwhelmingly in the predicted direction ($p < .001$), although few correlations for individual programs were sizeable. Second, we ranked the mean viewing scores for the programs, and computed the rank-order correlation between viewing and the ranked average violence score. This correlation was negative, but trivial. Finally, for each program, we divided the sample into "watchers," defined as those who watched "almost all the time" or "now and then," and "non-watchers," the non-viewers. For each program, we compared the mean judged violence for the watchers and non-watchers. In 43 of 65 programs, the non-watchers rated the program as more violent ($p < .05$). For the 20 most violent programs, watchers and non-watchers split evenly, each judging 10 of the shows to be more violent. Therefore, we find inconclusive support for the predicted relationship. However, in no case was there any empirical suggestion that watching violent programs was accompanied by more frequent assessments of violence in these shows.

Summary and Discussion

In terms of the original hypotheses, the data support these conclusions:

1. Among the 20 shows considered most violent by the public sample, the TV critics judged 19 of them even more violent.
2. The correspondence in program ordering between the critics and the public correlated +.86.
3. Giving the public a definition of TV violence led to consistently larger estimates of program violence.
4. Women viewers perceived more violence than did their male counterparts among the most violent TV programs; the men were more likely to be regular viewers of the more violent shows.

There was partial support for this hypothesis:

5. The amount of violence perceived in television programs was negatively correlated with regularity of watching those programs; the more frequent viewers judged the programs as less violent and vice versa.
6. The hypothesis on age differences in perceived violence was rejected; indeed, the data provided counter-support. Rather than finding that the older citizens perceived more violence in TV programming, we found that the younger age groups consistently and significantly rated the programs as more violent. The locus of the differences were in the under 40 and over 50 groups.

Let us speculate briefly on the age differences finding. Perhaps older adults are more jaded in their assessment of TV violence, as compared to the real-life violence many have experienced. If so, their discount of the magnitude of the TV violence would be greater. An alternate interpretation could begin with the younger viewers. Among the youngest, we find the contemporary peace movements as a central interest; a decade older are young men and women with growing families to protect. Perhaps for such younger age groups, there is a greater sensitivity to the potential personal consequences of violence, thereby eliciting more acute assessments of TV violence. Such speculations must await subsequent verification.

A more critical question may reside in the distinctive differences in perceived violence between those who *do* and *don't* watch televised violence regularly. If, indeed, the perception of televised violence is largely the fantasy behavior of those who do not watch programs they believe contain violence, then the level of general public concern may be too high. If, in contrast, the regular watchers of such programming have been inoculated against "seeing" violence or

against admitting its existence, then the level of social concern may not be high enough. Surely the origin of this difference demands to be ferreted out both theoretically and practically. Subsequent research on this issue might well deal with some experimental paradigms. Given controlled exposure to violence maintained at a relatively constant level from program to program, does a viewer make more neutral assessments over time? Given controlled exposure to violence, increased by some empirical criteria from program to program, does the new level of violence receive higher violence judgments; or, is the incremental violence necessary to maintain the prior judged magnitude of violence?

One may wish to examine other background factors which predispose an individual to perceive violent content. For example, it would be possible to posit social class and/or race as critical factors in the propensity to "see" violence. Citizens whose environs contain more frequent exposures to real-life hostility may deem TV violence less violent.

This study begs the question of what it is in the programs that is being perceived as violent. To what extent are the women reacting to the same scenes or acts of violence as the men? The difference in how much violence is seen may be attributable to more severe judgments of the same acts, or to the labeling of acts by one group as violent which are ignored by other subsets of viewers. Some may be reacting to implicit violence, others only to explicit vignettes; some may be reacting more so to verbal clashes, others primarily to physical acts of aggression. The content cues used by the viewers have not elsewhere been studied, nor has the present research served to clarify such issues.

Finally, with reference to the initial query about the influence of the critics' views on the public, we can only pose more questions. Do viewers follow the critics' reports on new and old shows; are such shows watched on the bases of these professional judgments; to what extent is the degree of violence a determiner of the critic's ratings of, or the viewer's preference for, a TV show? The relationship between such perceptions and the program content is yet to be determined. Still, some violent shows succeed and others fail—often in spite of the critics' commentary.

As with other media selections, the best guess may be that the viewers' prior disposition toward programming content predicts current habits. But then, how and when were these predispositions formed? The cycle continues.

Footnotes

¹ Obviously, these media are not completely ignored—in the pages of regional "fine arts" magazines, such periodicals as *Columbia Journalism Review*, and other outlets for analysis and opinion. However, just as obviously, they do not receive the attention given to the motion picture or television. Those interested in articles dealing with broadcast criticism (and reviewing) might find useful the Winter 1966-67 issue of the *JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING*, with articles on criticism by Ernie Kreiling, Uwe Magnus, Lawrence Laurent, Maurice E. Shelby, Jr., Elizabeth L. Young, J. B. McGrath, Jr. and Margrette Nance, and R. Franklin Smith.

² Leitner, M.A., Moss, S., and Tannenbaum, P. H., "Who Makes the Play Run?", *Journalism Quarterly*, 40:375-377, 1963.

³ Greenberg, Bradley S., "The Content and Context of Violence in the Mass Media," in *Mass Media and Violence*, Ball, Sandra J., and Baker, Robert K., (editors), A Staff Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, U.S. Government Printing Office, November, 1969, pp. 423-452.

⁴ To reduce the interview length, three programs were excluded on the basis of low violence ratings in a similar study conducted in the Detroit area. These were *Ed Sullivan*, *Kraft Music Hall*, and *Lawrence Welk*. Gordon, Thomas F., "An Exploration Into Television Violence," *Educational Broadcasting Review*, 30:44-48, 1969. *Anniversary Game*, *Newlywed Game*, *Truth or Consequences*, and *Let's Make a Deal* were excluded because they were game shows. Deleted from the analysis is one show (*Passage to Adventure*) which was a non-network offering. Some network shows offered elsewhere in the country, e.g., *Adam 12*, *Medical Center*, were not carried by the Detroit network affiliate.

⁵ Mean program differences *within* the public or within the critic samples which exceed .5 may be interpreted as statistically significant beyond the .05 level. Differences *between* the two groups which exceed .4 also warrant that interpretation.

⁶ For each of three shows—*To Rome With Love*, *Room 222*, *My World and Welcome to It*—the public's violence ratings were significantly greater than the critics. For this number of programs, the obtained differences could be attributed to chance. All individual program differences were analyzed by *t*-test.

⁷ Overall violence ratings for the two forms did not differ; therefore, subsequent analyses ignored the split-half program listings.

⁸ The six shows were different for the two halves of the sample which received different program listings. For each viewer, the scores for the top six shows were summed, and divided by the number of shows of the six for which ratings were given.

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CHURCHILL ROBERTS

The Portrayal of Blacks on Network Television

A continual complaint directed toward network television is that entertainment programs do not give the viewer a "true" picture of the world he inhabits. In the following article, Churchill Roberts, a doctoral candidate in broadcasting and communication research at the University of Iowa, examines how Blacks are portrayed both on programs and in commercial advertisements over American television.

MUCH concern has been expressed in recent times about the "absence" of Black performers in television programs and commercial advertisements. In the early years of television, the roles mainly available to Blacks were comical ones that emphasized ridicule. The medium had inherited Amos 'n' Andy from radio and Stepin Fetchit from the movies. Barnouw commented that "Radio had been close to lily-white, but implicitly. Television was explicitly and glaringly white. A seeming mirror of the world, it told the Negro continually that he did not exist—except in 'insults' like *Amos 'n' Andy*."¹ Whitney Young, Executive Director of the National Urban League, best described the deliberate exclusion of Blacks from television when he said:

Three or five years ago, there was a television show on one of the stations, I won't name the network, but it presented a scene from 125th St. Station with nothing but white people in it. Now I don't know how many of you know 125th Street in Harlem. But it takes real genius to shoot a scene from 125th Street in Harlem and have nothing but white people in it.²

Within the past few years, an attempt has been made to incorporate more Blacks into television programs and commercial advertisements. The purpose of this study is to analyze the extent to which Black per-

formers have permeated the world of television, and to note the occupational roles in which they are cast, the characteristics of those roles, and the situational context in which they are performed.

Few researchers in recent years have conducted a systematic content analysis of minority groups portrayed on television; and yet such research, in the light of current changes, seems necessary if we are to accurately gauge any variation in the social structure reflected by television. Balsley, in 1959, investigated references made to Blacks in magazines and non-fiction books and also occupational roles of Blacks in motion pictures, novels, nonfiction books, and television programs.³ She concluded, in part, that Blacks were represented as servants in television programs five times as often as they were represented in any other occupation. In the mass media that she examined, Blacks were not represented in all the major occupational groups reported by the census of population for 1950. She also found that a Black appeared as a professional—as a doctor—in only one television program. In a study of magazine advertisements, Cox compared the occupational distributions of Blacks and Whites for the years 1949-50 and 1967-68.⁴ He found a major increase in Black portrayals of "above skilled labor" occupations and a substantial decrease in the stereotyped portrayals of maids, cooks, servants, and other menial roles.

DeFleur examined all occupational roles presented on television over a six-month period and found a great variation between occupational roles on television and the adult composition of the total labor force.⁵ His results revealed an overrepresentation of managerial and professional roles, and a serious underrepresentation of jobs of lesser prestige. While DeFleur did not analyze his data according to race,⁶ his method of analysis was employed in the present study.

Method

This count of Black performers in television programs and commercials was conducted in Iowa City, Iowa. The data were derived from viewing all network-provided programs presented during prime time of the week of March 8-14, 1970 over the three commercial-network affiliated stations. A number of regular network programs were preempted that week, and those programs were viewed at their next regular showing. The data were then analyzed in two ways: (1)

for all programs presented the week of March 8-14, and (2) for all regular network programs. In the latter analysis the special network programs were replaced by the preempted regular network programs. The total group of regular prime time network programs will be referred to as "the expanded survey week." The inclusion of this additional analysis also provided a check for any possible unusualness in the particular week studied.

A record was kept of each time a Black performer appeared on the screen; however, using DeFleur's method of analysis, certain qualifications were necessary. First, programs were excluded that would yield little information about people in occupational roles. In the present study, these included news programs, cartoon programs, quiz shows, and westerns (historical). Secondly, an "occupational portrayal" was defined as an appearance by a performer in a recognizable occupational role for a period of at least three minutes. In the present study, portrayals which failed to meet the first criterion were recorded but not included in the occupational analysis, and those that did not meet the second criterion, such as bit parts or walk-ons, were used only to indicate the total number of programs in which Blacks at least made an appearance. No comparative count was made of white, or of other minority group appearances. The analysis of Blacks in television commercials was made separately from the program analysis. The data included all commercials presented during prime time for the week of March 8-14.⁷

Results

Forty Black performers were identified during the week of March 8-14, 27 of them meeting the criteria for occupational categorization. Blacks appeared in nine occupational categories, most often as entertainers. Black performers made at least an appearance in 46% of the programs presented. In the expanded survey week, 45 Blacks were featured, and 29 of them could be classified into 10 occupational categories. Blacks were portrayed more often in occupations related to the law and to the entertainment business. A Black person made an appearance in 51% of the regular network programs.

The occupational roles were regrouped into the categories used by the U.S. Census Bureau. The data revealed a pattern somewhat similar to that discovered by DeFleur in that there was an overrep-

TABLE I
Occupational Roles Portrayed by Blacks

Frequency of Appearance:	Week of March 8-14	Expanded Survey Week
Occupations related to the law	3	6
Occupations related to the entertainment business	9	6
Occupations related to health and medicine	2	2
Owners of small businesses	0	1
Personal servants	1	1
Secretaries and office workers	2	2
Military personnel	2	3
Skilled workers, technicians, and specialists	3	3
Semi-skilled workers	1	1
Educators	4	4
	—	—
	27	29

sentation of roles in the professional category and an underrepresentation in occupations of lesser prestige. There was approximately a 50% difference between the televised professional workers and the actual composition of the non-white professional labor force of 1968.

The analysis further revealed the number of Black performers that appeared on each network. In both sets of data, the patterns were similar. Blacks appeared most often on ABC (48% for the week of March 8-14 and 47% for the expanded survey week), followed by NBC (35% and 38%) and then CBS (17% and 15%). For the week of March 8-14, there was a significant difference between the number of Blacks that appeared on ABC and CBS ($Z=2.36$; $p<.01$), and for the expanded survey week there was a significant difference between the number of Blacks that appeared on CBS and either ABC ($Z=2.64$; $p<.01$) or NBC ($Z=2.04$; $p<.05$).

Black performers appeared in approximately 10% of the television commercials (58 of 588) viewed during prime time during the week of March 8-14, 1970. Of the 58 commercials in which Blacks were seen, 48 were different ones; the rest were repeats. Blacks appeared most often in advertisements featuring toiletries and toilet goods (13), followed by food and food products (7) and soaps, cleansers

and polishers (5). A total of 83 Blacks were identified in these commercials. Blacks were included in commercials advertising roughly 60% of the major "types of products" advertised on television as reported by the Television Bureau of Advertising for 1968.⁹

TABLE II
Comparison of Televised Occupational Distribution
with Actual Non-White Labor Force

Occupational Categories	Proportion of Black Workers in Televised Roles ⁸		Per Cent of Workers in Actual Labor Force (Non-White)
	March 8-14, 1970 (N=25)	Expanded Survey Week (N=26)	
1. Professional, technical and kindred workers	.60	.46	7.8%
2. Farmers and farm managers	—	—	1.2
3. Managers, officials, and proprietors (except farm)	.08	.11	2.8
4. Clerical and kindred workers	.08	.08	11.9
5. Sales workers, retail and others	—	—	1.9
6. Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	.04	.04	8.0
7. Operatives and kindred workers	—	—	23.7
8. Private household workers	.04	.04	9.5
9. Service workers (except category 8)	.16	.27	18.8
10. Farm laborers and farm foremen	—	—	3.7
11. Laborers (except farm and mine)	—	—	10.7
Total	1.00	1.00	100.0%

Source: Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, January 1969 and unpublished data. Television figures based on occupational roles that could be determined.

Discussion

Placing the roles of Black performers into some kind of perspective is very difficult because of the numerous possible frames of reference. It is easy to say that, according to the composition of the non-white labor force, television presents a distortion of reality; yet, DeFleur found this to be true for white performers as well. If, however, one notes the frequency of appearance of Blacks, there can be no doubt that there is an increase in number. In a study by the New York City Commission on Human Rights in 1967, it was found that Blacks appeared in only 2.4% of television commercials.¹⁰ The present study reported four times that amount. The increase in the number of Blacks in television programs is even more apparent, since four or five years ago only one Black performer, Bill Cosby, was employed regularly in a major role. In the expanded survey week of the present study, 13 Blacks were identified as regular performers in a major role.

If the background settings in which Blacks appear are perceived as indicators of the socio-economic condition of Blacks, then a distortion is even more obvious. In the *Mod Squad* episode of the survey week, Janny Wills (Gloria Foster) lived in a spacious and exquisitely-furnished apartment—likewise, *Julia* (Diahann Carroll), who dressed fashionably and drove a new convertible as well. The surroundings of Black performers in television commercials also were “glamorous.” It seems that the “humble” dwellings of Blacks are recognized only in television newscasts and documentaries and certain public television programs.

Clark observed that minority groups are presented on television in four successive stages—non-recognition, ridicule, regulation, and respect.¹¹ He suggested that Blacks are now being depicted in the regulatory stage which is characterized by an over-emphasis of roles relating to law and order. It may be, however, that this relation does not exist solely between minority groups and the manner in which they are portrayed on television. It may have been a function of television and its preoccupation with law. DeFleur, for example, found a higher proportion of occupations related to the law than were observed in the present study (30% compared to 11% for the week of March 8-14, and 21% for the regular network programs in the expanded survey week).

Stereotyping is another characteristic that is often attributed to television. In the present study, stereotyping was not so much an occupational trait as it was a general characteristic of Black performers. Seldom did Black men and women engage in physical contact (they were usually all business); Blacks rarely committed a crime (one Black tried to kill a man, but he was portraying a native African with a British accent); and most Black performers in television programs and commercials were light-skinned and conservatively dressed. This, of course, is in itself a form of regulation, since Black performers, unless they are previously-recognized stars, must conform to what is apparently the "acceptable" Black image.

The stereotyped quality of the roles of many Black performers may be a result of the difficulty in resolving social interaction between Blacks and whites, i.e., if Blacks and whites can not express emotional feelings toward each other, then it may appear less obvious if Blacks express no feelings at all, or only superficial feelings. One awkward exception to this was an advertisement in which a white male interviewer questioned a woman about her satisfaction with a certain kind of toothpaste she had just tried. The young man asked if he might try it for himself, and upon receiving permission, he leaned over and kissed the startled woman. During the period of analysis, this commercial was presented several times. When the female role was portrayed by a white woman or an Oriental, the interviewer was always the same; however, when a "Black" woman appeared in the advertisement, a "Black" man was presented as the interviewer. The message was obvious—there are certain "taboos" for Black women and white men.

Conclusions

This analysis of Black performers in television programs and commercial advertisements sought to identify the number and kinds of roles in which Blacks participate. The study revealed that approximately 50% of the television programs and 10% of the commercial advertisements included a Black person in some capacity. The distribution of occupational roles reflected a pattern similar to that reported by DeFleur. Also, Blacks were more often presented on ABC and NBC than CBS. Perhaps an explanation for this can be found in an analysis of programming on CBS. Several of its programs, e.g., *The Beverly Hillbillies*, *Petticoat Junction*, or *Green*

Acres, which have contributed to CBS' so-called "rural" image, featured no Blacks. Then, too, CBS had no program which was developed around a Black performer.¹² Finally, the study revealed that Blacks were usually depicted in "glamorous" settings and that most performers were stereotyped in appearance and actions.

Content analyses should be closely allied with audience studies. While the present data have revealed certain general characteristics of Black roles, future research should seek to identify the extent to which portrayals by Blacks affect perception and attitude. For example, does the fact that Blacks perform in an affluent middle class environment decrease the realization among whites that most Blacks live in much less desirable surroundings? Furthermore, does the environment of Blacks on television contribute to the dissatisfaction of Blacks in the real world with their environment? Does integration on the television screen increase the likelihood of real-world integration? If so, is it likely with all Blacks, or just those that are similar in appearance to Blacks on television? Should television strive to picture Blacks as they exist in the real world, or should it compensate its often unfavorable coverage of Blacks in newscasts by portraying them as "super" humans on entertainment programs? For instance, during the week of March 8-14, two major domestic news events were the disappearance of Rap Brown (and the bombing of a car in which he may have been a passenger) and a school desegregation incident in South Carolina. In only one entertainment program, however, was a Black American involved in anything that might be considered unlawful or might cast doubt upon his character. On the *Mod Squad* episode of the survey week, a Black man impersonated a doctor. But even here the producers attempted to compensate for the unfavorable aspects of the role by showing that he was unusually bright and able. (Before the character had passed himself off as a medical doctor, he had posed successfully as a lawyer in Kansas City, a football coach in Tacoma whose team won the championship and a medical instructor in San Francisco).

Footnotes

¹ Erik Barnouw, *The Golden Web* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 297.

² Whitney M. Young, Jr., "The Social Responsibility of Broadcasters," *Television Quarterly*, VIII (Spring, 1969), 15.

³ Daisy Fullilove Balsley, "A Descriptive Study of References Made to Negroes and Occupational Roles Represented by Negroes in Selected Mass Media" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Denver, 1959).

⁴ Keith K. Cox, "Changes in Stereotyping of Negroes and Whites in Magazine Advertisements," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XXXIII (Winter, 1969-1970), 603-606.

⁵ Melvin L. DeFleur, "Occupational Roles as Portrayed on Television," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XXVIII (Spring, 1964), 57-74.

⁶ It was assumed by the author that the analysis of television programs in 1963 revealed few Black performers.

⁷ The only exception to this was the replacement of commercials presented on NBC Saturday night, March 14, with those presented at the same time the following week. Regular programs on March 14 were pre-empted by a local basketball tournament, and all commercials featured agricultural products. Since it was obvious that these commercials were not representative of the usual fare, the commercials of the following week were used in the data.

⁸ Blacks were observed in a number of roles not included in the categories of the occupational analysis. These included: *Three Boys on a Safari* (student); *Julia* (two businessmen); *Mod Squad* (phony doctor); *Gunsmoke* (lawman); *Medical Center* (student); *Room 222* (two students); *Daniel Boone* (frontiersman); *Pat Paulsen* (two young children portraying a business executive and secretary); *Let's Make a Deal* (contestants); *Bill Cosby* (official for a handball tournament); *Sunday Night Movie* (native chief); *Dragnet* (woman).

⁹ See *Broadcasting Yearbook 1970*, p. 70.

¹⁰ Robert Lewis Shayon, "Commercials in Black and White," *Saturday Review*, October 5, 1968, p. 48.

¹¹ Cedric Clark, "Television and Social Controls: Some Observations on the Portrayals of Ethnic Minorities," *Television Quarterly*, VIII (Spring, 1969), 19.

¹² CBS did have the *Leslie Uggams Show*, but dropped it at mid-season.

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STUART H. SURLIN and JOSEPH R. DOMINICK

Television's Function as a "Third Parent" for Black and White Teen-Agers

One of the most interesting lines of research to be found in the pages of the JOURNAL in recent years is that which concerns racial and social class differences in television program choices by young children. Both authors were doctoral candidates in the Department of Communication of Michigan State University when this study was conducted, but now are assistant professors in the School of Journalism at the University of Georgia (Surlin), and the Department of Communications Arts and Sciences of Queens College (Dominick).

WHAT kind of TV programs do teen-agers prefer? Are there differences between the kind of programs preferred by young people from middle-income and low-income families? Are there differences between white and Black teen-agers? If there are, why should this be so? Can "favorite programs" be related to TV's function as a "third parent" for teen-agers? These are some of the questions this study seeks to answer by examining both the influence of income and race on favorite program choices of teen-agers. The findings in our study¹ can be directly related, in several ways, to the findings of Carey² and Fletcher.³ Throughout this article we will compare and contrast our findings to theirs.

There is evidence to suggest that specific content preferences are related to differences in socio-economic status and race. Carey, investigating Black/white differences, hypothesized that Blacks preferred to view individual-centered programs with themes of conflict and loneliness, because they are indicative of the Negro social con-

dition. Less preferred, said Carey, were variety shows, and shows that portrayed families.⁴

Fletcher examined racial differences in television viewing among a sample of 461 sixth through twelfth graders in a southern school district. He found a non-significant correlation between the rankings of the 75 programs most watched by blacks and whites (using a Spearman Rank-Order correlation, the co-efficient was .20, not statistically greater than zero at the .05 level of confidence).⁵

Our study is intended to interpret Carey and Fletcher's findings on the basis of additional original research data and a synthesis of findings from other sources. We believe that, in many lower income households, parent-child relations are erratic and inconsistent. Many parents and children see each other on a non-systematic, disorganized basis.⁶ Many lower income husbands often leave the family unit for one reason or another and, as a result, many women are forced to work. Because of this, they are absent from the home for long periods of time, further emphasizing the fragmented basis of interaction between parent and child.⁷ Because of this disruption, we believe the lower income child lacks a source of information which instructs him of his proper role within the family unit. Television is an easy way for the child to acquire this information. Being unable to learn from his parents the "proper" roles expected of him by society, the young person turns to the TV set as a "third parent" to learn how he should act.

On the other hand, most white, middle-income teen-agers are members of stable family units and relate to their parents on a more systematic basis.⁸ In other words, they have models from which to learn behaviors expected of them by society. We believe that as a result, they have little need to rely on television for this type of information.

Therefore, it is our general hypothesis that differences in program choices should be evident among lower-income and middle-income teen-agers as well as between lower-income Black and white teen-agers. More specifically:

H₁: TV shows with family units as the focal point are preferred more by teen-agers from low-income families than by teen-agers from middle-income families.

Further, since the pattern of family life outlined above in lower-income homes is even more pronounced in Black families,⁹ we hypothesize:

H₂: TV shows with family units as the focal point are preferred more by Black teen-agers than by white teen-agers from the same income level.

In examining adult viewing choices, Carey suggested that Blacks do not identify with, and thus reject, programs in which the action is centered in the family or family-like organizations.¹⁰ Among teenagers, however, it is our contention that the opposite is true.

The rest of our hypotheses follow Carey's general reasoning. Since Carey based his rationale on racial differences, we will concern ourselves mainly with differences between lower-income white and Black teen-agers. This allows us to control, as far as possible, economic differences—an opportunity not available to Carey. Carey reasoned that Blacks, because of the experience of their race in American society, would be more likely to favor shows which featured as their main theme the experience of an isolated individual.¹¹ From this, we hypothesize:

H₃: TV shows with a single individual as the focal point are preferred more by Black teen-agers than by white teen-agers.

Further, Carey hypothesized that Blacks would be less likely to view shows in which an organized unit working together toward a common goal is the main feature. According to Carey, such a situation is foreign to the perceived reality of the American Negro.¹² In line with this, we hypothesize:

H₄: TV shows with an organized unit or a team as the focal point are preferred more by white teen-agers than by Black teen-agers.

Finally, Carey reasoned that Blacks would be less likely to prefer comedy shows whose main emphasis was on spoken humor. Moreover, variety shows featuring country-western or "middle-class" American music would be less preferred.¹³ Since the above seems to apply to most of the "variety" shows presently on network TV, we hypothesize:

H₅: TV shows with singing, dancing, or general entertainment, i.e., "variety," as the focal point are preferred more by white teen-agers than by Black teen-agers.

Methods and Sample

Questionnaires were administered to eight classes of 10th and 11th graders attending a Philadelphia high school in May, 1968. Classes in the lowest ability level in the school were not interviewed because of insufficient reading skills. This particular high school is located on the outskirts of a Negro ghetto from where it draws almost all its Negro students. It is also located near a low-income white residential area which contributes a large proportion of its white enrollment.¹⁴ Completed questionnaires were obtained from 206 teen-agers. Of these, 60% were from white students and 40% from Negroes—approximately the same racial distribution as the total enrollment of the school. The whites and Blacks in the study were matched therefore, on age, place of residence, grade and ability level. On the next day, the same questionnaire was administered to 93 white teen-agers attending another high school located in a middle-class residential district of north Philadelphia.

All of our respondents were asked, "What are the names of your three most favorite TV shows?" Four categories of TV programs were developed:

A. *Family Group Category*—The main characters exist as a family unit dealing with real-life problems. There must be a blood-relationship between the main characters. It does not matter if the show is a situation comedy, a western, or outerspace fiction, as long as a family unit plays a major part in it. i.e., *Bonanza*, *Peyton Place*, *Big Valley*.

B. *"Loner" Category*—The main character in this show is on his own. He operates outside the formal framework of any organization or team. Relationships between the main character and others on the show do not continue past one or two episodes. In other words, the star of this show can be called a "loner;" he is not helped in a continuing fashion by the same people. i.e., *The Fugitive*, *The Invaders*, *It Takes a Thief*.

C. *Team Category*—The main characters in this show are joined together by a common cause, goal, or purpose. They act as a unit, team, or a group. They all work together in order to succeed. They are well-organized and the same characters generally re-appear from episode to episode. i.e., *Mission Impossible*, *Star Trek*, *N.Y.P.D.*

D. *Entertainment Category*—The main characters in this show are there only to entertain. The shows in this category are generally a collection of acts—singing, dancing, comedy—with different guest stars every week. These shows could also be called "variety" shows. i.e., *Dean Martin*, *Ed Sullivan*, *Carol Burnett*.

Three coders assigned all the shows named by the teen-agers to one of these four categories.¹⁵ The average percentage of perfect agreement among the coders was 92%.

Findings

Clearly, TV programs with family units as the focal point were found to be preferred more by Black and lower-income teen-agers than by white and middle-income teen-agers. This finding parallels the finding of Fletcher, but was counter to Carey's results. Among the lower-income teen-agers, 56% of the sample named at least one show from the Family Group Category—while only 19% of the middle-income sample named such a show (Table I). A racial difference also was present; 65% of the Black teen-agers named a family show compared to 51% of the lower-income whites.

TABLE I
Racial and Income Differences in Favorite Program Choice

	Income		Low Income	
	Low (N=206)	Middle (N=93)	Blacks (N=84)	Whites (N=122)
FAMILY GROUP CATEGORY*				
Percentage that named at least one family show as a favorite	56%	19%	65%	51%
Percentage that did not name a family show as a favorite	44%	81%	35%	49%
ENTERTAINMENT CATEGORY**				
Percentage that named at least one entertainment show as a favorite	44%	72%	25%	57%
Percentage that did not name an entertainment show as a favorite	56%	28%	75%	43%

*A Chi-square test indicated a significant difference at the .0001 level between low- and middle-income groups for this category and, at the .05 level between low-income Blacks and whites.

**A Chi-square test indicated a significant difference at the .001 level between low- and middle-income groups for this category, and, at the .001 level between low-income Blacks and whites.

There were no differences between respondent groups concerning their relative preference for shows featuring a single individual. Among the lower-income respondents, 42% of the Black sample named at least one show as a favorite from this category compared with 35% for the whites. There was also no evidence of an income level difference, as 38% of both middle- and lower-income samples named at least one show from this category as a favorite. Programs emphasizing a team as a main dramatic element were preferred equally both by white and by Black teen-agers. Also, no income differences were present. This again runs counter to our hypothesis. We found a significant racial and income level difference in the number of favorite shows named in the Entertainment Category. One-fourth of the Blacks named at least one entertainment show as a favorite, compared with 57% of the whites (Table I). Further analysis also revealed an income level difference in this category. 72% of the middle-income teen-agers named a show from this category compared to 44% of the lower-income youngsters.

Additional data obtained from respondents made it possible to do further analysis of the hypotheses, using actual viewing behavior. One section of the questionnaire recorded the respondent's TV viewing on the Sunday before the research was done. Each person circled the shows he had viewed on a program log. The 9 p.m. time segment furnished us with an excellent opportunity to receive a behavioral check on our predictions. During this time segment, *Bonanza*, a Family Group show, was pitted against *The Smothers Brothers Show*, an Entertainment Category show. Our rationale would predict that more low-income teens would choose *Bonanza* while the middle-income teen-agers would choose the other show. Further, among the low-income respondents more Blacks would watch *Bonanza*. Approximately 50% of all three samples reported some viewing during this time period. Further, of those who were watching at this time, approximately 65% chose to watch one of the two shows.

The viewing behavior of the respondents supported our rationale. Among the low-income respondents, only 38% of the whites compared to 70% of the Blacks watched *Bonanza* ($p < .01$). By income groups, *Bonanza* was watched by 28% of the middle-income teenagers; among the lower-income teens, the percentage was 50% ($p < .02$). Thus, this evidence suggests that differences in program preference are reflected by actual viewing behavior. This finding is

strongly supported by Fletcher's data. In his rank-order correlation of Negro and white program preferences, based on actual viewing behavior; *Bonanza* was ranked 4th by Negro respondents and 15th by his white respondents. On the other hand, *The Smothers Brothers Show* was tied for 69th ranking by Negroes while it was ranked 7th by whites.¹⁶

The following table summarizes the similarities and dissimilarities which exist between the three related studies.

TABLE II
Similarities and Dissimilarities between Studies

Carey (1965)	Fletcher (1969)	Surlin and Dominick (1970)
SAMPLE:		
National sample of 5,000	461 Southern 6-12th graders	299 10th and 11th grade northern urban teen-agers
DEPENDENT VARIABLE:		
Actual Viewing	Actual viewing	Favorite program choices
MAIN FINDINGS:		
1. Variety shows less preferred by Blacks	1. Not investigated	1. Variety shows less preferred by Blacks
2. Family shows less preferred by Blacks	2. Family shows more preferred by Blacks	2. Family shows more preferred by Blacks
3. Individualistic shows more preferred by Blacks	3. Not investigated.	3. Individualistic shows preferred same amount by Blacks & whites
4. Team shows preferred by Blacks	4. Not investigated	4. Team shows preferred same amount by Blacks & whites

Discussion

Drawing generalizations across all three studies is difficult. One finding, however, is common to all. Different kinds of programs appeal to members of different races—both to children and adults. Discrep-

ancies arise, however, when we begin to identify what types of programs are differentially preferred.

Our findings support Carey's contention that Blacks would prefer variety and entertainment shows less than should whites. We found no support for his suggestions that Blacks would favor shows in which the emphasis was on a single individual's experience, or, that Blacks should not prefer shows which focus on the workings of a team. It may be, however, that our categorizations of these shows might not agree with Carey's original definitions.

One of our results runs directly counter to Carey's finding. We found more of a preference among Blacks for shows which focussed on a family. Fletcher's data also support our results. Analysis of his findings indicates that 7 out of the top 10 shows for Blacks fell into our Family Group Category, compared with only 4 shows for whites. There are at least two reasons that may account for this inconsistency. Our study and Fletcher's were both done among children; Carey's, with adults.¹⁷ It might be that the current generation of young Blacks has grown up amid a set of experiences quite different from those of their elders. Because of this, they may be using TV content in a way quite different from their parents. Secondly, as Fletcher pointed out, many of the shows featuring a family unit deal with an incomplete family, i.e., a widowed mother or father; an environment with which many low-income youngsters can identify.

We reason that low-income teens, and low-income Blacks in particular, are using TV as a learning device. Through TV they acquire the behavior perceived as appropriate for family members in the predominantly white-middle-class world. The low-income Black youngster thus tends to use such information as a means for furthering understanding of the larger society from which he seems to have been excluded. In this way, the television medium functions as a "third parent." This particular use of television closely parallels Gerson's¹⁸ emphasis on television as a socializing agent. Thus, significant sociological variables, such as race and social class, divide the television viewing audience into groupings which, in turn, prefer differential types of television programs.¹⁹

Footnotes

¹ Data for this analysis were obtained from a project sponsored by the National Association of Broadcasters in a grant to Dr. Bradley S. Greenberg, Associate Professor of Communication at Michigan State University. The authors were Ph.D. candidates in Communication at M.S.U. at the time the article was written.

² Carey, James W., "Variations in Negro/White Television Preference," *JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING*, 10:3 (Summer, 1966), 199-211.

³ Fletcher, Alan, "Negro and White Children's Television Program Preferences," *JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING*, 13:4 (Fall, 1969), 359-366.

⁴ Carey, *Op. Cit.*, 209-210.

⁵ Fletcher, *Op. Cit.*, 360.

⁶ Minuchin, Salvador, Braulio Montalvo, Berhard Guerney, Jr., Bernice Rosman, and Florence Schumer, *Families of the Slums*, New York: Basic Books, 1967.

⁷ Frazier, E. F., *Black Bourgeoisie*, New York: Collier, 1962.

⁸ Minuchin, *et al*, *Op. Cit.*

⁹ Clark, Kenneth, *Dark Ghetto*, New York: Harper, 1967.

¹⁰ Carey, *Op. Cit.*, 209.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*, 206-207.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 210.

¹⁴ A check was made on the relative socio-economic status of our three respondent groups. The index of social status used was one developed by Verling Troldahl. To use the scale, coders judged whether the reported job of the main wage earner had the same or more prestige than 12 standard jobs. On this scale, a score of 12 indicates high prestige while a score of zero indicates low prestige. The mean values of occupational prestige for the samples were: black sample, high school in south Philadelphia, 4.2; white sample, from the same school, 4.1; white sample, high school in north Philadelphia, 6.5; intercoder agreement on this item was .91. The male-female percentage in each sample was about 50-50.

¹⁵ Several teens chose "Movies" as their favorite program. This response could not be meaningfully included in our category scheme and was not used in the analysis. The percentage in each sub-group giving this response was low-income whites 12%; low-income blacks, 16%; middle-income whites, 10%.

¹⁶ Fletcher, *Op. Cit.*, 361.

¹⁷ However, additional data collected from adults indicates that this phenomenon may not be confined to young people. Analysis of data collected from another project investigating communication among the urban poor revealed that low income Black adults were more apt to prefer family-oriented shows (57%) than low income white adults (42%), and to a significant degree ($\chi^2=5.63$; $p<.02$); and less apt to name variety shows as favorites (20%) than whites (38%), and to a significant degree ($\chi^2=9.43$; $p<.01$). See Green-

berg, Bradley S., and Brenda Dervin, "Mass Communication Among the Urban Poor," Department of Communication, Michigan State University (mimeo), 1969.

¹⁸ Gerson, Walter, "Mass Media Socialization Behavior: Negro-White Differences," *Social Forces*, 45:1 (Sept., 1966), 40-50.

¹⁹ Some additional references in this area that may be of interest are: Greenberg, Bradley S., and Brenda Dervin, "Communication and Related Behaviors of Low-Income White and Negro Adults," Department of Communication, Michigan State University (mimeo), 1967.

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/S/ JOHN M. KITROSS, Editor

DON D. SMITH

Student Audiences for International Broadcasts

Dr. Don D. Smith is associate professor in the Department of Sociology of Florida State University. Appreciation for access to the data on which this study is based is expressed to Dr. Charles M. Grigg, Director of the Institute for Social Research at Florida State, and to the Roper Public Opinion Research Center, Williamsburg, Massachusetts.

IN 1959, George Codding wrote, "A major unknown element in international broadcasting is the listening audience."¹ Today, a decade later, his evaluation still holds true. Despite the prodigious expansion of activity in international broadcasting, and the political significance currently attached to much of this activity, we have very little hard data about the audiences in differing nations that listen to programs broadcast directly from other nations.²

Understandably, the political context, within which much international broadcasting takes place, creates a sensitivity that often precludes the systematic collection of data about the listening audiences. After all, a significant amount of international broadcasting is openly funded by national governments for the ultimate purpose of furthering the interests of those nations. Not surprisingly, then, national governments have not been particularly receptive to research about the international broadcast audiences in their own territories. This has frequently forced us to rely on research evidence gathered either by indirect, often subjective, reports, or on the possibly unrepresentative replies voluntarily submitted by listeners in response to direct solicitation through the broadcast programs.

Yet, the audiences to such programming deserve our fullest research attention. The very political conditions that create much of this broad-

cast activity lend a significance to hard facts about the size and characteristics of the audiences for the broadcasts. Paradoxically, it is the obstacle to research laid down by these same political conditions that is largely responsible for the dearth of information about these audiences, creating a significant gap in our knowledge of international broadcasting. This gap is particularly lamentable on the eve of the revolution in international communications that is likely to occur as a result of such technological innovations as orbiting communication satellites. Evidence on the current international broadcast audiences would provide us with bench marks against which we might compare in the future the inroads and consequences of these innovations.

Some research recently conducted in the United States found 2% of a national sample of Americans listening at least once a month to programs broadcast directly to this country from other nations by short-wave radio.³ The college-educated are prominent in this audience. Particular significance is attached to this point by some additional research which has found that, in the United States at least, the political opinions and beliefs of university students can be strongly affected by the international broadcasts to which they are exposed.⁴ Such potential impact is particularly important in a world in which university students, no longer viewing themselves to be in a "pre-adult" period, are playing a prominent role in national and international events, many of which have politically significant consequences. And, as has long been recognized, these university students still serve as the pool from which future leaders and opinion makers will be drawn.

The following report, therefore, examines data recently made available about the international broadcast listening of university students in a number of countries; the size of the student audiences in each country, and the stations to which they listen.⁵ The samples, numbering in size from 300 to 2,500 respondents, have been drawn from university students in Mexico, Peru, Venezuela, Turkey, Iran and Malaysia, and from African students studying abroad in France, Germany and Great Britain.⁶ The data were collected by personal interview (usually by a native of the respondents' countries) in 1963 and 1964. Although the terminology used is not exactly identical in all of the surveys, the similarity between them is sufficient to provide comparative data about these international broadcast audiences.

Results

Turkey. Some 39% of the 1,745 respondents to this survey reported they received either a "moderate amount" or a "great deal" of their news about world affairs from foreign radio broadcasts. This compares with 83% who reported a similar amount of such news from domestic radio in Turkey. Ninety-seven per cent of the students reported that a "moderate amount" or a "great deal" of their news of world affairs came from daily newspapers and 67% replied similarly for magazines. The foreign stations to which these students listened, and the percentage of individuals in the international broadcast audience indicating they listened to each station are: 1) BBC (64%), 2) Voice of America (61%), 3) Radio Monte Carlo (6%), 4) "German wave" (5%), 5) Radio Moscow (2%), and 6) other stations, including Radio Budapest, Greece and Cyprus (2%).

Iran. Fifty-two per cent of the 300 respondents to this survey reported getting either a "moderate amount" or a "great deal" of their news of foreign affairs from foreign radio broadcasts. Seventy-one per cent drew similar amounts from their domestic Iranian radio broadcasts. Replies of these students for daily newspapers and magazines are 92% and 59% respectively. The stations listened to, again with the percentage of individuals in the international broadcast audience who stated they listen to that station, are: 1) USSR (50%),⁷ 2) Islamic stations, such as Radio Damascus, Radio Cairo, Iraq (39%), 3) BBC (35%), 4) Radio India and Radio Pakistan (31%), 5) Voice of America (28%), and 6) other stations, including China, France and Germany (5%).

Malaysia. Fifty-eight per cent of these 451 students reported getting information about world affairs from foreign radio broadcasts.⁸ This compares with 78% utilizing domestic Malaysian radio, 97% using newspapers, and 92% responding similarly for magazines. The stations to which these Malaysian students listened were: 1) BBC (76%), 2) Voice of America (55%), 3) ABC-Australia (30%), 4) Radio Peking (3%), 5) Radio India (3%), 6) Radio Indonesia (3%), and 7) others, such as Radio Moscow, Japan, Ceylon (9%).

Surveys conducted in the countries of Mexico, Venezuela and Peru did not elicit information identical with that obtained in the other surveys. Instead of asking how much of their news of foreign affairs

respondents obtained from various sources, these surveys asked whether or not the respondents listened to foreign short-wave radio stations, and the frequency with which the respondents listened.

Venezuela. Forty-one per cent of the sample of 1,226 reported listening to foreign short-wave radio programs. These Venezuelan students listened to: 1) Radio Havana (34%), 2) Voice of America (22%), 3) BBC (21%), 4) Radio Americas (12%), 5) Radio Moscow (12%), and 6) others, such as Voice of the Andes, WRUL, CBC and KGEI (16%).

Mexico. Twenty-five per cent of the 2,522 respondents in Mexico reported short-wave listening. The available data do not provide the percentage of listeners for each station, but they do permit a rank ordering of the stations by frequency of listeners. These stations are: 1) Radio Havana, 2) Voice of America, 3) BBC, 4) Radio Americas, 5) Radio Moscow, and 6) others, such as the Voice of the Andes and CBC.

Peru. Forty-four per cent of the 1,581 respondents to this survey replied affirmatively to listening to short-wave radio broadcasts. The stations to which they listened were: 1) Radio Havana (31%), 2) Voice of America (24%), 3) Voice of the Andes (20%), 4) BBC (19%), 5) Radio Moscow (17%), 6) Radio Americas (8%), and 7) others, including CBC, WRUL and KGEI (6%).

The high frequency with which these audiences listened to international broadcasts is quite notable. Eleven per cent of the broadcast audience in Venezuela, 8% of those in Peru, and 4% of those in Mexico reported listening to Radio Havana 2 to 4 times a week or more. From 2% to 4% of the broadcast audiences in these countries reported listening to Radio Havana every day. Nineteen per cent of the broadcast audience in Venezuela listened to Radio Havana at least once a week or more, as did 16% of those in Peru and 9% of those in Mexico. The Voice of America also achieves a high frequency of listening by these South American students. Fourteen per cent of the student audience in Peru listened to it at least once a week or more, as did 8% of those in Mexico and 7% of those in Venezuela. Additional data from these respondents indicated that about 85% listened to the Spanish-language broadcasts of the international stations; hence, they obviously are not doing it primarily for language training.

University students exhibit voluntary international mobility perhaps more than any other contemporary group. It is a characteristic of our time that a large number of students take part of their formal university education in the universities of some other nation. The following paragraphs report data recently made available about the international broadcast listening of African students studying in France, Great Britain and Germany.

France. Thirty-one per cent of the 475 African students in this survey reported getting either a "moderate amount" or a "great deal" of their news about world affairs from foreign radio broadcasts. Seventy-three per cent of them responded similarly for French radio stations, 94% listed daily newspapers, and 69% responded affirmatively for magazines (the latter two press sources being principally French). The stations listened to, and the percentage of respondents in the international broadcast audience who reported listening to each, are: 1) Radio Moscow (60%), 2) BBC (37%), 3) Voice of America and other American radio sources (24%), 4) stations in other Communist countries, such as Radio Prague and Radio Belgrad (16%), 5) Radio Switzerland-Geneva (7%), 6) Radio Peking (6%), 7) Arabic radio sources, such as Cairo, Tunis and Algiers (5%); and 8) others (11%).

Germany. A phenomenal 87% of the 298 African students in this survey said they got either a "moderate amount" or a "great deal" of their news of world affairs from listening to foreign radio broadcasts. Eighty-five per cent of them listed domestic German radio sources for similar amounts of news, 95% list newspapers, and 74% list magazines (again, the press sources referred to are principally German in origin). Unfortunately, the categories of stations to which this large audience listened were defined very broadly in the survey. The stations are: 1) Western radio stations (89%), 2) African stations (20%), 3) non-German radio stations in Germany (15%), and 4) Communist bloc radio stations (14%).

Great Britain. Thirty-five percent of the 291 African respondents reported that either a "moderate amount" or a "great deal" of their news of world affairs came from foreign broadcast listening. Eighty per cent responded similarly to domestic British radio, 95% for newspapers, and 55% for magazines (the latter two refer dominantly to

the domestic British press). The stations to which these respondents listened were: 1) BBC Overseas Service (88%), 2) Voice of America (78%), 3) Radio Moscow (58%), 4) West European stations (20%), 5) Arabic radio stations, such as Cairo, Tunis and Algiers (15%), 6) Radio Peking (5%), and 7) East European radio (5%).

Conclusions

The results of this study clearly indicate the existence of a sizeable audience for international broadcasts among university students in differing countries. Somewhat surprisingly, despite the widely varying cultural patterns of the countries included in this study, and despite also the widely differing levels of media development in these various countries, the international broadcast audiences are rather consistent in relative size from one country to the other.⁹ In the case of students attending universities in their own countries, from 40 to 45% of them, on the average, listened to international broadcasts. As international broadcast audiences go, this is very high. Further, in those surveys in which such data were collected, the frequency with which these students listened appears very high as well. Audiences of such large numbers of people listening several times a week or, as in some nations, listening every day, are imposing broadcast audiences indeed.

Another important point to be noted is the consistency from country to country of the stations to which the international broadcast audiences listened. Although stations with regional significance to a given country usually rank high in the listening order of the audience in that country, there is considerable consistency in the stations which continually appear in the listening order of the audience in each country. Among these is a significant number of stations (such as Voice of America, Radio Moscow, BBC, Radio Peking and, in the case of South American audiences, Radio Havana) that openly espouse their official links with their national governments. In the face of their openly stated political affiliation, the continually large audiences to these government-sponsored stations adds support to recent evidence which indicates that current international broadcast audiences, in contrast to such audiences of a generation ago, are people highly interested in international affairs, and that these people deliberately seek out and concentrate their listening to stations which represent governments playing a prominent role in those affairs.¹⁰

Research on the American audience to these broadcasts has found that the people listening to these programs are high media consumers; they are high information seekers. They listen to these international broadcasts, not necessarily for support of political views they already hold, but because of the additional information and perspective such broadcasts provide them in interpreting international events. This suggests that the "high" or "low" credibility of the communicating source may not play the exclusive role in real-life exposure to international broadcasts that extrapolations from domestic experimental research findings frequently imply.¹¹

Another point to be marked in the results of this study is the similarity in the exposure patterns of those students studying in home universities and those studying abroad. The African student data indicate that about one-third of them are listening to international broadcasts. Again, it is the politically affiliated stations which rank high in their listening, more so even than familiar "voices from home."¹² This also supports the notion that these audiences are deliberately exposing themselves to sources which represent nations prominent in the conduct of international affairs including the Voice of America and (particularly in the case of South American students) Radio Havana.

Footnotes

¹ George A. Coddington, Jr. *Broadcasting Without Barriers*. The Hague, Netherlands: UNESCO, 1959.

² See W. Phillips Davison. *International Political Communication*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965. Also see Cynthia E. Bled, "Review of Audience Research in some Developing Countries of Africa," *JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING*, 13:2 (Spring, 1969), 167-180.

³ Don D. Smith, "America's Short-Wave Audience: Twenty-Five Years Later," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 33:4 (Winter, 1969), 537-545.

⁴ Don D. Smith, "Some Effects of Radio Moscow's North American Broadcasts," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (forthcoming).

⁵ These data are drawn from the survey results placed on deposit in the Roper Public Opinion Research Center in Williamstown, Massachusetts. The survey organizations that collected the data are: International Research Associates, Incorporated (Peru, Mexico and Venezuela); Institut fur Meinungsforschung und Sozialforschung (African Students in Germany, Iranian students, and Turkey); Coordination Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Bangkok (Malaysia); Institut Francais d'Opinion Publique (African Students in France); Social Surveys, Ltd. (African Students in Great Britain).

⁶ The samples in Mexico, Peru and Venezuela are quota samples drawn on the basis of sex, faculty in which enrolled, and year in school. The Mexican

sample was drawn from the following institutions: Universidad Nacional Autonoma; Instituto Politecnico Nacional; Escuela Nacional de Maestros; Escuela Nacional de Agricultura de Chapingo; Universidad de Morelia; Universidad de Nuevo Leon; Universidad Autonoma de Guadalajara; Universidad Oficial de Guadalajara; Normal Rural de Ciudad Guzman. The universities in the Peruvian sample are: San Marcos University; University of Cuzco; Trujillo University, Catholic University. The Venezuelan sample was drawn from students at Caracas Central University.

The samples of African students in Great Britain, Germany and France are quota samples drawn largely by nationality of respondent. The principal nations represented in the samples in Germany and Great Britain are: Nigeria, Ghana, Sudan, Kenya, Tanganyika (now Tanzania), Uganda, Sierra Leone, and Rhodesia. The principal nationalities represented in the sample in France are: Ivory Coast, Cameron, Madagascar, Mali, Senegal, Guinea, Upper Volta and Dahomey.

The samples for Iran, Turkey and Malaysia are systematic random samples, drawn from student registration lists. The Iranian sample is taken from students attending Tehran University; the Malaysian sample comes from students at the University of Malaya, and the sample in Turkey is drawn from the following institutions: University of Ankara; Gazi Educational Institute; Middle East Technical University; University of Istanbul; Technical University, Istanbul; Robert College and Aegean University.

⁷ The labels used for the stations are a function of the categories used in the original surveys. Unfortunately, as in this case, the collected data does not always indicate specific stations.

⁸ The Malaysian survey did not obtain the amount of news obtained from each source; instead, it elicited whether or not the respondents listened to foreign radio broadcasts. Hence, the percentage of Malaysian students who report listening may be inflated somewhat by those who listen only very minimally to such broadcasts.

⁹ The pattern of students' exposure to the different media within each country also are similar from country to country.

¹⁰ See Don D. Smith, "America's Short-Wave Audience: Twenty-Five Years Later," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 33:4 (Winter, 1969), 537-545. Another reason for the high listenership to these particular stations is, of course, that the transmission facilities and extended broadcasting hours of these comparatively well-financed stations make it much more likely that any audience for international broadcasting will be listening to them rather than stations with less extensive transmission facilities or more limited broadcast hours. From our interviews with international broadcast listeners, it is clear that many of them, even when highly motivated to listen, just do not know where to look on the broadcast band for such broadcasts. Thus, the probability of eventually locating some of the more intensive broadcast stations on the band is much greater than it is for locating some of the other less well-known stations. Another factor to be considered is that in all of the surveys except those in South America the respondents were asked about sources from which they get news of world affairs. Such a phrasing might particularly favor the appearance of those respondents listening to politically affiliated stations.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² These student-abroad audiences are also similar to students studying at home universities in their exposure to different media within their host country.

DOUGLAS A. BOYD

Saudi Arabian Television

As part of his background for preparation of this report, Douglas Boyd spent more than three years between 1963 and 1968 in Saudi Arabia, most recently as administrative assistant to the Chief of Television Operations for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Saudi Arabia TV Project. Mr. Boyd, a former newsman and announcer, earned his M.A. in the University of Maryland and presently is working on a doctorate in the University of Minnesota.

As the donkey carts jostled with new Mercedes and Chevrolets for what room was left in the street, the people of Jidda, Saudi Arabia, crowded the store fronts to get a glimpse of something which might change their social patterns profoundly. Television had come to Saudi Arabia. Signal tests began in Jidda and Riyadh on July 17, 1965,¹ with no more than slides, music, and occasional *Mighty Mouse* cartoons, but the people lined up five and six deep to view the American, European, and Japanese sets on display in the *suq*, or market area.

The completion of the first two stations in the Saudi Government's television system did not signal the dawn of the medium in the Kingdom. In September, 1957, the Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO) began a TV service for its 9,000 employees in Dhahran on the Arabian Gulf. At that time the United States Air Force Base in Dhahran also had its own English-language TV service (started on June 17, 1955²) for base personnel.³

For many years Saudi Arabia's religious leaders, who belong to the ultra-conservative Wahabi sect of Islam, blocked consideration of a national television system, as they adhere to the Islamic idea that it is immoral to produce an image of the human body. People who officially believe that the world is flat are slow to accept such an innovation as television. However, King Feisal reportedly had been

impressed with television while recovering from an operation in a Boston hospital,⁴ and in 1963 a royal decree was announced to the Saudi people authorizing construction of television stations in Jidda, the largest Red Sea port city, and Riyadh, the interior capital.⁵

In reply to a Saudi Government request for technical help, the United States offered the services of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to design, construct, and begin operation of two 2-KW interim television stations in Riyadh and Jidda. By April, 1965, the buildings had been completed, and RCA television equipment modified to transmit on the European CCIR standard had been installed. The Corps of Engineers contracted with the National Broadcasting Company International (N.B.C.I.) to supply personnel to operate and maintain the two stations. The N.B.C.I. staff of engineers and production specialists also conducted on-the-job training sessions for Saudi personnel. On January 1, 1969, AVCO Electronics Division, AVCO Corporation, took over the operation and maintenance contract from N.B.C.I.⁶ Until January 1, 1971, the Corps of Engineers, using Ministry of Information funds obtained from the national budget, represented the Saudi Government on most television design and construction matters, and administered and supervised the operation and maintenance contracts for all stations in the system. No American aid funds were used by the Corps of Engineers either for capital expenditures or operational expenses. As of January 1, 1971, AVCO Electronics Division contracts directly with the Saudi Arabian Ministry of Information for the operation and maintenance of the television system.⁷

The first expansion of the system was a microwave link and satellite transmitters which, using the Jidda signal, serve the Moslem holy city of Mecca and the government's summer headquarters city, Taif. This service to Taif and Mecca began in August, 1967. Fourteen months later the microwave and transmission system was automated in order to allow complete operation from the Jidda television station.

In December, 1965, the Saudi Government officially announced plans for additional television stations in Medina, the holy city north of Jidda, and Buraydah in the Kassim district northwest of Riyadh. Construction of these two stations saw several delays, particularly because of their remote locations. The Medina station began broadcasting on December 30, 1967,⁸ during the 'Id, the feasting period following the Moslem religious month of Ramadan. The Buraydah

station began on July 14, 1968.⁹ These two stations use programs video-taped or filmed by the stations in Jidda and Riyadh. Local and national news is given live in a small studio at each station.

Jamil Hujaylan, then King Feisal's Minister of Information, began looking for a site on which to locate a station near Dammam on the Arabian Gulf in March, 1967. Construction by a Saudi firm under Corps of Engineers supervision started in January, 1968, on a site 20 miles from the original ARAMCO station. The Dammam station was inaugurated on November 5, 1969.¹⁰ This station is equipped with two 12.5-kilowatt transmitters which are run in parallel. The north-easterly radiated signal (toward Kuwait) from the highest antenna in the Middle East or Europe may be the most powerful in the world, according to the Corps of Engineers.¹¹ The effective radiated power (ERP) of this VHF station is 1.1 megawatts.¹²

Shortly after the Riyadh and Jidda stations went on the air, mobile remote or "outside broadcast" vans were provided for each station. Soccer matches, particularly the championship games, important ceremonial occasions, and King Feisal's airport arrivals and departures are usually covered. In Riyadh, state banquets honoring Middle Eastern leaders such as King Hussein of Jordan, King Hassan of Morocco, and the Shah of Iran are video-taped or carried live. Because of the important role the mobile vans have played, one with color capability was provided for the new Dammam station.

Two major problems have hampered technical training of Saudi Arabian television personnel—lack of English language proficiency and lack of a proper high school science and math background. Generally in the Middle East the language of engineering is English. Before the student can successfully reap the benefits of instruction in electronic theory and application, he must master English. Language instruction at the RCA Institute in New York and the Thunderbird Graduate School of International Management in Phoenix, Arizona, has, for the most part, been successful. Of the students who attended RCA Institute language training, some continued in television production courses while others went on in electronic engineering training before returning to Saudi Arabia for on-the-job training at one of the television stations. At the request of the Ministry of Information, the Corps of Engineers sponsored a group of 22 students who in September, 1967, began language instruction at the Thunderbird School. Most of these students received language proficiency certifi-

cates in June, 1968. As of March, 1971, there were 15 Saudi television students attending Arizona State University. These students formerly were under Corps of Engineers sponsorship. However, when AVCO started contracting directly with the Ministry of Information, the Saudi Ministry of Education assumed their sponsorship.¹³ These students were former matriculants of RCA Institute or the Thunderbird School, and are all pursuing a B.S. degree in electronic engineering.¹⁴

Seven stations in the Saudi system broadcast from four to five hours daily.¹⁵ Nightly programming consists of religious programs, news, including local film footage processed at the station, quiz shows, programs from other Arab countries, and syndicated programs from England and the United States which are dubbed or sub-titled in Arabic. American programs such as *Private Secretary*, *Bonanza*, and *Combat*, have been purchased by the government. Because Arabs have a great love of song, frequent musical interludes are presented throughout the evening.

Life in most parts of Saudi Arabia today is different than it was 50 years ago only in its outward appearance. Oil revenues and the popularity of the automobile and bottled soft drinks have not drastically changed the social and moral patterns which are closely tied to conservative Islamic thought. Indeed, it is television which may ultimately make the greatest contribution to this inevitable change. Most Saudi women and women from other Arab countries who live in Saudi Arabia still wear the *habaya*, or veil. Naturally the programing on the government stations reflects this conservative culture.¹⁶ Programs are heavily censored to insure that no scenes which show scantily dressed western women, references to religions other than Islam, or physical expressions of love are shown. For the first few months of telecasting the programs consisted mainly of cartoons, wrestling, features, and news. Eventually unveiled western women were shown in movies and series such as *Private Secretary*. The story is still told about the Television Directorate's first attempt to censor an American western movie. The town sheriff walks into a bar—censored because alcohol is forbidden. Sheriff talks to woman who is unveiled—censored because woman's face is shown. Sheriff pets dog as he walks down the street—censored because the dog is considered an unclean animal. Finally all scenes involving the sheriff are omitted because it is discovered that the sheriff's badge closely resembles the Star of

David and is unacceptable because of the association with Israel. The movie was never shown because more film was on the cutting-room floor than on the take-up reel. However, most of the objections to television which the powerful religious leaders once raised no longer threaten television's very existence in the Kingdom. Television is instead being used as a vehicle to promote the message of Islam.

Television in Saudi Arabia is no longer a novelty. The many models of European and Japanese sets on display are within the financial reach of most middle-class Saudis, thanks partially to the government's low import tax. All successful coffee houses within reach of the signal have sets, turning the traditional evening gathering place for males into a community entertainment center. Television's entertainment and instruction have become a part of daily life, as are the call to prayer and Koran readings which signal the beginning of an evening's broadcasting on Saudi Arabian television.

Footnotes

1 Paul S. Watson, *Operation Report*, Report to M. Franklyn Warren, N.B.C.I. Project Manager, August 1, 1965 (Jidda, Saudi Arabia: N.B.C.I., 1965), p. 1.

2 USAFE *Television Story*, from the files of Office of Information for the Armed Forces, OASD (M&RA) (Washington, D.C.: Department of Defense), December 13, 1955, p. 3.

3 Daniel da Cruz, "TV in the M.E.," *Aramco World Magazine*, September-October, 1967, p. 19.

4 Wilson P. Dizard, *Television: A World View* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1966), p. 71.

5 Abdulrahman S. Shobaili, "Saudi Arabian Television: A Historical and Descriptive Study" (unpublished M.S. thesis, University of Kansas, 1969), p. 14.

6 Paul S. Watson, personal letter, February 6, 1970. The AVCO contract was awarded on October 10, 1968, over competitor N.B.C.I.

7 R. E. Weirich, telephone interview, March 8, 1971. Mr. Weirich, with AVCO Field Engineering in Cincinnati, Ohio, has been involved with AVCO's Saudi Arabian contract since its inception.

8 Paul S. Watson, *Operation Report*, Report to J. Robert Myers, N.B.C.I. Project Manager, December 31, 1967 (Jidda, Saudi Arabia: N.B.C.I., 1967), p. 1.

9 *News from Saudi Arabia: A Weekly Newsletter Issued by the Ministry of Information*, Vol. V, No. 218, July 23, 1968, p. 1.

10 *Middle East Economic Digest*, November 21, 1969, p. 1454.

11 Corps of Engineers, Mediterranean Division, United States Army, *Summary Report: Dammam Television, Saudi Arabian Television System* (Tirrenia, Italy: Corps of Engineers, United States Army, December 30, 1969), p. 3. The tower itself is 366 meters high. The antenna mounted atop this tower adds an

additional 116 feet to the overall height, according to the *Proposed Budget, Saudi Arabian Television Network* (Livorno, Italy: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1967), p. 114.

¹² Arthur F. Schoenfuss, Engineering Advisor, Saudi Arabian Television System, AVCO Electronics Division, personal letter, August 1, 1970.

¹³ R. E. Weirich, *Op. Cit.*

¹⁴ From September 1966 until November 1968, I coordinated Saudi Arabian television training affairs for the Corps of Engineers in Saudi Arabia. The above comments are based on my observations and experience during that time.

¹⁵ "Saudi Arabia: A decade of growth means a prosperous future," *New York Times*, Europe-Mideast Business Review section, January 15, 1971, p. 66c.

¹⁶ Sir Charles Moses, "International Broadcasting" (address delivered to the 45th Annual National Association of Educational Broadcasters Convention held November 9-12, 1969, at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington, D.C.).

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MAXWELL E. McCOMBS and W. BEN WATERS, Jr.

Social Science in the Newsroom: The Charlotte Drug Survey

Far³ too often, one comes upon people who are unwilling or unable to tear down the artificial walls between "academic research" and "practical broadcasting." Naturally, many of the most fruitful researchers recognize the advantages of tying their work to the "real world," and many of the most efficient broadcasters rely strongly upon rigorous research rather than "seat of the pants" intuition. In the following article yet another link between research and broadcasting is demonstrated: the use of research, conducted by or on behalf of a station, to provide a wealth of newsworthy stories for the broadcaster. Whereas most journal articles emphasize the substantive results of a research, here they serve primarily as examples, with emphasis on reporting and the application of research techniques in the newsroom.

Dr. McCombs is an associate professor of journalism in the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Mr. Waters is assistant news manager of station WBTV in Charlotte, North Carolina.

RADIO and television news has its cast of characters just as any entertainment program does. Broadcasting made Spiro Agnew and Abbey Hoffman famous in the same way that it made Lucy and Ma Perkins famous. However, American journalism—both print and broadcast—has been criticized for sometimes being overly preoccupied with a "names make news" point of view. Clearly many of today's major news stories—pollution, drugs, campus unrest—aren't satisfactorily covered by only this kind of reporting. These stories involve *everyone* (or large numbers) in the community, not just "name" news sources. To obtain a systematic report on community awareness of drugs in its city, a Charlotte, North Carolina

television station combined interviews with experts—a traditional journalistic device—and a scientific city-wide survey—an innovation in local news reporting.¹

The format of this WBTV documentary was similar to the CBS National Drivers Test of several years back. Factual questions on drug use were asked of the viewing audience. Copies of the questionnaire were printed in area newspapers and thousands were distributed through the public schools and a Charlotte supermarket chain. The interviews with experts, used to explain the answer to each question, were the core of the documentary's message. But another important part of this message was to reveal to each viewer how his level of knowledge on drugs compared to that of a valid and representative sample of Charlotte residents. Or put another way, the program was designed to report the state of drug knowledge in Charlotte. This made it a hard, factual piece of local reporting, not just another group of interviews on drugs.

The key to the local orientation in the program was the survey designed to measure drug knowledge in the city. To achieve a valid measure of drug knowledge in Charlotte, a systematic, random sample of households (addresses) was drawn from the latest city directory. At each household one adult was interviewed. Selection of the respondent in each household was systematically rotated among males and females so that each sex was approximately equally represented in the survey. If a household contained teenagers, one teenager also was selected at random to be interviewed.

The interviewers were volunteers recruited from the local PTA Council, Junior League, a Negro sorority, and a youth group in the city. After an intensive Saturday morning training session on the questionnaire, they spent the remainder of the weekend interviewing in the selected households. By early Sunday evening interviews had been completed in 174 households, including 25 with teenagers, for a total of 199 personal interviews. The validity of this sample is indicated, for example, by the proportion of Negroes in the survey (25.5%) compared to the actual Negro population of Charlotte (28.1%). With a sample of 174 households, the results can be projected to the entire city of Charlotte with less than a 7.5% margin of error at the 95% level of confidence. That is, if the survey found that only 50% knew the correct answer to

a question, then we are 95% sure that a census conducted among every resident of Charlotte would actually find the answer to be within 7.5% of the survey result—perhaps as few as 42.5% or as many as 57.5% would know the answer. This clearly is an acceptable margin of error.

The precision of the results available from a properly done sample survey has several advantages for newsmen. This kind of survey, unlike the “man on the street” poll or series of interviews, is not a gimmick. It provides hard, factual information. For example, the Charlotte survey revealed that most people incorrectly perceive drugs as a youth problem. Asked to identify the most commonly misused drug, more people correctly named alcohol than any other choice, but more than half of those surveyed did select one of the wrong answers.² These reports aren’t dealing with aberrant cases. They report on the entire community. And they contain both the good and bad news. Beyond this, precise knowledge of this kind enabled the producers of the documentary to construct the program at the level most appropriate for its audience. Where almost everyone knew the answer, the program devoted little time. Where few knew the answer, more time was allocated. And once survey information is compiled (especially if it is on punch cards for computer processing—a simple task which any college or university can provide for the broadcaster) there are numerous sidebar stories to be developed from the information. For example, simply by recording the age of each survey respondent in Charlotte, the answers to the questions from the young and the old could be tabulated separately. Is there really a generation gap? The Charlotte survey revealed that no gap existed in many areas of knowledge about drugs. Where there did appear to be a gap, age 25 was the dividing point.²

The Charlotte Drug Survey is an example of a growing interest in “*social indicators*”—systematic observations of some facet of an entire community.³ Social indicators often are statistics such as survey and poll results or government statistics on unemployment, home construction, or population. Social indicators aren’t limited, however, to statistics. The numbers must be translated in terms of individuals and neighborhoods. The numbers from polls and statistics provide the journalist a precision tool for reporting, but

the reporter has the creative job of using the tool. The frontier in social indicators reporting is exemplified by the Charlotte Drug Survey, original fact-gathering organized by WBTV. More local stations can do this kind of reporting job. The weeks of part-time work on planning the survey were a tiny proportion of the effort necessary for the hour documentary. While this type of survey can be expensive it need not be. A regional appliance dealer sponsored the Charlotte program. Out-of-pocket costs for the survey itself were less than \$200.

All local stations can make use of existing social indicators. The U. S. Census just gathered hundreds of facts on every neighborhood in the United States. The cost of obtaining Census publications reporting these facts is more often measured in cents than in dollars. Dozens of other statistical series on local communities—with built-in comparisons to other communities in your state or communities of similar situation—are available from the federal government. They abound in such number that the government publishes a 156-page paperback⁴ summarizing what is available. Thirty minutes spent browsing in this publication can turn up information for a half dozen major local stories. With two simple tools—social indicators (original surveys or statistics obtained elsewhere) and imagination—every broadcast news operation can do a better job of reporting its community.

Footnotes

¹ Also see Herschel Shostek, "Some Influences of Television on Civil Unrest," JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING, XIII:4:371-385 (Fall, 1969).

² Copies of the actual data tables are available from the authors.

³ Raymond A. Bauer, ed., *Social Indicators*. Cambridge, Mass.: M. I. T. Press, 1966.

⁴ *Statistical Services of the United States Government*. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office (\$1.50).

JAMES W. TANKARD, Jr.

Eye Contact Research and Television Announcing

James Tankard is visiting assistant professor of journalism in the University of Wisconsin at Madison. Some of the data discussed in this article were collected for his Ph.D. dissertation, completed in the Institute for Communication Research at Stanford University, which dealt with response to eye position in photographs.

A BEGINNING television announcer wondering what to do with his eyes while addressing the camera would find a variety of advice in existing television production handbooks. "An actor in a play who is supposed to be speaking to another character should never in any circumstances look into the lens," Desmond Davis wrote in *The Grammar of Television Production*. "If he does, realism will be lost as he will then appear to be speaking to the viewer. On the other hand, somebody giving, say, a lecture should look straight into the lens as he is addressing the viewer personally."¹ "It is always a problem to know what to do with your eyes," Jan Bussell wrote in a chapter on television talks in *The Art of Television*. "One obviously cannot penetrate the viewer with a fixed stare, yet the apparently inconsequential roving of one's eyes when addressing a single person is extremely difficult to initiate to order."² "Looking into the 'take' lens of a television camera creates the impression, for each viewer, that you are looking directly at him," Becker and Harshbarger wrote in *Television: Techniques for Planning and Performance*. "With the electronic medium, a rare quality of intimacy can be achieved. You come directly into the viewer's living room."³ "Don't jerk your head from one camera to the other," Herbert Zettl wrote in the *Television Production Handbook*. "If

you suddenly discover that you have been talking to the wrong camera, look down as if to collect your thoughts, then casually glance into the 'hot' camera and continue talking to this camera until you are again cued to the other camera."⁴ William Hodapp has pointed out in *The Television Manual* that at least one successful television personality, Walter Winchell, hardly ever looked at the camera.⁵ A recent article on script reading ability states that "A person's look-up ability is certainly a part of his oral reading effectiveness. By looking at the audience, a speaker is better able to establish a rapport with his listeners and thus is better able to communicate his message."⁶

However, laboratory research on viewer response to variation in looking behavior is beginning to provide some definite answers to the television announcer's question of what to do with his eyes. Two early studies of eye contact in televised instruction found no effect of eye contact on learning of content.

Westley and Mobius⁷ investigated whether eye contact in televised instruction leads to greater attention, greater interest, greater information gain, or differences in perception of the speaker and his subject matter. The subjects, 51 college women, were divided into three groups. Each group saw three videotaped lectures, one in each of three eye contact conditions. The three conditions presented a speaker looking at the take lens of the camera 90% of the time, 10% of the time, and about 50% of the time. The topic used in all three lectures was on unorthodox uses of computers. Various tests showed no differences in attention, interest, learning, or response to speaker or subject matter due to eye contact changes. Westley and Mobius suggest that the failure of the experimental manipulation to have an effect casts doubt on the validity of the hypothesis that looking into the "take" lens will make a television instructor more effective in attracting the viewer's attention, holding his interest, and producing more learning. Connolly⁸ studied eye contact in televised instruction for college freshmen who had failed an English placement test. Subjects were randomly assigned to two experimental groups and a control group. All the groups had work sessions with graduate assistants in English. One experimental group received weekly television lectures which featured eye contact from the television teacher; the other experimental group saw similar

lectures without eye contact. Tests indicated no difference in learning between experimental groups.

Chu and Schramm⁹ have pointed out that in both the Westley and Mobius and the Connolly studies the subjects were college students, who were accustomed to focusing their attention on a lecturer when they were supposed to. Thus the effects of eye contact might not have been as pronounced as they would have been with other audiences.

An earlier study by McEvoy¹⁰ provided evidence that eye contact in a speech presented before a sound motion picture camera creates an impression of "directness" but does not lead to increased opinion change. McEvoy prepared 62 two-minute films by having 31 speakers deliver two talks each. He then selected the ten which offered the best evidence of eye contact with the camera, the ten which offered the best evidence of eye contact with the studio audience and the ten which offered the best evidence of eye contact with the speaker's notes. From these speeches two reels of film were prepared, each containing five speeches of each of the three types. Two groups of 30 judges then viewed the two reels. They checked the "directness" of each speaker on a rating scale and responded to before and after opinion measures on the topics of the talks. The judges rated those speakers who spent the highest proportion of their time in looking at the camera as significantly higher in directness. Speakers who spent the highest proportion of their time looking at their notes were rated significantly lower in directness. No correlation was found between judgment of speaker directness and shifts of opinion by the judges. One problem with interpreting the McEvoy results is that it is a correlational study rather than an experimental one. That is, it is possible that the differences in ratings of directness were due to many other factors in addition to or other than eye contact, because eye contact was not a manipulated variable.

A recent experiment by the present author¹¹ investigated the effects of manipulating eye contact in still photographs on response to the photographs. The study examined the effects of three different eye positions: looking straight into the camera, looking off to the side at 9.2 degrees, and looking downward at 9.2 degrees. Photo-

TABLE I
Mean Ratings for Three Positions on 16 Scales

Scale	Straight	Sideways	Downward
unalert (1)—alert (7)	4.70	4.69	3.87
unpleasant (1)—pleasant (7)	4.20	4.76	4.17
weak (1)—strong (7)	4.79	4.50	4.21
ugly (1)—beautiful (7)	4.15	4.24	3.95
unafraid (1)—afraid (7)	3.13	3.65	3.84
weary (1)—refreshed (7)	4.13	4.26	3.65
unashamed (1)—ashamed (7)	2.85	3.08	3.53
unreceptive (1)—receptive (7)	4.68	4.67	3.97
insecure (1)—secure (7)	4.55	4.18	3.94
passive (1)—active (7)	4.43	4.51	3.95
inattentive (1)—attentive (7)	5.03	4.68	4.01
innocent (1)—guilty (7)	3.65	3.64	3.80
uninterested (1)—interested (7)	4.62	4.76	3.86
sad (1)—glad (7)	3.84	3.70	3.38
skeptical (1)—believing (7)	3.72	3.67	3.73
salary: \$130 (1)—\$210 (9)	3.97	4.01	3.46

graphs were prepared of six models, each posing in all three eye positions.¹² Six photographs of the six models were then shown to 48 subjects, who were told to assume they were interviewing the models for jobs. The photographs were assigned so that each subject saw two models in each eye position condition. The subjects rated the models on 15 semantic differential scales and a salary scale, and answered some other brief questions. The subjects' attention was not directed to the eyes of the models in any way.

Table I presents the mean ratings on the semantic differential scales and the salary scale for the three eye positions. The *t*-test cannot be applied directly to these means to determine if they are significantly different because each mean is based on *two* scores from each subject. Instead, a procedure using *t*-tests of mean difference scores had to be devised.

Table II presents the *t*-tests of mean difference scores used in comparing ratings for straight and sideways positions and in comparing ratings for straight and downward positions. These tests

examine whether subjects were responding differently to straight and to sideways (or downward) looking. For each subject, a score was obtained by summing his two ratings of straight looking photographs and subtracting from that the sum of his two ratings of sideways (or downward) looking photographs. The mean of this score for 48 subjects was then tested for significant deviation from zero. This procedure was repeated for each of the two comparisons of interest for each of the 16 scales.

Table II shows that a significant difference ($p < .02$, t -test, two-tailed) between straight and sideways ratings was found for two

TABLE II
Differences Between Ratings for Straight and Sideways Looking
and Between Ratings for Straight and Downward Looking

Scale	Straight Versus Sideways Looking			Straight Versus Downward Looking		
	Mean Difference	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i> <	Mean Difference	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i> <
unalert-alert	.04	.09		1.65	3.31	.01
unpleasant-pleasant	-1.13	-2.62	.02	.04	.12	
weak-strong	.58	1.35		1.17	2.54	.02
ugly-beautiful	-.17	-.55		.42	1.53	
unafraid-afraid	-1.04	-2.58	.02	-1.42	-3.17	.01
weary-refreshed	-.27	-.57		.96	1.81	
unashamed-ashamed	-.43	-1.70		-1.35	-3.45	.01
unreceptive-receptive	.02	.04		1.44	2.68	.02
insecure-secure	.75	1.83		1.23	2.47	.02
passive-active	-.15	-.32		.98	2.22	.05
inattentive-attentive	.71	1.55		2.04	3.80	.001
innocent-guilty	.02	.06		-.31	-.80	
uninterested-interested	-.29	-.57		1.50	3.37	.01
sad-glad	.27	.98		.92	3.04	.01
skeptical-believing	.10	.18		-.02	-.05	
salary-scale	-.09	-.17		1.02	2.29	.05

Note: Each "mean difference" is the mean of the differences between the sum of each subject's two straight scores and the sum of his own sideways (or downward) scores. N for each mean difference is 48.

rating scales: unpleasant-pleasant and unafraid-afraid. The signs of the mean differences indicate that persons in straight-looking photographs were rated as significantly less pleasant and less afraid than persons in sideways-looking photographs.

Table II also shows that a significant difference ($p < .05$, *t*-test, two-tailed) between straight and downward ratings was found for 11 scales: unalert-alert, weak-strong, unafraid-afraid, unashamed-ashamed, unreceptive-receptive, insecure-secure, passive-active, inattentive-attentive, uninterested-interested, sad-glad, as well as on the salary scale. The signs of the mean differences indicate that persons in straight-looking photographs (in comparisons with persons in downward-looking photographs) were rated as more alert, stronger, less afraid, less ashamed, more receptive, more secure, more active, more attentive, more interested, and more glad, and they were given a significantly higher salary rating.

All these findings are in the direction one might expect from common sense except for the indication that straight-looking is perceived as less pleasant than sideways-looking. Even this finding is not completely unexpected when examined in terms of recent theorizing that gaze aversion can be a signal of appeasement¹³ and research findings that eye contact can result in more or less favorable ratings of an interviewer depending on the conversational content of the interview.¹⁴

What advice can be given to the television announcer on the basis of the research described here? First, there is evidence that the downward gaze is given negative meaning by viewers. This is direct research support for Austin and Donaghy's assumption¹⁵ that look-up ability is related to rapport with an audience. This evidence comes both from the McEvoy study using sound motion pictures and from the author's study using still photographs. These studies taken together provide stronger evidence than either alone. The first has the realism of sound motion pictures which the second does not; the second has the experimental manipulation which the first does not. The evidence from these two studies does not suggest that looking to the side of the "take" lens of a television camera would have the same negative connotations as looking downward. Therefore, an announcer probably would create a better impression by varying his looks into the camera with looks to the side rather than downward.

Second, the present author's research indicates that small angles of looking to the side and downward (around 9 degrees, with no head movement) can be detected and given meaning. People can detect rather well whether someone is looking into a camera lens. This finding supports the statement by Zettl that an audience can almost always tell when cue cards are being used.¹⁶ This finding, and the finding of the negative connotation of the downward gaze lead one to the recommendation that cue cards or idiot sheets should not be placed under the camera lens.

Third, the research completed so far suggests that eye position in television influences perception of the performer but does not indicate that this carries over to make the performer more persuasive or a better teacher. McEvoy, Westley and Mobius, and Connolly all failed to find that variation in eye contact affected learning or opinion change. Eye contact may be more effective in influencing the viewer's image of a person on television than it is in improving instruction or increasing opinion change.

Footnotes

¹ Desmond Davis. *The Grammar of Television Production*. London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1960, 54.

² Jan Bussell. *The Art of Television*. London: Faber and Faber, 1952, 25.

³ Samuel L. Becker and H. Clay Harshbarger. *Television: Techniques for Planning and Performance*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1958, 13.

⁴ Herbert Zettl. *Television Production Handbook*. Second Edition. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1968, 343.

⁵ William Hodapp. *The Television Manual*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1953, 22-23.

⁶ Henry R. Austin and William C. Donaghy. "The Comparative 'Look-Up' Ability of Script Readers on Television." *JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING*, XIV:2 (Spring, 1970), 197-205.

⁷ Bruce H. Westley and Joseph B. Mobius. *The Effects of "Eye-Contact" in Televised Instruction*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Television Laboratory, 1960.

⁸ C. P. Connolly. *An Experimental Investigation of Eye-Contact on Television*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University, 1962. M.A. thesis reported in Abstract No. EM004779, ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Media Technology, Stanford University.

⁹ Godwin C. Chu and Wilbur Schramm. *Learning from Television: What the Research Says*. Stanford, California: Institute for Communication Research, Stanford University, 1967.

¹⁰ J. Edward McEvoy. "An Experimental Study of the Factor of Eye Contact in Filmed Speeches." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1953. Reported in *Speech Monographs*, 21:2 (1954), 151-152.

¹¹ James W. Tankard, Jr. "Effects of Eye Position on Person Perception." *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 31 (1970), 883-893.

¹² Some elaborate photographing procedures were used to make the three photographs of each model as nearly alike as possible except for eye position. See Tankard, *op. cit.*, for details of procedures and analysis of this experiment.

¹³ Phoebe Ellsworth Diebold. "Eye Contact and Gaze Aversion in an Aggressive Encounter." Unpublished abstract of Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1970.

¹⁴ Phoebe C. Ellsworth and J. Merrill Carlsmith. "Effects of Eye Contact and Verbal Content on Affective Response to a Dyadic Interaction." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 10:1 (1968), 15-20.

¹⁵ Austin and Donaghy, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ Zettl, *op. cit.*

Whatever happened to . . .

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KLAUS R. SCHERER

Stereotype Change Following Exposure to Counter- Stereotypical Media Heroes

What happens when our stereotypes of "good guys" and "bad guys" are disturbed by being exposed to pictures that contradict these stereotypes? In the following study, it was shown that presenting dark-haired, dark-eyed male actors as heroes led to more positive evaluations of this stereotype category. Dr. Klaus R. Scherer is assistant professor in the Department of Psychology of the University of Pennsylvania.

BREELSON and Salter's¹ analysis of magazine fiction, which demonstrated rather sizable inequities in the treatment of majority and minority Americans, has been interpreted as showing that "the common stereotypes of society tend to be copied unconsciously in the mass media of communication."² Others have argued that the mass media not only serve as reinforcers but also as sources of ethnic stereotypes.³ Larsen, for instance, concluded that: "The media are major sources for identifying and evaluating heroes and villains and thus provide significant role models that serve as socializing agents in society."⁴ Although many students of mass communication seem to agree that the media frequently use stereotypes as broad symbols of identification to get characters across to audiences, only a few empirical investigations have been done in this area. Smythe⁵ found stereotypical distortions in the portrayal of heroes and villains in television shows, especially in terms of their origin, occupational background and personality variables. DeFleur⁶ concluded from a content analysis of 250 half-hour segments of television programs that the medium tends to make use of stereotyped beliefs and con-

ceptions about a variety of occupations and may serve to reinforce and perpetuate stereotyped ideas and incorrect generalizations. Himmelweit and her associates⁷ found that, compared to their controls, children who watched TV were more prone to use nationality stereotypes, but were less likely to make value judgments about minority groups. Maccoby⁸ in a survey of relevant studies noted "grounds for believing that exposure to the pictorial media does bear some direct responsibility for building up stereotyped thinking in children."

Unfortunately, little research has been directed towards stereotypes that link specific types of appearance, often related to ethnic origin, to specific personality traits. These stereotypes could be easily, almost incidentally, transmitted via audiovisual mass media. It has often been claimed that movies and television (as well as the comics) are largely responsible for the existence of stereotyped judgments in person perception by depicting heroes as tall, blond and blue-eyed supermen while portraying the villains as smallish, dark-haired, dark-eyed, and sly-looking scoundrels. Stereotypes created and/or reinforced by such casting procedures should be especially pronounced in Germany, where the present study was conducted, as the glorification of the blond, blue-eyed Aryan was an important part of the Nazi ideology during the Third Reich and was widely expressed in the mass media at that time.

If stereotyped portrayals of heroes and villains on the mass media are indeed reflected in interpersonal perception and judgment, it should follow that Ss when asked to rate actors shown on still photographs should consistently rate blond, blue-eyed actors higher on positive personality attributes and lower on negative personality attributes than dark-haired, dark-eyed actors. This was the first hypothesis to be investigated.

A second hypothesis referred to the possibility of changing these stereotypes via exposure to movies featuring counter-stereotypical heroes and villains and rested on the following line of argument: stereotypes have been frequently conceptualized as beliefs or expectancies associated with categories.⁹ If we conceive of stereotype formation and change in terms of concept attainment and modification processes, it follows that stereotypes should change if the person holding them is presented with negative (infirming) instances,¹⁰ especially if specific expectations about critical attributes are not met. Thus, one could argue that if small, dark-haired and dark-eyed char-

acters in movies turn out to be the heroes or "good guys" sufficiently often, there ought to be a change in the stereotype category "dark-haired villain" due to the presentation of negative instances infirming this category. Or, to put it differently, if the probabilistic inference from "dark complexion" to "bad guy", that a TV or movie viewer has found confirmed in many instances, is frequently invalidated in fictional contexts, it is likely that the strength of the inferential association will be substantially reduced. Thus it was hypothesized that Ss should evaluate dark-haired, dark-eyed persons more favorably after having been exposed to movies featuring counter-stereotypical heroes, i.e. dark-haired and dark-eyed instead of blond and blue-eyed.

Methodology

The experiment was conducted in two sessions in the studios of a local West German TV station. For Session I, students were invited by posters in a dormitory complex to participate in pre-broadcast showings and discussions of television movies. Fifteen students, nine male and six female, showed up. For Session II, adult subscribers to the station's program newsletter who lived within easy commuting distance of the studios were mailed an invitation by the station's publicity manager to attend a pre-broadcast showing and discussion of some recent productions. Twenty-six adults, 15 male and 11 female, of various ages and different occupational backgrounds, accepted the invitation. Although self-selection bias might result in higher-than-average attention and motivation as well as greater familiarity with the medium, until after the debriefing none of the participants realized that they were serving as subjects in a social psychological experiment. They were not paid, although expenses were refunded and refreshments were served.

After two short "Woody Woodpecker" musical phantasy cartoons intended as warm-ups, Ss were told that the network was very interested in getting viewers' opinions on the casting of major roles in its productions, and that the station would like to have their judgments as to the suitability of some selected male actors. Photographs of six actors, of medium to little importance and fame, were projected on the screen, two of whom represented the blond, blue-eyed type (blond type) while the other four represented the dark-haired, dark-eyed type (dark type).¹¹ Ss were asked to record their impressions of these actors on 17 eight-point attribute rating scales,¹² and also to indicate

(on 13 eight-point rating scales), how well these actors would be suited to fill certain roles. After completion of the rating procedure, Ss were shown various short movies (after the cartoons, two 25-minute and three 8-minute features) in all of which actors of the dark type were the "good guys" (e.g. playing the hero part in an adventure story, singing folk-songs in a relaxed atmosphere, or being portrayed as very pleasant and likeable persons). In order to reduce the demand characteristics¹³ and to conceal the experimental nature of the situation, unrelated travelogue-type documentary films on foreign countries were interspersed and every film was discussed as to its strengths and weaknesses and its appeal to viewers. Ss were also asked to fill out some questionnaires on their opinions about the films, the actors, the topics, etc. Before the last film was shown, which the Ss were free to choose,¹⁴ they were again asked to rate several male actors that the station "had in mind for a project in preparation." Again six pictures were shown, three of which showed the same actors as before. The repetition was explained by telling Ss that these actors had to perform together and the station wanted to see what impression they made when seen together in short succession as to avoid "contrast effects." This explanation apparently was accepted. None of the Ss expressed any awareness of the purpose of the experiment during or after the 2½ hour session, except for two of the adult Ss who told the experimenter after the experiment that they did not believe that audience evaluation of the movies was the real purpose of the session.

Results

Evaluation change scores were computed by subtracting the mean "after"-ratings from the mean "before"-ratings for both the blond-type actors and the dark-type actors. F-tests on these change scores for the individual attribute and role rating scales showed that most of the change in overall evaluation was due to changes on the attributes "wicked," "sly," "calculating," "heartless," "amoral," "fraudulent" and the roles "swindler," "thief," "pimp," "fraud," "impostor" and "concealer." In a factor analysis of the original ratings, the same attributes and roles loaded highly on the first factor. Consequently, a "Bad-Guy-Scale" was constructed from these items. The scale means for both student and adult viewers are summarized in Table I. Repeated measures analysis of variance¹⁵ was computed for this scale. Both hypotheses are supported by highly significant main effects ($p < .001$ for Type of Actor and $p < .01$ for Before-After change) and a significant Blond-Dark/Before-After interaction effect ($p < .01$).

There is no significant main effect for subject differences, however, although there are interesting differences in the means for student and adult viewers. Both students and adult viewers initially rate the dark actors rather high on the Bad-Guy-Scale and both reduce this negative evaluation in the After-rating though the students change less than the adult viewers. The blond actors, however, are initially evaluated more negatively by the students. The adult viewers who initially evaluated the blond actors rather positively change to a more negative evaluation on the After-ratings, while students' evaluation does not change markedly.

Discussion

Blond-Dark Differences: The hypothesis that, due to popular stereotypes, actors of the blond type would be evaluated more positively than dark-haired, dark-eyed actors has been strongly supported by the data. Significant differences between the ratings for blond and dark actors were found in both groups of Ss. The fact that the student Ss evaluated the blond actors somewhat less positively than the adult viewers, while there was almost no difference in the evaluation of the dark actors, might reflect the lack of exposure of the younger generation to the Aryan ideology of Nazi Germany and the excessive display of its blond and blue-eyed representatives in the mass media.

Although these results support the notion of stereotyping in the perception and judgment of actors, this is only indirect evidence on the effect of mass media heroes and villains on interpersonal perception. There are two important problems that call for further investigation. First, we do not know whether the present results are generalizable to situations in which "ordinary people," not actors, are evaluated. The ratings in the present investigation might be affected by the roles that the better known actors played in the past, the characteristics of which may be stored in the memory of the raters and may be reflected in their judgments. However, most of the actors whose photographs were used are little known and are rarely seen on the screen. Additional person perception experiments with unknown male persons of blond and dark types are needed in order to determine how general are the observed differences in the evaluation of blond and dark types.

Secondly, the observed differences cannot be used directly to evaluate the influence of the mass media on the person perception process. It could be that a preference for blond types is a general cultural

TABLE I
Mean Change on "Bad Guy" Scale

	Before	After	Change
STUDENTS			
Dark Actors	4.15	3.76	-.39
Blond Actors	3.54	3.52	-.02
ADULTS			
Dark Actors	4.22	3.46	-.76
Blond Actors	2.92	3.14	.22

Analysis of Variance Summary "Bad Guy" Scale

	SS	df	MS	F	P
BETWEEN Ss		40			
A (Student-Adult Ss)	3.61	1	3.61	.08	NS
Subjects within groups	130.78	39	3.35		
WITHIN Ss		123			
B (Before-After Change)	2.28	1	2.28	58.46	<.001
AB	.19	1	.19	4.87	<.05
B x Ss within groups	1.52	39	.039		
C (Blond-Dark Type of Actor)	14.44	1	14.44	14.38	<.01
AC	1.52	1	1.52	1.51	NS
C x Ss within groups	39.16	39	1.004		
BC	4.37	1	4.37	8.84	<.01
ABC	.57	1	.57	1.15	NS
BC x Ss within groups	19.26	39	.494		

phenomenon that is only utilized to some extent by the mass media to convey certain types of characters.

Changes in Evaluation: The predictions on stereotype change following exposure to the counter-stereotypical movies are borne out quite well. The main evidence consists in the significant interaction effects for Blond-Dark/Before-After ($p < .01$) reflecting the rather distinct improvement of the evaluations for the dark actors after the film showings.

Before trying to assess possible reasons for the differences between the two groups of Ss, it seems necessary to discuss one interesting aspect of the change in evaluation. As mentioned, the factor analysis and the *t*-tests showed that the improved evaluation of the dark actors was mainly due to the fact that they were rated much more negatively on the "bad" attributes and roles (those forming the Bad-Guy-Scale) than the blond actors.¹⁶ On the more positive items there was less difference to begin with and less change. It may be that in stereotypical person perception predominantly negative attributes are used to categorize the stimulus persons. A rather plausible alternative explanation, of course, is that attributes like "wicked," "sly," "calculating," "fraudulent," "heartless," etc. are often used to identify movie villains so that the Ss in the present experimental context concentrated on those adjectives and gave more weight to them.

Both of these explanations account for the fact that the student ratings are more similar to the adult viewer ratings on the negative attributes than on the positive attributes and change more in the case of the dark actors. One might conclude that negative attributes provide the essential core of (culturally shared) stereotypes toward persons with a dark appearance and that the students share these to some extent while the adult viewers (possibly due to the influence of the Nazi ideology) perceive dark persons consistently as more negative than blonds even on attributes that do not seem to be essential parts of the stereotype. The strength of the stereotypes might also be partly a function of age.

Furthermore, the differences between the two groups of Ss might be due to the fact that the students were rather critical of the experimental films and the adventures of the (dark) heroes (which they found rather boring while the adult viewers apparently thoroughly enjoyed them). The students also might be more concerned about internal consistency in their judgments over time. The results of the present study to some extent support the criticisms made of social psychological experimentation carried out with college students. In the present case the results would have been rather inconclusive if only the student Ss had been used, although the results might have been different with a larger N.

The change prediction was based on the hypothesis that stereotypes are categories that can be modified by the presentation of in-

firming instances. An alternative explanation for the findings obtained might be a process of identification with the hero, and vicarious experience of those of his actions and response traits which become associated with his appearance. An identification model could well be combined with a concept modification approach in that the identification with a counter-stereotypical hero could lead to emphasize the inadequacy of the present stereotype-category and, by stressing its irrelevance, increase the motivation for change.

The theoretical definition of stereotype-categories and the concept modification approach to stereotype change require a more detailed and precise analysis than has been possible in this research report, and further experimentation that addresses itself to specific aspects of the concept of stereotypes along those lines is needed. The present investigation should be seen as a first attempt to demonstrate the feasibility of achieving change in interpersonal judgment by sheer exposure to counter-stereotypical mass media characters. In that respect the hunches of some producers and executives of the American television networks who, in recent times, have made a rather visible effort to include minority group members—especially Negroes—in the role of the "good guys," have been supported rather well by the data, although the cross-cultural comparability of the results might be problematical.

Finally, some methodological problems with regard to the present research: due to the before-after design used the question of possible pretest sensitization arises, as no no-pretest or no-treatment control groups could be used. However, there is some indication that sensitizing effects of pretests are extremely rare in attitude change research and generally tend to work against the investigator.¹⁷ Possible demand characteristics of the situation¹⁸ and confounding by experimenter bias¹⁹ present more serious problems. However, the artificiality of the experimental setting and the Ss' knowledge that they are participating in an experiment was largely absent in the present design. The "cover" of a public relations effort of the TV station, the repeated attempts to elicit opinions about the films shown and about regular programming and viewing habits, the fact that the experimental movies were parts of series that were regularly shown, and the seemingly plausible disguise of the rating procedure as audience participation in casting, seem to have been rather successful in masking the real nature of the situation.

It could be argued further that the Ss did not reveal their personal stereotypes, but their opinions as to the "casting stereotypes" in the pictorial media. The changes observed would then reflect a modification of the Ss' concepts of "media stereotypes." If this explanation holds, we would expect most change in the *role* scales, as these reflect the stereotyped casting procedures most directly. However, almost all of the significant changes occurred on the *attribute* scales on which the Ss were asked to evaluate the personality traits of the actors themselves. Although these ratings might still reflect media stereotypes rather than personal stereotypes, this is not very likely.

In conclusion, it seems justified to assume that the present data support the hypotheses that there are (at least in Germany) negative stereotypes towards dark-haired, dark-eyed actors and positive evaluations of actors of blond, blue-eyed Germanic type and that these stereotype-categories are subject to short-term change when infirming instances (e.g. counter-stereotypical heroes and villains in TV movies) are encountered.

Footnotes

- ¹ Berelson, B. & Salter, P. J. "Majority and Minority Americans: An Analysis of Magazine Fiction." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 10:168-190 (1946).
- ² Berelson, B. & Steiner, G. H. *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964.
- ³ Klineberg, O. "Recherches sur les stéréotypes: Questions à résoudre." *Revue de Psychologie des Peuples*, 21 (1966).
- ⁴ Larsen, O. "Social effects of mass communication," in Faris, E. L. (ed.), *Handbook of Modern Sociology*. New York & Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964, pp. 348-381.
- ⁵ Smythe, D. *Three Years of New York Television*, Monitoring Study Number 6. Urbana, Ill.: National Association of Educational Broadcasters, 1953.
- ⁶ DeFleur, M. "Occupational roles as portrayed on television." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 28:57-74 (1964).
- ⁷ Himmelweit, H. T., Oppenheim, A. N. & Vince, P. *Television and the Child*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1958.
- ⁸ Maccoby, E. E. "Effects of the mass media," in: Hoffman, M. & Hoffman, L. (eds.), *Review of Child Development Research*. New York: Russell Sage, 1964, pp. 323-348. (Quote at p. 342).
- ⁹ Allport, G. W. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1954, and Brown, R. *Social Psychology*. New York: Free Press, 1965.
- ¹⁰ Bruner, J. S., Goodnow, J. J. & Austin, G. A. *A Study of Thinking*. New York: Wiley, 1956.

¹¹ Subjects were not asked whether or not the actors were familiar to them. It was very likely that almost all of the actors had been seen by the Ss in one or the other series. It was unlikely, however, that they knew their names and connected them with specific types of roles. One reason why the subjects were not asked about their familiarity was that the experimenter did not want them to start thinking about when and where they had seen the actor before.

¹² Eight-step scales were used in order to force a choice as to positive or negative rating. However, the scale points consisted of check-marks and were labeled only at the extremes in order to make the forced choice less obvious.

¹³ "Demand characteristics" refer to those features of an experimental situation which force a subject to behave in a certain way or make it more likely that he will indeed behave as expected by the experimenter. See footnote 18.

¹⁴ The subjects "voted" on one out of three movies. They could have left at any point in the session, but none did. The free-choice film was intended to keep up their motivation while filling out the rating sheets for the second time.

¹⁵ Winer, B. J. *Statistical Principles in Experimental Design*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962, p. 374.

¹⁶ The importance of the negative attributes is highlighted by the fact that the reliabilities of the ratings are much higher for these attributes.

¹⁷ Lana, R. E., "Pretest sensitization," in Rosenthal, R. and Rosnow, R. L. *Artifact in Behavioral Research*. New York: Academic Press, 1969.

¹⁸ Orne, M. T. "On the social psychology of the psychological experiment: With particular reference to demand characteristics and their implications," *American Psychologist*, 17:776-783 (1962).

¹⁹ Rosenthal, R. *Experimenter Effects in Behavioral Research*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966.

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MICHAEL K. ROGERS

The Legislative Committee Executive Session

Michael Rogers wears at least four hats: as a former broadcast station news director, as a graduate student, as assistant to the director of the Center for Radio and Television at Ball State University, and as a Member of the Indiana House of Representatives.

ONE of the guarantees of the Constitution of the United States is freedom of the press.¹ It is written into the document in such fashion as to assure newspaper and broadcast reporters the right to publish and broadcast all information pertaining to governmental functions. However, the corollary need to have free access to that information has been the subject and aim of federal and state legislation.

Many local and state governments, and even the national Congress itself, still allow legislative bodies to move behind closed doors to transact business that could affect each citizen. This closed door meeting is what is commonly termed an "executive session." The meaning of the term is that such a meeting is *only* for members of the committee or legislative group itself. The public, and its representatives, the news media,² is barred from attendance, and as will be shown, often will not be told how a particular decision was reached. This paper deals only with the executive sessions conducted by state legislative committees for the purpose of transacting business.

With this background in mind, it is understandable why a person who considers journalism his profession becomes concerned when his state follows such restrictive practices as executive sessions which prevent the news media from attending the entire meeting of a legislative committee. In Indiana, a reporter, or member of the public, can

attend the public testimony section of a committee hearing; but, by tradition, they are barred from attending an executive session of the same committee. It is during this closed door session that action probably will be taken to determine the fate of a particular piece of legislation. In Indiana, and in a number of other states, this transacting of public business is carried on in private, and almost never is completely reported to the public.

This type of activity becomes more important to the journalist when, in addition to his responsibility to the public as a newsman, he is also an elected member of the state's legislative body . . . a position in which the writer finds himself. In view of the Indiana legislature's refusal to open its full proceedings to the public eye, it was decided by the writer that researching the activities in this area of the other 49 states might produce meaningful and useful data on the status of secrecy, as it is being used in state legislative committees.

Method

It was decided that the best method of determining the status of the use of the executive session in modern legislative committee operations, and the attitudes of the executive and legislative leadership toward the closed door sessions, would be a questionnaire. The questionnaire was prepared and mailed to the governors of the 50 states, the lieutenant governors or senate presidents as the case may be, and the 49 speakers of the house or assembly.³ The questionnaire, of 10 questions, was kept short in order to stimulate as many responses as possible from these individuals, who, without any doubt, are some of the busiest people in the United States. It was also for this reason that no followup questionnaires were sent; on the assumption that those who did not respond to the first questionnaire would not respond to a second. The only variation in the questionnaires was that the version sent to the governors contained an additional or 11th question concerning their prior legislative experience.

The legislative leaders and governors first were asked questions about the various positions they have held or were then holding in state government. These initial questions were followed with queries pertaining to the practice of holding executive sessions of legislative committees in the various states, and the individual attitudes toward the conducting of executive sessions, if they were conducted in his state.

Questions also were included giving the governors and legislators an alternative to the closed-door executive session. The questions were phrased as follows:

Q-6. If your state legislature does practice the closed door executive session for its various committees would you favor a modified version which would allow representatives of the news media into the committee executive sessions?

Q-7. Would you favor a plan whereby the vote of each committee member was recorded and made public on each piece of legislation considered by legislative committee in executive session?

Simple "yes" or "no" responses were requested.

The respondents also were given an opportunity to express reasons why they felt the news media should not be admitted into executive sessions of legislative committees.

The questionnaire for this project was covered by a letter on the official letterhead of the Indiana House of Representatives. The letter explained the interest of the writer in the subject of relations between the legislator, the legislature as an entity of government, and the news media. While the cover letter explained that the results of the study would be published as a part of the requirements for an advanced degree in journalism at Ball State University, it must be generally assumed that the position held by the writer in Indiana state government was a significant factor in its success.

It also must be stated that little evidence of prior research in this area has been discovered. The Freedom of Information Center at the University of Missouri indicated it had only one other study on the subject of legislative secrecy. That was the paper completed in early 1970 by Richard Cardwell, general counsel for the Hoosier State Press Association in Indianapolis.⁴ In commenting to this writer on information on legislative committee secrecy, Dr. Paul Fisher, director of the Freedom of Information Center, said "I suspect the subject has been much too slippery for many to consider."⁵

Findings

A total of 35 of the 50 governors of the United States responded to the study. Twenty-five of the nation's lieutenant governors or senate presidents, and 36 of the 49 house speakers responded to the study. The distribution of responses to each question are presented below.

The findings indicate in general that the bulk of the states do *not* follow the practice of allowing public business to be transacted in an executive session of a state legislative committee. Twenty-seven of the 50 states indicated some degree of openness to the public and the news media. These findings agree with those of the Cardwell report.⁶

The response to one question indicated that, while the bulk of the legislatures operated in the open, several had variants on the executive committee session. These included sessions that allowed the news media to attend, with comments as to what was considered "on the record" and "off the record," for publication purposes. Other respondents said their states practiced making the committee vote public after the executive session, while some commented upon closed-door caucus matters not directly related to this study.

Tabular Presentation of Responses

	Yes	No	No Answer
2. Does your state's legislature follow the practice of deciding the fate of legislation pending before it in a closed door executive session of the committee to which it is assigned? News media and public excluded.			
Governors	5	23	1
Lt. Govs. or Senate Presidents	6	12	2
House Speakers	9	17	5
Total	20	52	8
3. If your answer to question two was "no" does your state legislature practice some type of modified closed-door executive session? If "yes" please explain.			
Governors	18	8	3
Lt. Govs. or Senate Presidents	11	3	6
House Speakers	14	8	9
Total	43	19	18
4. If your state legislature does conduct a closed-door executive session policy for committee meetings do you concur in the practice?			
Governors	8	9	12
Lt. Govs. or Senate Presidents	5	9	6
House Speakers	18	6	7
Total	31	24	25

6. If your state legislature does practice the closed-door executive session for its various committees, would you favor a modified version which would allow representatives of the news media into the committee executive session?

Governors	6	4	19
Lt. Govs. or Senate Presidents	4	7	9
House Speakers	6	13	13
Total	16	24	41

7. Would you favor a plan whereby the vote of each committee member was recorded and made public on each piece of legislation considered by legislative committee in executive session?

Governors	16	1	12
Lt. Govs. or Senate Presidents	6	8	6
House Speakers	11	14	6
Total	33	23	24

(A "No Answer" response does not necessarily indicate an ignoring of the question by the respondent. "No Answer" responses can indicate that the question is not applicable to the respondent's position because of state constitution or statute regulation, or by rules of the various legislative bodies. It is also to be noted that some responded by letter rather than by direct answer to the questionnaire provided. Only those responding to the questionnaire were tabulated.)

A question also was asked about the attitude of the governors and legislative leaders toward closed-door sessions. A total of 32 respondents out of 56 answering the question indicated that they approved of the practice of closed door executive sessions of legislative committees. One governor said that he felt that executive sessions often led to quick settlement of issues. Many (from both the legislative and executive branches) responding to the question supported a policy of discussing executive appointments in a closed-door session; another said that the news media being present in a committee meeting may hinder the frank and open discussion of important matters facing the committee.

As mentioned earlier, respondents were given an opportunity to register their reactions to two alternative proposals to the conducting of completely closed-door executive committee sessions. The alternative which would have allowed reporters to be present during the executive session drew a negative response from the governors and legislators. Only 15 of the 39 responding indicated support for this

plan. However, 31 of the 57 answering the next question said they favored a system whereby the vote taken in the committee executive session would be made public. This system presumably would make public who supported efforts to "kill" certain legislation and who worked in favor of reporting legislation to the floor for further action.

As mentioned above, the majority of states, even though it is a very slight majority, do conduct in public at least a part of what once were closed door executive sessions of their state legislative committees. Yet, a sizeable number of legislators still feel some sense of loyalty to or security from the executive session in their legislative committees. As mentioned earlier, some feel the executive session speeds action on proposed legislation or appointments. Others indicate that it curbs "grandstanding" by some legislators so inclined. While a large number of states still cling to the use of the closed door executive committee session, its years as a popular method of transacting public business appear to be limited. This changing attitude can be observed in the large number of both governors and legislators who stated that they felt that at least the vote taken on a particular piece of legislation in an executive session of a legislative committee should be made public, regardless of whether or not the bill wins committee approval.

Footnotes

¹ First Amendment, Constitution of the United States, reads "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

² As used in this paper, the term "news media" refers to both print and electronic journalism.

³ Nebraska has a unicameral legislature.

⁴ Richard W. Cardwell, *Access to State Committees Survey*, Freedom of Information Center Report No. 240. Columbia, Missouri: Freedom of Information Center, University of Missouri, April, 1970.

⁵ Letter from Paul Fisher, Director, Freedom of Information Center, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, August 6, 1970.

⁶ Cardwell, *Op. Cit.*, p. 2.

LEON C. SMITH

Local Station Liability for Deceptive Advertising

*Leon Smith presently is assistant professor in radio-TV-film in the University of Kansas. Portions of the research for this article (which has since been updated) appear in the author's Ph.D. dissertation, "Thirty Years of Federal Trade Commission Concern with Broadcast Advertising, 1938-1968" completed in the summer of 1970 at Ohio University under the direction of Darrel W. Holt.**

SINCE about 1940 the Federal Communications Commission has left the regulation of broadcast advertising content to the Federal Trade Commission.¹ To date that latter agency's regulation of advertising has been primarily limited to the sellers and distributors of advertised products under Section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission Act.² However, there are notable exceptions.

The Federal Trade Commission Act views the media as a means for information transfer and therefore provides protection to the media manager who accepts advertising copy from outside sources. Section 14 (b) of the FTC Act states:

No publisher, radio broadcast licensee, or agency or medium for the dissemination of advertising, except the manufacturer, packer, distributor, or seller of the commodity to which the false advertisement relates, shall be liable under this section by reason of the dissemination by him of false advertisement. . . .³

The only stipulation made in this section⁴ is that the medium may become liable for FTC action if it denies the Trade Commission's request for the name and post office address of the party which submitted a false advertisement for broadcast.⁵

However, such protection is apparently limited to instances in which the broadcast station acts as a medium for the messages of

another agent. When the broadcast station disseminates advertisements in which it has some vested interest, it may incur liability under the FTC Act. There are two common situations in which the broadcaster might conceivably relinquish his protected status under Section 14: the situation in which the station utilizes market research data to advertise itself in a deceptive manner; the situation in which the station conceives and produces deceptive advertisements for a second party.

The use of audience research data may qualify as advertising matter. Such material is used by broadcast time buyers and advertising agencies to decide from which stations to purchase broadcast time on the basis of the station's audience and its competitive rank within its market. When a broadcast station utilizes audience research data to promote the sale of station time, it becomes a "seller of the commodity" and therefore may lose its protected status under Section 14.⁸ It is apparent then that when a station causes deceptive claims of audience coverage, market rank, etc., to be disseminated, it may be found guilty of violating the FTC Act.⁷

In 1963, the FTC stated that it would take vigorous action to prohibit deceptive claims of audience coverage by stations.⁸ By July 8, 1965, in response to numerous requests for clarification of its policy on regulation of broadcast ratings, the FTC issued the following guidelines (summarized here).

- 1) The person making a claim based on ratings is responsible for making sure that the claim is not deceptive.
- 2) Claims as to the sizes of broadcast audiences are furnished by the ratings services are, and should be regarded as, estimates.⁹
- 3) The person using ratings should discard any reports which he knows to be invalid because of a biased study, insufficient sample size, or for any other reason.
- 4) Claims should not be based on data that "do not reliably reflect current audience coverage" because of outdated data caused by
 - a) the passage of time
 - b) an intervening survey
 - c) the entry or departure of a competitor.¹⁰

From the foregoing guidelines the FTC clearly believes the deceptive use of audience measurement data is prohibited by the FTC Act. Four years after the 1965 guidelines were released, the FTC took action against a broadcast licensee, Cox Broadcasting Company, and

its station WIIC-TV, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The FTC complaint alleged that WIIC-TV had "hypoed" its broadcast ratings by broadcasting an unusual promotional contest during the time its audience was being surveyed by A.R.B. and A.C. Nielsen. Moreover, the FTC alleged that during the period in question (February 15, 1967 to February 28, 1967) the promotional contest offered prizes much greater than those normally offered by the station. The Commission gave its rationale for making Cox and WIIC-TV co-respondents in its action:

... Audience survey reports are extensively used by broadcasters and purchasers of broadcast time as a tool for establishing the cost of broadcast time and for evaluating broadcast audiences. It is therefore an unfair act or practice for a broadcaster to employ any short term and unusual promotional practice which has the tendency or capacity to temporarily destroy or inflate viewing levels in a broadcast market during a period when that market is being measured or surveyed.¹¹

Under the FTC's consent procedure, the television station and its parent corporation signed an order admitting the jurisdictional facts in the case, but did not admit a violation of law. The order required the station to cease and desist from conducting "any unusual contest or give-away, or engaging in any unusual advertising" which might result in the dissemination of deceptive information about the station's audience size or composition.¹²

With the order in the WIIC-TV matter, the FTC established a precedent for removing broadcasters from the protection of Section 14 when it is alleged they have used deceptive advertising for their stations. This precedent has been strengthened by a recent FTC consent order against a broadcast station for "hypoing" ratings. The FTC charged that WQXY-FM of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and its parent corporation, Sound Dimensions, Inc., had conducted an unusual contest called "\$30,000 Cash Sweepstakes" from April 11 to May 10, 1970. The ARB ratings sweep for that market covered the period April 16 to May 13. Additionally, the FTC charged that the contest, with daily prizes totaling \$1,000, required contestants to listen to WQXY-FM in order to gain the identity of certain "lucky numbers." The Trade Commission stated that Sound Dimensions, Inc. knew of the ARB ratings sweep, and that the licensee had conducted no other contests during the four years it had held the license to WQXY-FM. The matter was disposed of by consent order.¹³

With Section 14 protection from FTC action in advertising matters removed, broadcasters incur other, more serious responsibilities, especially in the area of advertisements conceived and produced by the local station. When a station contracts to write advertising copy and produce radio or television commercials for a client, he is acting as the agent of that client. Prior to 1968, advertising agencies were afforded the same protection as the media.¹⁴

Until the Merck decision there was no clear-cut rule of thumb for determining advertising agency responsibility in deceptive advertising cases. On August 7, 1964, the FTC issued a complaint against Merck and Company, manufacturer of "Sucrets" and "Children's Sucrets" throat lozenges, and Doherty, Clifford, Steers and Shenfield, Inc. advertising agency, charging the two with false advertising. Among other things, the complaint alleged that a television commercial had stated falsely that ". . . Remarkable Sucrets lozenges relieve sore throat pain and kill even Staph and Strep germs. . . ."¹⁵

Upon conclusion of the hearing process, the FTC issued a cease and desist order against each of the respondents. Finding that "no known drug will directly affect the viruses which cause sore throat," the Commission ordered both the manufacturer *and* its agency to cease representing that Sucrets had any effect whatever upon germs contributing to an existing throat infection. Doherty, et al., was named as co-respondent in the FTC order because the Commission found that the deception did not stem from the falsity of information supplied to the agency by Merck, but rather from the use¹⁶ which the agency made of the information.¹⁷

Dissatisfied by the provisions of the FTC order, both respondents appealed to the Sixth Circuit Court. After reviewing the case, the Court affirmed the Commission order in its entirety, and set down the guidelines for making an advertising agency a co-respondent in a deceptive advertising action.

The proper criteria in deciding in a case of this kind as to whether a cease and desist order should issue against the advertising agency is the "extent to which the advertising agency actually participated in the deception. This is essentially a problem of fact for the Commission." In order to be held to be a participant in such deception, the agency must know or have reason to know the falsity of the advertising.¹⁸

Translated into the sphere of radio and television broadcasting, what do the WIIC-TV and the Doherty cases seem to portend? With the prevailing climate of opinion favoring consumer protection, more governmental intervention seems likely. With more and more television stations acting in quasi-agency capacity in conceiving and producing television advertisements for local clients, and with the media protection under Section 14 (b) having been eroded, broadcasters must remain vigilant against the dissemination of deceptive advertisements. For, as the FCC has noted, "Broadcasting licensees must assume responsibility for all material which is broadcast through their facilities."¹⁹

Footnotes

* Although the author's dissertation nominally covered FTC concern with broadcast advertising for the years 1938 to 1968, the research has been brought forward to early 1971. Among the sources used in reviewing the literature were the issues of *Broadcasting* magazine containing chronologies, *Thesis Abstracts*, *Dissertation and Microfilm Abstracts*, *Business Periodicals Index*, *Index to Legal Periodicals*, *Public Affairs Information Service*, *George Washington Law Review*, *Yale Law Journal*, *Michigan Law Review*, *Notre Dame Lawyer*, *Federal Bar Journal*, *Federal Communications Bar Journal*, *FTC Decisions*, *FTC Reports and Decisions*, and "A Bibliography of Articles on Broadcasting in Law Periodicals, 1920-1968," *JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING*, XIV:1 (Part II) (Winter, 1969-70). In addition, the author conducted interviews with several FTC attorneys and officials, including former-Chairman Weinberger.

¹ See Carl R. Ramey, "The Federal Communications Commission and Broadcast Advertising: An Analytical Review," *Federal Communications Bar Journal*, XX (1966), 71-79, for an interesting discussion.

² Section 5 (a) (1) states: "Unfair methods of competition in commerce, and unfair or deceptive acts or practices in commerce, are hereby declared unlawful." See 15 U.S.C. 45.

³ This section is found at 52 Stat. 115; 15 U.S.C. 54.

⁴ Strictly, Section 14 deals with intent to defraud and with commodities injurious to health. However, because the protection under Section 14 (b) has traditionally been afforded broadcasters in all false advertising cases, it is used as a statutory description of FTC policy. See 52 Stat. 115; 15 U.S.C. 54.

⁵ This is not to say that the licensee is relieved of his responsibility to become familiar with the material broadcast over his station, nor that he is relieved of his responsibility to protect the public from false advertisements as part of his operation in the public interest. See the case of KMPC, The Station of the Stars, 6 F.C.C. 729 (1938); FCC Public Notice 11836, *Licensee Responsibility With Respect to the Broadcast of False, Misleading, or Deceptive Advertising*, 1 RR 11:205 (1961).

⁶ See *In the Matter of Cox Broadcasting Corp. and WIIC-TV Corp.*, FTC Docket No. C-1581 (August 11, 1969). See also FTC News Release "FTC

Issues Statement Regarding Deceptive Claims of Broadcast Audience Coverage" (July 8, 1965).

⁷ These matters did not involve court appeal of FTC rulings.

⁸ See letter by FTC Chairman Paul Rand Dixon, reproduced in FCC Public Notice 36511, *Broadcast Licensees Cautioned About Improper Use of Broadcast Ratings*, 1 RR 11:209.

⁹ In 1963, the FTC announced that the Pulse, A.C. Nielsen, and American Research Bureau had signed orders requiring them to cease representing that station and program ratings were accurate measurements arrived at by error-free techniques, when such ratings were actually statistical estimates. See Federal Trade Commission, *Advertising Alert* (February 28, 1963).

¹⁰ Federal Trade Commission, News Release of July 8, 1965.

¹¹ *In the Matter of Cox Broadcasting Corp. and WIIC-TV Corp.*, Docket No. C-1581, mimeo copy of the FTC complaint (August 11, 1969), p. 4.

¹² *Ibid.*, mimeo copy of the FTC order (August 11, 1969), p. 2.

¹³ *Broadcasting*, December 21, 1970, 48.

¹⁴ Section 14 (b) of the FTC Act states: "No advertising agency shall be liable under this section by reason of the causing by it of the dissemination of any false advertisement, unless it has refused, on the request of the Commission, to furnish the Commission the name and post-office address of the manufacturer, packer, distributor, or seller, residing in the United States, who caused it to cause the dissemination of such advertisement." See 52 Stat. 115; 15 U.S.C. 54.

¹⁵ *Doherty, Clifford, Steers & Shenfield, Inc. v. Federal Trade Commission; Merck & Co., Inc. v. Federal Trade Commission*, 392 F. 2d 921 at 924. (6th Cir. 1968).

¹⁶ The FTC stated "The advertising was based on two pieces of information, i.e., laboratory tests established that Sucrets and Children's Sucrets by virtue of their hexylresorcinol content would under certain conditions kill germs, including staphylococcal and streptococcal germs, on contact and that they would relieve the pain of minor sore throat. As used by the agency, these facts became at best half-truths and exaggerations. We refer particularly to the repeated use of the unqualified claims that the products 'kill even staph and strep germs'" See 392 F 2d 921 at 927, note 1.

¹⁷ In the hearing process the Federal Trade Commission had determined that both respondents had taken part in the preparation of the commercial, that the agency produced the commercial in its final form. It was this final product which the Commission examined in order to determine the commercial's falsity or lack of it. "It is the final form of these commercials from which the falsity of the advertising may be reasonably imputed." See 392 F. 2d 921 at 928. In addition to these FTC proceedings, it should be noted that other government agencies also may become involved, e.g., the current efforts by the Department of Justice to levy fines totaling one million dollars against the J. B. Williams Company and Parkson Advertising Agency for repeated violations of an FTC order against "Geritol" advertisements.

¹⁸ 392 F. 2d 921 at 928.

¹⁹ FCC Public Notice 11836, *Licensee Responsibility With Respect to the Broadcast of False, Misleading, or Deceptive Advertising*, 1 RR 11:205 (1961).

Books in Review

Anyone who wishes to volunteer as a reviewer, or who wishes to submit or suggest books for review, is invited to write the Book Review Editor, Dr. Christopher H. Sterling, c/o the JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122.

THE POLITICS OF CANADIAN BROADCASTING 1920-1951. By Frank W. Peers. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969. 466 pp. \$13.50.

THE TROUBLED AIR. By Don Jamieson. Fredericton, N. B.: Brunswick Press, 1966. 237 pp. \$5.75.

THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL BROADCASTING IN CANADA. By E. Austin Weir. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1965. xiv+477 pp. \$12.50.

The triumvirate of Peers, Jamieson and Weir offers the latest books in the mystical realm of Canadian broadcasting. That the realm remains mystical might well be the fault of these three gentlemen.

Although the latest to be released, the Peers' work smarts from the last part of its title (hidden on the jacket in smaller print): "1951." Obviously, its relevance and value are seriously curtailed. Since 1951, television has expanded to such a degree that Jamieson, in his book, notes that "Canadians watch television and listen to the radio more than any other people on earth" (p. 9). By cutting off his discussion before television's development, Peers does the reader a major disservice. Even more damaging is the fact that, since 1951, Canadian broadcasting has endured its characteristic paroxysms of agony, readjustment, and change. In the past 18 years there has been a Royal Commission and a public Committee, both specifically devoted to broadcasting's problems, and two attempts to frame better broadcasting legislation. The acts of 1958 and 1968 tried to establish successful regulatory agencies, yet Peers was forced to neglect them. To keep hammering away at this point is not unfair. A book published in 1969 that only takes broadcasting matters to 1951 is a disappointment, unless it is clearly understood to be part of a series—for which we can, perhaps, hope. Such a hope is based on the book's virtues. It is unquestionably the most thoroughly researched, the most detailed, and, thankfully, the most objective book on Canadian broadcasting. Indeed, a reader interested in the early development of Canadian broadcasting—a somewhat esoteric field—is unlikely to find better coverage. It is an extension of Peers' doctoral dissertation and shows the good features of such an academic nascence. Yet, the author's style escapes academic sterility to give a most readable narrative.

Peers' title is too narrow, but it does have the strength of stressing that Canadian problems and their solution have stemmed from political involvement. There is an extremely valuable concluding chapter which discusses the

role of broadcasting alongside a neat comparison of the United States and Canadian systems. The 400-odd pages before this go beyond the merely political to include fine coverage of the development of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation; the frustrations and failures of its predecessor, the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission; programming in general; the influence of World War II; and the private broadcasters. Included in such discussion is the first valid appraisal of Canadian broadcasting as a mixed system comprising two elements: the public sector (the C. B. C.) and the private sector. Sadly, as is the tendency amongst most writings on Canadian broadcasting, there is too skirting a glimpse of the vital role of the private broadcaster.

Such a criticism cannot be leveled against Jamieson. He flavors his book with his role as a Member of Parliament framing legislation; as a private broadcaster owning a radio station and fostering the private Canadian television network; and as past President of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, championing the cause of the private sector. His book details this last battle. The above credentials hardly lead to objectivity. Yet the work can be considered important reading, if only to give balance. It is the only book recognizing the rights of the private broadcaster in his quest for recognition. That this is necessary seems odd when, in reality, the private sector contributes more outlets, employs more Canadians, and has greater investment and revenue than does the C. B. C. That these facts are largely unknown in the United States points to a major reason for considering Jamieson's arguments. This should be tempered with the realization that as scholarship, it is of questionable value; and that stylistically the organization is chaotic and the language emotive.

E. Austin Weir's massive tome has, over the past few years, become the most widely read of all books on Canadian broadcasting. Although he does offer a comprehensive overview, to place the book on such a high pedestal is unfortunate. As with Jamieson, Weir's background in the medium colors his observations. But while Jamieson is obviously subjective, Weir offers his personal observations under the guise of truth: opinions are presented as facts. Weir is the champion of the public sector. He extols the virtues of the C. B. C. while tearing away at the vices of the private broadcaster. Actually, he is more subtle. The private broadcaster receives such scant attention that most readers would think that he is a fringe operation within a system dominated by the C. B. C. Weir might counter that his book deals solely with the "national" system where national is limited to "public." Such semantics are fruitless and little help in appraising a book which is touted by the publisher as being "a factual and lively account of the behind-the-scenes drama of Canadian broadcasting."

If Weir's book is read with the above caveat in mind, it is enjoyable enough. As part of the very beginnings of his country's broadcasting, Weir offers some valuable insights and anecdotes. He was associated with the state-owned railway which fathered public broadcasting (an interesting Canadian feature), with the foundering Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission, and with the fledgling C. B. C. Yet the strengths of being associated with these early developments are overshadowed by the personal bias and by the omission of such important considerations as commercial programming, the creation of the private television network, the relationship of the C. B. C. to government, and the administrative organization of both the Corporation and the Board of Broadcast Governors. As this list shows, the discussion of later develop-

ments in the country's broadcasting system misses the insight and perception of the earlier coverage. The book slowly fades into vindictive attacks against government, the Board of Broadcast Governors, and, as one might expect, the private broadcasters. Weir contends that the nation was betrayed by the 1958 legislation which removed regulatory responsibilities from the C. B. C. and strengthened the role played by the private broadcaster. Such a disillusionment has an adverse effect on Weir's capabilities to clearly present the facts and the issues. It is unfortunate that it is the most recent information which is of the most questionable value. The book must be considered as a personal memoir, and little more, from a very disenchanted man.

Canadian broadcasting has seen the concurrent development of two facets of a unique broadcasting system: a public sector which has been charged to act as a unifying element in the fostering of a nation's identity, and a private sector catering to the wishes of a majority audience. It is important that we in the U. S. should know about such a development, not only for a more complete understanding of a distinctly Canadian phenomenon, but also to give a realization of the place of broadcasting in a democratic society. A synthesis of the above three books would help towards such an understanding. Each, alone, contributes too little.

Alexander F. Toogood
Temple University

MASS MEDIA AND THE LAW: FREEDOM AND RESTRAINT. Edited by David G. Clark and Earl R. Hutchison. New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1970. 461 pp. \$12.95.

This fourth volume in the Wiley series on "Government and Communications" involves an ambitious attempt to design a legal reader for the media student which captures "the flavor and excitement of the mass communication arena" while illustrating both the protective and the restrictive influences of legal process upon free expression. Although the editors have made an effort to extend the range of each of the nine topics treated through bibliographic references which augment the 40 articles of the main text, the breadth of each topic has resulted in shallow coverages, with "excitement" achieved at the expense of depth.

Issues as profound and complex as concentration of media ownership, fair trial-free press, and right of media access to information have been allocated only one or two major articles, standing without qualification, expansion or explanation. The absence of connecting editorial comments requires that each article be considered in isolation, rather than in context with other competing concepts. This might be a valid approach, in view of the vast area to be surveyed by this single work, if its reference sections were capable of providing a full spectrum of citations to supplement narrow text materials. Unfortunately, however, the bibliographic sections which follow each topic in this reader appear neither extensive nor selective, omitting significant articles and principal legal cases without apparent intent or design.

An even more unfortunate omission from the standpoint of the broadcast student involves the failure to consider any issue of particular relevance to radio or television. Although editors Clark, an associate professor of journalism at the University of Wisconsin, and Hutchison, an English professor at

George Peabody College, indicate their intent to sketch mass media-free speech conflicts in broad outline, they have ignored such crucial First Amendment questions as the permissible extent of "fairness doctrine" obligations, the propriety of program standards in measuring "public interest," or any other specific aspect of broadcast regulatory policy.

Perhaps predictably, in view of their print orientation, the most valuable chapters are those dealing with issues which have traditionally claimed the interest of print scholars: copyright, libel and right of access. Other sections, notably those dealing with prior restraint, joint media ownership, trial court coverage and content censorship seem far less successful, both in respect to the quality of articles selected and the precision of supplemental citation.

It is difficult to understand, for example, why more than half of the ownership section is devoted to a single rambling account of media monopoly by Commissioner Johnson, while omitting the more definitive articles of Commission Chairman Hyde, Donald Turner and Charles Mahaffe published almost concurrently in the *Antitrust Bulletin* (Fall 1968). Similarly, the prior restraint section would seem to demand inclusion of at least one of the many recent works analyzing F.C.C. regulatory powers, rather than a single incidental and somewhat inaccurate reference to "Mayflower" broadcast editorial restrictions. These questions involving standards of selection typify those that could be raised in almost every section of the reader. Although a print-oriented approach may explain the lack of broadcast articles, it does not seem adequate justification for failing to list broadcast citations in supplemental references. How can the rationale for freedom of speech in mass communications be understood today without *Red Lion Broadcasting v. FCC*, 395 U.S. 367 (1969); the extent of regulatory review without *National Broadcasting Company v. U.S.*, 319 U.S. 190 (1943); the meaning of "performance" in copyright liability without *Fortnightly v. United Artists*, 392 U.S. 390 (1968)? [The Fortnightly case cited in the reader is the lower court decision reversed by the Supreme Court in 1968.]

Nor are the omissions limited to broadcast references. The film censorship section does not list *Freedman v. Maryland*, 380 U.S. 684 (1965), which dictated the ground rules for limitations upon film distribution, and the fair trial section omits *Rideau v. Louisiana*, 373 U.S. 723 (1963), the style case defining prejudicial pre-trial publicity. Omission of secondary source articles and texts seems nearly as surprising, but since the range of options is greater, it would be unfair to claim that any one source should necessarily be included.

If the broad survey reader is to have a larger purpose than reprinting of a collection of the editor's favorite articles, it would seem essential that selections be broad and balanced, woven together by perceptive comments and supported by comprehensive citation. Judged by any of these criteria, this book has not succeeded in achieving that larger purpose.

Don R. Le Duc
University of Maryland

MASS MEDIA IN A FREE SOCIETY. Edited by Warren K. Agee. Manhattan: The University Press of Kansas, 1969. 96 pp. \$1.95 (paper).

This book is the result of a three day seminar that featured "six mass media specialists, widely known for their professional stature, exploring the vexing problems of communication and understanding in a mass society." Its

list of illustrious contributors includes press critic Ben Bagdikian, movie critic Bosley Crowther, unconventional advertising creator Stan Freberg, television executive Theodore Koop, publisher Bill Moyers, and columnist Carl Rowan.

In the preface, Dean Warren K. Agee invites us to wonder about their opinions: "What were their analyses and predictions, their hopes and fears, and their thoughtful estimates of the adjustments that the media must make to help keep our democratic society viable and strong in a rapidly moving world?" The best of what they say centers around two themes: 1) the reluctance of Americans to deal with reality, and 2) the failure of the media to present it. Summarizing the participants:

Ben Bagdikian calls upon the news media to do a better job in detecting early breakdowns in the social system, and challenges us to take a 300 mile drive in any direction in America; the result? A string of mediocre media, run by men who are not necessarily "wise or humane," nor wicked, just sluggish. You will find millions of Americans who live in "one class" neighborhoods, who have no daily experience with old people, poor people or black people, and you will find that the media have also decided "not to get involved."

Bill Moyers sees America as on its way "to becoming a nation of cynics." He calls upon the President to hold regular press conferences each month to *explain* the news, not announce it.

Theodore Kopp cites Elmo Roper's finding that "most Americans get most of their news from television" and calls television a catalyst that "unquestionably is breaking down regional attitudes and attributes." Television, he says, has banished the glamour of war forever. "Letter after letter urges broadcasters not to show the blood of battle because it is too awful—not to show Viet Cong villages being burned, because our troops would never do such a thing—not to report allied failures and mistakes, because it is unpatriotic."

Carl Rowan says "I also learned that many of our communications problems flowed from the fact that millions of Americans do not appreciate the potency of words, the power of ideas."

Bosley Crowther finds the movies to be 99.44% designed to arrive at resolutions that perpetrate sentiment and myth. "Make no mistake about the movies," he says. "...the movie industry is essentially geared to provide the people with entertainment, indulgence, and escape."

Stan Freberg offers a solution to the same problem in television with "The Freberg Part-time Television Plan: A Startling, but Perfectly Reasonable Proposal for the De-escalation of Television in a Free Society, Mass Mediawise." His proposal? Limit television to three days a week, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. On Tuesday the television screen would say "READ"; on Thursday, "TALK"; on Saturday "UNSUPERVISED ACTIVITY"; and on Sunday, nothing.

In this reviewer's opinion, the book does not have much to say to the broadcaster or the experienced journalist; it offers little new in the way of textual material, and lacks sufficient depth for use in a seminar. It does make interesting reading in places, and it might be useful in extra-curricular assignments, preferably in an introductory mass media course.

Gerald Flannery
Paterson State College

MANAGEMENT OF ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR: UTILIZING HUMAN RESOURCES. By Paul Hersey and Kenneth H. Blanchard. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969. 147 pp. \$6.95 (\$3.95 paper).

Unlike broadcast management texts, which typically ignore managerial effectiveness, this easily readable book deals solely with the theories of effective management. This book provides a firm foundation for analyzing the managerial process, that is, how a manager works with and through individuals and groups to accomplish organizational goals.

The works of Mayo, McGregor, Argyris, Herzberg and Likert, together with several management style paradigms, are all briefly summarized in this book. Readers already familiar with those authors will find this book useful as a single source which summarizes many of the important behavioral science studies of management. Those unfamiliar with the works mentioned will find this text a valuable introduction. A 16-pp. bibliography is included for those who would like to do further reading. The book is helpful to the broadcasting instructor who otherwise lacks a text devoted to the discussion of managerial effectiveness. Undoubtedly, the broadcast manager may find the book useful in helping him analyze his particular management problems.

Hersey and Blanchard, as do many authors today, approach the study of management from a behavioral science orientation. Writers in this school of thought are interested in human behavior and, more specifically, in what motivates individuals. The authors agree with many management writers that there are four functions of the manager: planning, organizing, controlling, and motivating. Although they acknowledge that all of these functions are interrelated, the main thrust of their book is primarily concerned with how a manager motivates his subordinates.

Of the book's six parts, the first deals with human behavior. The second discusses motivation, and explains Maslow's "hierarchy of needs." A third section summarizes the major writings and findings of the researchers mentioned above. The fourth and most important part of the book recounts the development of the original one-dimensional design, which stated that the manager was mainly concerned with output and that his style varied on a continuum from autocratic to democratic. Next, the authors summarize the findings of numerous researchers and discuss the evolution of a two-dimensional design. This design places "concern for output" on one axis and "concern for people" on the other. In other words, this model illustrates that a manager also could have a high or low concern for the human assets of the organization. This two-dimensional design forms the basis for the Hersey-Blanchard management style paradigm. They simply add effectiveness of the style as a third dimension. For example, a style which is effective for a particular production manager when he is concerned with setting up the equipment and televising the liftoff of a rocket at Cape Kennedy may not be effective over the long term, when he is concerned with such things as the daily production of a newscast. Effectiveness, according to the authors, depends on the particular situation. Among the contributions made by this volume, this is probably the most original. (Readers interested in pursuing this idea further should read an article by the authors entitled "Life Cycle Theory of Leadership" which appeared in the *Training and Development Journal* in May, 1969.) The final two sections of the book deal with the leader, his environment and his effectiveness.

For anyone sincerely interested in effective broadcast management, this book is a must. Used with broadcasting texts (such as Quaal and Martin's

book which talks about the broadcast manager's duties and some of the nuts and bolts of the business), or with case studies (such as Coleman), this book should be valuable in improving broadcast management. It is fundamental reading for anyone interested in the development of a broadcast management science.

Rolland Johnson
Ohio University

CAVALCADE OF BROADCASTING. By Curtis Mitchell. Chicago: Follett Publishing Company, 1970. 256 pp. \$9.95 (Hardcover), \$4.95 (Softcover).

This book was commissioned by the National Association of Broadcasters to commemorate broadcasting's 50th anniversary which they celebrated in 1970. It is being made available to broadcasters at volume discounts for promotional distribution. An initial reaction upon hearing of the proposed work was to wonder why APBE historians were not considered to produce a commemorative publication for their allied organization.

The author was a newspaper reporter, magazine editor, publisher and has been in radio, TV and motion picture productions, communications and advertising counseling as well as entertainment promotion. This book is both entertainment and promotion. The organization of the book consists of a foreword written by Bob Hope, chairman of a "special advisory committee" comprising recipients of NAB's Distinguished Service Award, followed by 14 chapters covering the history of broadcasting. The book is lavishly illustrated with more than 150 photographs; all well-chosen, representative and carefully captioned.

As a promotional piece the point-of-view is as expected: "A great force for good, television—and radio, too—already has had greater impact on the lives of the citizens of this world than any other communications medium known to man in the past." The author uses diverse sources and mentions most of them in the body of the work. At times there is a slight distortion of their intent, as with FCC Commissioner Johnson's *How to Talk Back to Your TV Set*. In this instance Commissioner Johnson is quoted to illustrate the great commercial power of TV, but in a more positive sense than was his intent. Of course, a promotional work should not be overly critical and it is understandable that the author would attempt to keep above the issues facing broadcasting today. In the introductory chapter Mitchell recognizes criticisms of the media and in the next sentence he lauds some particular network or station effort which refutes the criticism. Thus, his introductory chapter is compiled of a hodge-podge of what is good pitted against over-commercialization, high costs, poor quality, and ending with the good outweighing the bad.

From that point on the book gives a very good well-illustrated account of entertaining historical highlights of broadcasting. The story is told compactly and with verve giving primary attention to the favorable aspects of the media. For example, there are two chapters on news: "The First Golden Age of Newscasting," and "The Evolution in Newscasting." When one notes the material contained elsewhere on the coverage of war, politics and public service, it becomes apparent that the major part of what radio and television is—entertainment—is taken for granted. It is most often in the photographs that one finds the entertainers who comprised and comprise the most time and effort of broadcasting. The final chapter consists of a description of the current structure of broadcasting and also contains a condensation of the NAB's *Careers in Radio and Careers in Television* pamphlets.

This book may be useful for students to read, but by no means will compete with Barnouw's three-volume history for completeness and balance. It is basically an interesting promotion piece.

Marvin R. Bensman
Memphis State University

THE ANALYSIS OF COMMUNICATION CONTENT. Edited by George Gerbner, Ole R. Holsti, Klaus Krippendorff, William J. Paisley, and Philip J. Stone. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1969. 597 pp. \$14.95.

This is not a book that most broadcasters will find interesting—now. They are almost certain to regard it as overly-theoretical and only remotely connected with the type of communication in which they are interested. But the content analysis and computer techniques discussed by the authors may play a large role in future evaluations of pornography, violence, and news bias often attributed to the mass media.

The book stems from a national conference on content analysis held at the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School in November, 1967. More than a year before that conference the editors of the present volume met with a small group of their colleagues and decided to enlist the assistance of fellow scholars in a wide-ranging analysis of communication content evaluation techniques. The International Business Machines Corporation helped fund the commissioned papers. Other grants from the American Council of Learned Societies and the National Science Foundation financed the conference attended by 400 scholars from throughout the United States and Canada. The original papers were revised somewhat on the basis of discussions at the conference and gaps that became noticeable were filled in so that the final publication represents a comprehensive summary of recent developments in content analysis, covering theories and concepts, problems of inference from content data, methods of recording and notation, and computer techniques.

Thirty-two authors contributed to this anthology, and the book does for content analysis what similar multi-author approaches recently have done for human communication theory. The range of disciplines employed to probe the subject have been so broad as to be beyond the limited knowledge of a single author. This very breadth is at once the strength and the limitation of the book. Even with skillful editing, the book often is redundant. While a serious effort has been made to pull the papers together (there is a separate editor for each major part), a careful reader would not have to be told that many of the papers were written by authors who did not know what would be in the papers provided by other contributors. A survey conducted by Earle Barcus and included in the Appendix would seem to suggest that if the book were not snapped up by broadcasters, neither will it rack up heavy sales as a textbook. Of all the colleges surveyed only ten had courses in content analysis. While the subject is included as part of other research courses, it seems doubtful that its emphasis in those courses is sufficient to warrant a student being asked to purchase the book at such a high price. The publisher is not apt to find this a particularly profitable book.

Nevertheless, the book is likely to make an important contribution to broadcasting in the future by focusing the attention of scholars on content analysis. By the time researchers develop the skills and public esteem sufficient to inspire the public to demand that those skills be applied to broadcasting, this volume is likely to be out-of-date. But Dean Gerbner and the Annenberg

School, in commissioning the papers and hosting the conference which resulted in this book, most certainly have strengthened the "foundation for future progress" in content analysis. As Gerbner so rightly puts it, "messages are the crucial links of the communication chain." In concentrating more intensely on this single phase than has been done before, *Communication Content* makes an important contribution to our knowledge of the overall communication process.

John B. Roberts
Temple University

SHORTWAVE VOICES OF THE WORLD. By Richard E. Wood. Park Ridge, N. J.: Gilfer Associates, 1969. 95 pp. \$3.95.

The author, a professor of European languages at the University of Hawaii, has written a brief introduction to world-wide shortwave broadcasting intended for two audiences: "ham" operators and students of broadcasting. Except as an introduction, the former audience will be disappointed, for there is little new here. The student of radio, however, will find a wealth of useful information on stations, government policy, programs, language problems, and jamming and other reception problems—topics not covered in most broadcasting textbooks. The book lacks index, bibliography, notes, or sources, but its heavily illustrated text evokes interest and provides an overview even if its reference value is limited.

C.H.S.

TELEVISION GUIDELINES FOR EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION. By Rose Mukerji. Bloomington, Ind.: National Instructional Television, 1969. 57 pp. \$2.00.

This is not, as one might suppose from the title, a guide for parents of small offspring. It is rather, a guide for those in decision-making positions in children's TV programming. Part I takes a potential program idea and develops it so as to best suit a young audience. Part II discusses the "target" population (ages 3-8) and the processes which facilitate learning among them. Part III then takes the example program and applies the principles brought out in Part II. The last two parts of the booklet take the program through production and script steps, and discuss preparation of supporting materials for parents and teachers. The book makes good use of fold-out charts and is a valuable tool for those involved in children's programming.

C.H.S.

THE MEDIA AND THE CITIES. Edited by Charles U. Daly. Chicago: University of Chicago Center for Policy Study, 1968. 90 pp. \$1.45.

In May of 1968, the University of Chicago Center for Policy Studies held a brief conference on the role of news media in covering the cities today. This slim book is made up of the papers presented during that meeting and represents a wide diversity of views on the responsibility and role of various news media during urban unrest and normal day-to-day issues of race relations, pollution, city government, etc. It is an interesting and most relevant topic—and, thus far, the literature in this area is not large.

C.H.S.

SURVEY OF BROADCAST JOURNALISM 1969-1970: YEAR OF CHALLENGE, YEAR OF CRISIS. Edited by Marvin Barrett. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1970. 156 pp. \$1.95 (paper).

SURVEY OF BROADCAST JOURNALISM 1968-1969. Edited by Marvin Barrett. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1969. 132 pp. \$1.95 (paper).

These are the first and second annual reports of the Alfred I. duPont-Columbia University surveys of broadcast journalism. Each volume is divided into three major sections: six general chapters on the shape and trend of radio-television journalism in the program year just past; three in-depth reports on a specific aspect of broadcast news, and two or three appendices offering reprints of major speeches and/or further in-depth reports of specific cases. The basic purpose of the volumes is to record the previous year's high and low points in broadcast journalism, and to record that year's five or six duPont-Columbia awards. Judging from the volumes themselves and from trade press reaction to them, the second and more recent volume had a more positive air than the first. The books are an invaluable up-to-date reference source useful in many types of broadcasting instruction and research.

C.H.S.

COMMERCIAL TELEVISION. By Wallace S. Sharps. London: Fountain Press, 1958. 496 + xii pp.

This volume, subtitled "a manual of advertising and production techniques," unfortunately was overlooked by the JOURNAL when it first was published. This is doubly unfortunate, since it is one of the few books in existence that treats both form and content of television within the same covers. Even better, it discusses thoroughly the differences and similarities between television and motion picture production in 24 chapters, replete with tables, diagrams and photographs. Among the chapters are some dealing with the advertising agency; scripting, casting and costing; audience research; and the law relating to British commercial television. Technical chapters discuss film projection and closed circuit TV; film sizes, leaders, splicing and editing; light, lighting techniques and lighting equipment; light, the subject and the camera; the camera eye; making a film; cartoon and puppet animation; the nature, transmission and recording of sound; the nature and processing of film (including laboratory practices and facilities); television production; the TV transmission system; optical and magnetic video recording; scenic and staging effects; titles, masks and special effects; and the nature, recording and transmission of color.

Although the author (managing director of Sharps' Television Services Limited) largely restricts himself to television practices in the United Kingdom, and although the book is more than a decade old, its careful attention to detail (assisted by a 69 page glossary and a seven-page index) makes it a valuable resident in the library of any person or any organization concerned with television production.

J.M.K.

SIMULATION. Edited by John McLeod. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968. 351 + xi pp. \$15.00.

If, as the subtitle claims, simulation is "the dynamic modeling of ideas and systems with computers," then this is an important book. It is, however, unless you are a specialist in the field, or in computer science, or unless your ad-

vanced math is up-to-date, almost unreadable. That is a pity, because this collection of articles from *Simulation* magazine offers some tantalizing titles that range over topics as varied as the daily rhythm of nocturnal animals and the dynamics of a rotating space station. If one doesn't feel up to the entire volume, then by all means try to borrow a copy long enough to read the first dozen pages (written in lay language), and the three pages of prediction that ends the book—and get a fascinating glimpse of the future.

J.M.K.

Books Received

*Books marked * had been assigned to a reviewer as this issue went to press. Publication in this list neither promises nor precludes later review.*

THE INFORMATION MACHINES: THEIR IMPACT ON MEN AND THE MEDIA. By Ben H. Bagdikian. New York: Harper & Row, 1971. xxxvi+359 pp. \$8.95.

THE BROADCASTERS. By Red Barber. New York: Dial Press, 1971. 271 pp. \$6.95.

DICTIONARY OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS. By R. A. Bones. New York: Philosophical Library, 1970. vii+200 pp. \$15.00.

THE WAR OF WORDS. The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom, 1939-45. By Asa Briggs. London: Oxford University Press, 1970. xviii+766 pp. \$21.00. *

TELECOMMUNICATIONS: THE BOOMING TECHNOLOGY. By Ronald Brown. New York: Doubleday, 1970. 191 pp. \$5.95. *

HANDBOOK OF MODERN MARKETING. Edited by Victor P. Buell and Carl Heyel. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970. 1504 pp. \$27.50. *

RADIO NEWS HANDBOOK. By David Dary. Blue Ridge Summit, Pa.: TAB Books, 1970 (Second Edition). 192 pp. \$7.95 *

THE ANATOMY OF A TELEVISION COMMERCIAL. Edited by Lincoln Diamant. New York: Hastings House, 1970. 190 pp. \$12.50.

COMMUNICATIONS IN SPACE: FROM MARCONI TO MAN ON THE MOON. By Orrin E. Dunlap Jr. New York: Harper & Row, 1970 (Third Edition). xi+338 pp. \$7.95.

VIDEO TAPE PRODUCTION & COMMUNICATION TECHNIQUES. By Joel Lawrence Efrein. Blue Ridge Summit, Pa.: TAB Books, 1971. 255 pp. \$12.95. *

THREE ROADS TO AWARENESS. By Don Fabun. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Glencoe Press, 1970. 129 pp. \$5.95/4.95 (cloth/paper).

TELEVISION AND AGGRESSION: AN EXPERIMENTAL FIELD STUDY. By Seymour Feshbach and Robert D. Singer. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1970. 186 pp. \$8.50.

THE PENTAGON PROPAGANDA MACHINE. By J. William Fullbright. New York: Liveright, 1970. 166 pp. \$4.95.

USE OF THE MEDIA BY THE URBAN POOR: FINDINGS OF THREE PROJECTS WITH AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY. By Bradley S. Greenberg and Brenda Dervin. New York: Praeger Special Studies, 1970. 251 pp. \$13.50.

- I LOOKED AND I LISTENED. By Ben Gross. New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1970 (Revised Edition). x+372 pp. \$8.95.*
- THE PLAY AND THE READER. Edited by Stanley Johnson, Judah Bierman, and James Hart. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1971 (Alternate Edition). 583 pp. \$4.95 (paper).
- ELECTIONEERING IN A DEMOCRACY: CAMPAIGNS FOR CONGRESS. By David A. Leuthold. New York: John Wiley, 1970. 150 pp. \$3.50 (paper).
- FILMS BEGET FILMS. By Jay Leyda. New York: Hill & Wang, 1970 (re-issue). 176 pp. \$4.95/1.95.
- THE CRISIS OF THE REGULATORY COMMISSIONS: AN INTRODUCTION TO A CURRENT ISSUE OF PUBLIC POLICY. Edited by Paul W. MacAvoy. New York: Norton, 1970. 212 pp. \$5.95/2.95. *
- CAVALCADE OF BROADCASTING. By Curtis Mitchell. New York: Follett, 1970. 256 pp. \$9.95/4.95. *
- THE POLITICAL PERSUADERS: THE TECHNIQUES OF MODERN ELECTION CAMPAIGNS. By Dan Nimmo. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970. 214 pp. \$5.95/2.95. *
- A DICTIONARY OF SLANG AND UNCONVENTIONAL ENGLISH. By Eric Partridge. New York: Macmillian, 1970 (Seventh Edition). xiv+1528 pp. \$18.50.
- AN ANNOTATED JOURNALISM BIBLIOGRAPHY: 1958-1968. By Warren C. Price and Calder M. Pickett. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1970. x+285 pp. \$12.75. *
- GUIDELINES FOR NEWS REPORTERS. By Sol Robinson. Blue Ridge Summit, Pa.: TAB Books, 1971. 191 pp. \$9.95. *
- INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION CONTROL. By Delbert D. Smith. Leyden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1969. xvi+231 pp. \$8.15.
- MEDIA SOCIOLOGY: A READER. Edited by Jeremy Tunstall. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970. 574 pp. \$12.50. *
- POP CULTURE IN AMERICA. Edited by David Manning White. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970. 279 pp. \$5.95/2.45.
- HOW TO SELL RADIO ADVERTISING. By Si Willing. Blue Ridge Summit, Pa.: TAB Books, 1970. 320 pp. \$12.95. *

Book Review Index for Volume XIV, 1970

	Issue	Pages
Borchardt, Kurt, <i>Structure and Performance of the U.S. Communications Industry</i>	Fall	512-513
Kendrick, Alexander, <i>Prime Time: The Life of Edward R. Murrow</i>	Summer	390-391
Pennybacker, John H., and Waldo W. Braden (eds.), <i>Broadcasting and the Public Interest</i>	Summer	391-392
Rucker, Bryce W. <i>The First Freedom</i>	Fall	510-512

(Authors of book reviews appearing in Volume XIV, 1970, were: Frank J. Kahn, Charles E. Sherman, Harry J. Skornia, and Christopher H. Sterling.)

Suggestions for Preparation of Manuscripts

THE JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING actively welcomes and solicits articles and review from all sources. In particular, the JOURNAL desires to report the results of orderly and publicly verifiable research of importance to broadcasters and broadcasting. There are no arbitrary editorial "taboos" as to subject matter or point of view. The following criteria of style and format are intended as reminders to those broadcasters, researchers, teachers and others desiring to contribute to the JOURNAL.

1. Objectivity is a desired goal. As an aid in obtaining and maintaining this objectivity, use of the first person (and active voice) should be avoided in research reports.
2. Brevity should be another goal of all contributors to a scholarly publication. Most published articles are 6 to 16 pages in length.
3. Any consistent style is acceptable, although adherence to current JOURNAL style and bibliographic and typographic format (particularly with respect to capitalization) is preferable and requested.
4. Manuscripts should be typed, double-spaced, on one side of 8½ x 11-inch white paper of standard weight, using margins of at least one inch on all edges.
5. Lengthy quotations, lists, and so on, that may be set in different type or with different spacing, should be indented or otherwise so spaced or positioned as to simplify instructions to the printer. All quotations, lists, bibliographies and other indented matter should be double-spaced in the manuscript, regardless of their eventual form in the printed publication.
6. All manuscripts should have the proposed title and the author's name on the first page or on a title page. All subsequent pages should be numbered consecutively, and bear identification. Book reviews should bear the reviewer's name and academic or business affiliation.
7. References, citations, and footnotes should be placed on a separate sheet at the end of the article rather than at the bottom of each page. Complete citations should be supplied, including names of author, publisher, city of publication, date of publication, volume numbers and page numbers.
8. Graphic material such as figures, charts, graphs and pictures should be avoided. Such material causes an inordinate increase in printing costs.
9. Similarly, the amount of tabular material should be kept to a minimum. Many tables may be eliminated by incorporating small tables and totals of larger tables within the text when possible. When it is necessary to use tables, they should be designed to fit on no more than one page. Each table should be numbered and titled. Vertical rules should be omitted. Spell out all headings and labels. Tables should be on separate pages at the end of the article. The proper location of the table in the text should be indicated by inserting a line reading: "Insert Table about here," separated from the lines of text by parallel rules above and below. If the

tables will be of interest only to a few readers, the author may wish to consider reproducing the material locally by some duplicating process, and indicating availability by means of a footnote.

10. Any correspondence or covering letters should mention the title of the manuscript. The Editor would appreciate receiving with each manuscript a covering letter with biographical information that may later be used for preparation of the introduction to the article.

11. Two copies (original and a carbon) of any manuscript should be submitted in order to speed processing. An additional copy always should be retained by the author until publication.

12. Accuracy is essential. Authors are urged to re-examine their manuscripts thoroughly before submission. Minor corrections and transpositions should be marked neatly on the manuscript in ink.

13. Special care should be taken with the documentation of data and assertions, with opinion clearly identified as such. In particular, the reader should be provided sufficient information (possibly in footnote form) to judge the scope, content, validity and reliability of reviews of the literature as well as specific statistical and other research procedures.

The JOURNAL will acknowledge receipt of a manuscript as soon as possible. Editorial evaluations and the mechanical strictures of a quarterly publication may cause unavoidable delay of decisions relating to acceptance or rejection. The reasons for a rejection always are given to the author in detail. We will try to make editorial decisions as quickly as possible, recognizing that the ethic of scholarly publications requires an author to submit the same manuscript to different publications sequentially rather than simultaneously.

The JOURNAL will supply each author with two copies of the issue in which his article appears, and four copies of the article alone (cut from unbound copies of the magazine), automatically and without charge. An additional 100 offprints may be obtained at the rate of \$2.00 per page. For smaller quantities, purchase of the magazine is advised. For other methods of reproduction, please contact the Editor for permission, because the JOURNAL is copyright by the APBE.

All galley proofs are proofread in the JOURNAL office, under the assumption that the author's original manuscript is correct. If proofs are sent to a contributor, the utmost speed in handling is necessary.

Major changes in an article will be discussed by correspondence between the author and the Editor. The JOURNAL reserves the right to make minor changes and deletions that, in the judgment of the Editor, do not change the substantial meaning or results of the article or the expressed views of its author.

Manuscripts, books for review, and editorial and business correspondence should be addressed to Dr. John M. Kittross, Editor, JOURNAL OF BROADCASTING, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122.

THE ASSOCIATION FOR PROFESSIONAL BROADCASTING EDUCATION

We recognize radio and television broadcasting as powerful and significant forces in the lives of our people, and the American system of broadcasting as particularly suited to their needs and desires;

We believe that colleges and universities have both an opportunity and an obligation to advance broadcasting, both as an art and as an industry by preparing for the profession qualified men and women alert to their duties as citizens and capable of assuming productive and responsible roles therein;

We recognize the existence of a group of colleges and universities aware of these responsibilities and presently maintaining effective programs of professional broadcasting education; and further, we see growing evidence of increased interest on the part of other colleges and universities in the establishment of such professional programs;

We further recognize an awareness on the part of broadcasters of the necessity of continually improving the professional competency of persons entering the broadcasting industry;

And finally, we believe that many mutual advantages would flow from a continuing relationship established and maintained between such educational institutions and the broadcasters themselves.

To secure these advantages and to foster these ends, we hereby establish the Association for Professional Broadcasting Education, declaring our intent to encourage and maintain in colleges and universities professional broadcasting education that will produce such men and women as can command the respect of the colleges that graduate them and of the industry that employs them.

